THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

A TRANSLATION OF ISHĀQ'S
SĪRAT RASŪL ALLĀH

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

MUḤAMMAD, son of Isḥāq, son of Yasār, was born in Medina about A.H. 85 and died in Baghdād in 151.[1] His grandfather Yasār fell into the hands of Khālid b. al-Walīd when he captured 'Ayn'u'l-Tamr in A.H. 12, having been held there as a prisoner by the Persian king. Khālid sent him with a number of prisoners to Abū Bakr at Medina. There he was handed over to Qays b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdu Manāf as a slave, and was manumitted when he accepted Islām. His family adopted the family name of their patrons. His son Isḥāq was born about the year 50, his mother being the daughter of another freedman. He and his brother Mūsā were well-known traditionists, so that our author's path in life was prepared before he reached manhood.[2]

He associated with the second generation of traditionists, notably al-Zuhrī, 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr. He must have devoted himself to the study of apostolic tradition from his youth, for at the age of thirty he went to Egypt to attend the lectures of Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb.[3] There he was regarded as an authority, for this same Yazīd afterwards related traditions on Ibn Isḥāq's authority.[4] On his return to Medina he went on with the collection and arrangement of the material he had collected. Al-Zuhrī, who was in Medina in 123, is reported to have said that Medina would never lack 'ilm as long as Ibn Isḥāq was there, and he eagerly gathered from him the details of the prophet's wars. Unfortunately Ibn Isḥāq excited the enmity of Mālik b. Anas, for whose work he showed his contempt, and it was not long before his own writings and his orthodoxy were called in question. Probably it was our author's lost book of *Siyar*[5] which excited Mālik's ire, for it would have been in the field of law based on the practice of the prophet that differences would be most keenly felt. He was accused of being a Qadarī and a Shī'ī. Another man attacked his veracity: he often quoted Fāṭima, the wife of Hishām b. 'Urwa, as the authority for some of his traditions. The husband was annoyed and denied that he had ever met his wife; but as she was nearly forty years Ibn Isḥāq's senior it is easily credible that they often met without occasioning gossip. It is not known whether Ibn Isḥāq was compelled to leave Medina or whether he went away voluntarily. Obviously he could not have the same standing in a place that housed his chief

[1] I.S. VII. ii. p. 67.
[2] On Mūsā and Isḥāq see J. Fück, *Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq*, Frankfurt a. M. 1925, p. 28.
[3] See *Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Isḥāq . . .*, ed. Fischer, Leiden, 1896. With all those whose death-dates ranged from A.H. 27 to 138 he was in contact personally or at second hand.
[4] Wüstenfeld, II. vii, from I. al-Najjār and Fück, 30.
[5] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, II. 1008.

informants as he would hold elsewhere, and so he left for the east, stopping in Kūfa, al-Jazīra on the Tigris, and Ray, finally settling in Baghdad. While Manṣūr was at Hāshimīya he attached himself to his following and presented him with a copy of his work doubtless in the hope of a grant from the caliph. Thence he moved to Ray and then to the new capital of the empire. He died in 150 (or perhaps 151) and was buried in the cemetery of Ḥayzurāna.

THE *SĪRA*

Its precursors

It is certain that Ibn Isḥāq's biography of the prophet had no serious rival; but it was preceded by several *maghāzī* books. We do not know when they were first written, though we have the names of several first-century worthies who had written notes and passed on their knowledge to the rising generation. The first of these was Abān the son of the caliph 'Uthmān.[1] He was born in *c.* 20 and took part in the campaign of Ṭalḥa and Zubayr against his father's slayers. He died about 100. The language used by al-Wāqidī in reference to Ibn al-Mughīra, 'he had nothing written down about hadith except the prophet's *maghāzī* which he had acquired from Abān', certainly implies, though it does not demand, that Ibn al-Mughīra wrote down what Abān told him. It is strange that neither Ibn Isḥāq nor al-Wāqidī should have cited this man who must have had inside knowledge of many matters that were not known to the public; possibly as a follower of Ali he preferred to ignore the son of the man the Alids regarded as a usurper. However, his name often appears in the *isnāds* of the canonical collections of hadith. (The man named in Ṭab. 2340 and I.S. iv. 29 is Abān b. 'Uthmān al-Bajalī who seems to have written a book on *maghāzī*.[2])

A man of much greater importance was 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām (23–94), a cousin of the prophet. 'Urwa's mother was Abū Bakr's daughter Asmā'. He and his brother 'Abdullāh were in close contact with the prophet's widow 'Ā'isha. He was a recognized authority on the early history of Islam, and the Umayyad caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik applied to him when he needed information on that subject. Again, it is uncertain whether he wrote a book, but the many traditions that are handed down in his name by I.I. and other writers justify the assertion that he was the founder of Islamic history.[3] Though he is the earliest writer whose notes have come down to us, I have not translated the passages from Ṭab. which reproduce them because they do not seem to add anything of importance to the *Sīra*. They form part of a letter which 'Urwa wrote to 'Abdu l-Malik who wanted to have accurate knowledge about the prophet's career.[4] Much of his material rests on the statements of his aunt 'Ā'isha.

[1] E. Sachau, I.S. iv. xxiii. f.
[2] Fück, 8, n. 27; and see J. Horovitz in *Islamic Culture*, 1927, 178.
[3] I.S., Ṭab., and Bu. are heavily indebted to him.
[4] See Ṭ. i. 1180, 1224, 1234, 1284, 1634, 1654, 1670, 1770; iii. 2438. Cf. I.H. 754.

Like I.I. he was given to inserting poetry in his traditions and justified the habit by the example of 'Ā'isha who uttered verses on every subject that presented itself.[1] He was a friend of the erotic poet 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, but thought very little of the prophet's poet Ḥassān b. Thābit.[2]

Of Shurāḥbīl b. Sa'd, a freedman, presumably of South Arabian origin, little is known beyond the fact that he wrote a *maghāzī* book. I.I. would have none of him, and he is seldom quoted by other writers. He died in 123, and as he is said to have known Ali he must have died a centenarian. He reported traditions from some of the prophet's companions, and Mūsā b. 'Uqba[3] records that he wrote lists of the names of the emigrants and the combatants at Badr and Uḥud. In his old age he was discredited because he blackmailed his visitors: if they did not give him anything he would say that their fathers were not present at Badr! Poverty and extreme age made him cantankerous. The victims of his spleen doubted his veracity, though those best qualified to judge regarded him as an authority.

Another important Tābi' was Wahb b. Munabbih (34–110), a Yemenite of Persian origin. His father probably was a Jew. He is notorious for his interest in, and knowledge of, Jewish and Christian scriptures and traditions; and though much that was invented later was fathered on him, his *K. al-Mubtada'* lies behind the Muslim version of the lives of the prophets and other biblical stories. With his books on the legendary history of the Yemen, on aphorisms, on free will, and other matters preserved in part in I.H.'s *K. al-Fijār* we are not concerned; but the statement of Ḥājjī Khalīfa that he collected the *maghāzī* is now confirmed by the discovery of a fragment of the lost work on papyri written in 228. Unfortunately this fragment tells us little that is new; nevertheless, its importance is great because it proves that at the end of the first century, or some years before A.H. 100, the main facts about the prophet's life were written down much as we have them in the later works. Further it shows that, like the other early traditionists, he had little or no use for *isnāds*. Miss Gertrud Mélamède[4] has compared the account of the meeting at 'Aqaba (cf. i. H. 288, 293, 299) with the literature on the subject and her criticism, literary and historical, leads her to some important conclusions which do not concern us here. An interesting detail is that Muhammad speaking to 'Abbās calls Aus and Khazraj 'my and your maternal uncles'. 'Abbās throughout runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds.

A little later comes 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda al-Anṣārī (d. *c.* 120). He lectured in Damascus on the campaigns of the prophet and the exploits of his companions and seems to have committed his lectures to writing. He too is quite inconsistent in naming his authorities: sometimes he gives an *isnād*, more often he does not. He returned to Medina to continue his work, and I.I. attended his lectures there. Occasionally he inserted verses in his narrative, and sometimes gave his own opinion.

[1] Fischer, *Metrik*, 46.
[2] Horovitz, op. cit. 151.
[3] I. Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, x. 367.
[4] *Le Monde Oriental*, xxviii. 1934, 17–38.

Muhammad b. Muslim . . . b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (51–124) was a member of a distinguished Meccan family. He attached himself to 'Abdu'l-Malik, Hishām, and Yazīd, and wrote down some traditions for his princely pupils. He was the forerunner of the later traditionists in that he took extraordinary pains to interrogate people, young and old of both sexes, who might possess knowledge of the past. He left a history of his own family and a book of *maghāzī*. Most of his traditional lore survived in the notes of his lectures that his pupils wrote down quoting his authority for the traditions they record. He spent some years in Medina as a young man. I.I. met him when he came south on pilgrimage and he is often named as an authority in the *Sīra*. He was the most important traditionist of his generation, and his influence is to be seen in all collections of canonical hadīth. (See further J. Horovitz, *Islamic Culture*, ii. 33 ff.)

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm (d. 130 or 135) was one of I.I.'s most important informants. His father had been ordered by 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz to write a collection of prophetic hadīth, especially what 'Amra d. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān said. This latter was a friend of 'Ā'isha and she was the seat of this Abū Bakr. Already in the time of his son 'Abdullāh these writings had been lost. Though we have no record of a book by 'Abdullāh, its substance probably once existed in the *maghāzī* of his nephew 'Abdu'l-Malik. As one would expect, the *isnād* is a matter of indifference to 'Abdullāh: he stood too near the events among many who knew of them to need to cite his authorities. Ṭab. (i. 1837) contains an interesting note on how I.I. got his information. 'Abdullāh told his wife Fāṭima to tell him what he knew on 'Amra's authority.

Abū'l-Aswad Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Nawfal (d. 131 or 137) left a *maghāzī* book which sticks closely to 'Urwa's tradition.[1]

Contemporary with our author in the third generation was Mūsā b. 'Uqba (*c.* 55–141), a freedman of the family of al-Zubayr. A fragment of his work has survived and was published by Sachau in 1904.[2] As it once rivalled I.I.'s work and is one of our earliest witnesses to the *Sīra* I have given a translation of the extant traditions.[3] Although Mālik b. Anas, al-Shāfi'ī, and Ahmad b. Hanbal—an impressive trio—asserted that his book was the most important and trustworthy of all, posterity evidently did not share their opinion or more of his work would have survived.[4] I.I. never mentions him. One cannot escape the conviction that petty professional jealousy was as rife in those days as now, and that scholars deliberately refrained from giving their predecessors credit for their achievements. Mūsā leaned heavily on al-Zuhrī. He seems to have carried further the process of idealizing the prophet.[5] He is freely quoted by al-Wāqidī, I. Sa'd, al-Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, and I. Sayyidu'l-Nās. He gave

[1] See Fück, 12.
[2] *S.B.B.A.* xi.
[3] n.i. where some doubts about the authenticity of some of them are raised.
[4] Goldziher, *M.S.* ii. 207, shows that it was in circulation as late at the end of the 9th century A.H.
[5] Fück, 12.

lists of those who went to Abyssinia and fought at Badr. The latter Mālik regarded as authoritative. He generally gives an *isnād*, though it is not always clear whether he is relying on a written or an oral source. Once at least he refers to a mass of records left by Ibn 'Abbās (I.S. v. 216). Occasionally he quotes poems.

Apart from the fragment of Wahb b. Munabbih's *maghāzī* the Berlin MS., if it is authentic, is the oldest piece of historical literature in Arabic in existence, and if only for that reason deserves more than a passing notice here. It is of importance also because it carries back some of the traditions in Bukhārī (d. 256) more than a century.

Other *maghāzī* works were produced in Iraq, Syria, and the Yaman during the second century, but none of them is likely to have influenced I.I. and they can safely be disregarded.[1] What is of significance is the great interest in the life of the prophet that was shown everywhere during this century. But no book known to the Arabs or to us can compare in comprehensiveness, arrangement, or systematic treatment, with I.I.'s work which will now be discussed.

The Sīra

The titles *The Book of Campaigns* or *The Book of Campaigns and (the prophet's) Biography* or *The Book of the Biography and the Beginning and the Campaigns*[2] are all to be met with in the citations of Arabic authors. Al-Bakkā'ī, a pupil of I.I., made two copies of the whole book, one of which must have reached I.H. (d. 218) whose text, abbreviated, annotated, and sometimes altered, is the main source of our knowledge of the original work. A good deal more of it can be recovered from other sources.[3] The principles underlying I.H.'s revision are set out in his Introduction. Sachau[4] suggests that the copy used by Ṭ. was made when I.I. was in Ray by Salama b. Faḍl al-Abrash al-Anṣārī, because Ṭ. quotes I.I. according to I. Faḍl's *riwāya*. A third copy was made by Yūnus b. Bukayr in Ray. This was used by I. al-Athīr in his *Usdu'l-Ghāba*. A copy of part of this recension exists in the Qarawīyīn mosque at Fez. The text, which contains some important additions to the received text, I hope to publish shortly. A fourth copy was that of the Syrian Hārūn b. Abū'Īsā. These last two copies were used by I. Sa'd.[5] Lastly the *Fihrist* mentions the edition of al-Nufaylī (d. 234).

It must not be supposed that the book ever existed in three separate parts: ancient legends, Muhammad's early life and mission, and his wars. These are simply sections of the book which contained I.I.'s lectures.

For the *Mubtada'* (*Mabda'*) we must go to Ṭ.'s *Tafsīr* and *History*. The first quotation from it in the latter[6] runs thus: 'I. Ḥamīd said, Salama b. al-Faḍl told us that I.I. said: "The first thing that God created was light

[1] Fück, 12.
[2] n.i.
[3] III. ii. 51, lines 17–19.
[4] See Nöldeke, *Gesch. Qor.* 129, 221.
[5] I.S. III. xxv.
[6] p. 9.

and darkness. Then He separated them and made the darkness night, black exceeding dark; and He made the light day, bright and luminous."[1] From this it is clear that 'Genesis' is the meaning of the title of the first section of the book. I.H. skipped all the intervening pages and began with Abraham, the presumed ancestor of Muhammad. Al-Azraqī quotes some passages from the missing section in his *Akhbār Makka* and a few extracts are given by al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir.[1]

The *Mubtadaʾ* in so far as it lies outside I.H.'s recension is not our concern, though it is to be hoped that one day a scholar will collect and publish a text of it from the sources that survive so that I.I.'s work can be read in its entirety as its importance warrants. In this section I.I. relied on Jewish and Christian informants and on the book of Abū ʿAbdullāh Wahb b. Munabbih (34–110 or 114) known as *K. al-Mubtadaʾ* and also *al-Isrāʾīliyyāt* of which the original title was *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*. To him he owed the history of the past from Adam to Jesus[2] and also the South Arabian legends, some of which I.H. has retained. This man also wrote a *maghāzī* book, and a fragment of it has survived.[3] I.I. cites him by name only once.[4] It is natural that a book about Muhammad, 'the seal of the prophets', should give an account of the history of the early prophets, but the history, or legends, of South Arabia demand another explanation. As Goldziher showed long ago,[5] it was in the second half of the first century that the antagonism of north and south, i.e. Quraysh and the Anṣār of Medina, first showed itself in literature. The Anṣār, proud of their southern origin and of their support of the prophet when the Quraysh rejected him, smarted under the injustice of their rulers and the northerner's claim to superiority. One of the ways in which their resentment manifested itself was in the glorification of Himyar's great past. I.I. as a loyal son of Medina shared the feelings of his patrons and recounted the achievements of their forefathers, and I.H., himself of southern descent, retained in the *Sīra* as much of the original work as he thought desirable. To this accident that I.H. was a Himyarī we owe the extracts from stories of the old South Arabian kings. I.H. devoted a separate book to the subject, the *K. al-Tījān fī muʿrifati mulūki l-zamān* (*fī akhbāri Qaḥṭān*).[6]

The second section of the book which is often called *al-Mabʿaṯ* begins with the birth of the prophet and ends when the first fighting from his base in Medina takes place. The impression one gets from this section is of hazy memories; the stories have lost their freshness and have nothing of that vivid and sometimes dramatic detail which make the *maghāzī* stories—especially in al-Wāqidī—so full of interest and excitement. Thus while the Medinan period is well documented, and events there are chronologically arranged, no such accuracy, indeed no such attempt at it, can be

[1] ed. and tr. G. Huart, *Publ. de l'école des lang. or. viv.*, s. iv, vol. xvi, i–vi, Paris, 1899–1919.
[2] A summary of the contents is given in T. I.
[3] See *E.I.*
[4] *M.S.* i. 89–91.
[5] p. 20.
[6] Hyderabad, 1347–

claimed for the Meccan period. We do not know Muhammad's age when he first came forth publicly as a religious reformer: some say he was forty, others say forty-five; we do not know his precise relation to the Banū Najjār; the poverty of his childhood ill fits the assertion that he belonged to the principal family in Mecca. The story of those years is filled out with legends and stories of miraculous events which inevitably undermine the modern reader's confidence in the history of this period as a whole. In this section particularly, though not exclusively, I.I. writes historical introductions to his paragraphs. A good example is his foreword to the account of the persecution the prophet endured at the hands of the Meccans: 'When the Quraysh became distressed by the trouble caused by the enmity between them and the apostle and those of their people who accepted his teaching, they stirred up against him foolish fellows who called him a liar, insulted him, and accused him of being a poet, a sorcerer, a diviner, and of being possessed. However the apostle continued to proclaim what God had ordered him to proclaim, concealing nothing, and exciting their dislike by contemning their religion, forsaking their idols, and leaving them to their unbelief'.[1] This is not a statement resting on tradition, but a concise summary of the circumstances that are plainly indicated by certain passages of the Qurʾān which deal with this period.

Of the *Maghāzī* history little need be said. For the most part the stories rest on the account of eyewitnesses and have every right to be regarded as trustworthy.

Characteristics

The opinions of Muslim critics on I.I.'s trustworthiness deserve a special paragraph; but here something may be said of the author's caution and his fairness. A word that very frequently precedes a statement is *zaʿamū* or *zuʿimū*, 'he (they) alleged'. It carries with it more than a hint that the statement may not be true, though on the other hand it may be sound. Thus there are fourteen or more occurrences of the caveat from p. 87 to 148 alone, besides a frequent note that only God knows whether a particular statement is true or not. Another indication of reserve if not scepticism underlies the expression *fī mā dhukira lī*, as in the story of the jinn who listened to Muhammad as he prayed; Muhammad's order to ʿUmar to kill Suwayd; one of Gabriel's visits to Muhammad; the reward of two martyrs to the man killed by a woman.[2] An expression of similar import is *fī mā balaghanī*.[3]

Very seldom does I.I. make any comment of his own on the traditions he records apart from the mental reservation implied in these terms. Therefore when he does express an opinion it is the more significant. In his account of the night journey to Jerusalem and the ascent into heaven

[1] p. 183; see also 185, 330 *et passim*
[2] pp. 281, 308, 317, 308
[3] pp. 212, 215 *et passim*. Extreme caution introduces the legends of the light at the prophet's birth, 102

he allows us to see the working of his mind. The story is everywhere hedged with reservations and terms suggesting caution to the reader. He begins with a tale which he says has reached him (*balaghani*) from several narrators and he has pieced them together from the stories those people heard (*dhukira*). The whole subject is a searching test of men's faith in which those endowed with intelligence are specially concerned. It was certainly an act of God, but exactly what happened we do not know. This opinion of his is most delicately and skilfully expressed in the words *hayfa ari'a*, 'how God wished to show him'. I. Mas'ūd's words are prefaced by *fī mā balaghani 'anhu*. There is nothing in the story to indicate that it is a vision. Al-Ḥasan's version is much more definite, for he asserts that when Muḥammad returned to Mecca he told the Quraysh that he had been to Jerusalem and back during the night and that this so strained the credulity of some of the Muslims that they gave up their faith in his revelations although he was able to give an accurate description of Jerusalem. It is therefore most surprising that al-Ḥasan should end his story by quoting Sūra 13. 62 'We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men' in this context. The whole point of al-Ḥasan's story is thereby undermined, for if the experience was visionary, then there was nothing at all incredible about it. Then follows 'Ā'isha's statement, reported by one of her father's family, that it was only the apostle's spirit that was transported; his body remained where it was in Mecca. Another tradition by Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān bears the same meaning. The fact that he had been asked whether it was a physical or a dream journey shows that the subject was debated before I.I.'s day. Here I.I. makes a profound observation which in effect means that it was immaterial whether the experience was real or visionary because it came from God; and just as Abraham made every preparation to slay his son Isaac in consequence of what he had seen in a dream[1] because he recognized no difference between a divine command given at night during sleep and an order given by day when he was awake, so the apostle's vision was just as real as if it had been an actual physical experience. Only God knows what happened, but the apostle did see what he said he saw and whether he was awake or asleep the result is the same.

The description of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus which purports to quote Muḥammad's words is prefaced by *zu'ima'l-Zuhrī*, not, as often, by the ordinary term *ḥaddathanī*. Now as al-Zuhrī and I.I. knew each other well and must have met quite often, we must undoubtedly infer from the fact that I.I. deliberately substituted the verb of suspicion for the ordinary term used in traditional matters that he means us to take this tradition with a grain of salt.

It is a pity that the excellent impression that one gets of the author's intelligence and religious perception should be marred by the concluding paragraph[2] on this subject of the ascent into heaven which incidentally has had far-reaching results on European literature through the Divine

[1] sarabu.

[2] p. 269.

Comedy.[1] It rules out absolutely any but a physical experience and ought to have been recorded with its cautionary note before I.I. made his own observations. Possibly the reason for its being out of place is that it is an excerpt from his lecture notes; but whatever the explanation, it mars the effect of his statement of the evidence.[2]

The phrase 'God knows best' speaks for itself and needs no comment. It is sometimes used when the author records two conflicting traditions and is unable to say which is correct. Another indication of the author's scrupulousness is the phrase 'God preserve me from attributing to the apostle words which he did not use'. His report of Muḥammad's first public address at Medina and his order to each of his companions to adopt another as a brother are prefaced by these words and hedged by *fī mā balaghani*.[3]

The author does not often give us rival versions of traditions from Medina and Mecca; thus the account of 'Umar's conversion is interesting.[4] It illustrates the thoroughness of our author in his search for information about the early days of the prophet's ministry. The first account he says is based on what the traditionists of Medina said: 'Umar was brutal to his sister and brother-in-law who had accepted Islam, but feeling some remorse when he saw blood on her face from the violent blow he had dealt her, and impressed by her constancy, he demanded the leaf of the Qur'ān that she was reading. Having read it he at once accepted it as inspired and went to the prophet to proclaim his allegiance.

The Meccan, 'Abdullāh b. Abū Najīḥ, on the authority of two named companions or an anonymous narrator, gives another version in 'Umar's own words to the effect that his conversion was due to his hearing the prophet recite the Qur'ān while praying at the Ka'ba one night. In both narratives it was the Qur'ān which caused his conversion. In the first version 'Umar was affected by the bearing of his sister and secured a part of the Qur'ān to read himself; in the second he was affected by the private devotions of the prophet. The first story is prefaced by *fī mā balaghani*, but this is cancelled as it were by the express statement that it was the current belief of the people of Medina. I.I. concludes by saying that only God knows what really happened.

A rather difficult problem in literary and historical criticism is posed by the rival traditions[5] collected by the indefatigable T. from two of I.I.'s pupils, Yūnus b. Bukayr and Salama b. al-Faḍl, the latter supported by another pupil of I.I.'s named Ali b. Mujāhid. The first had attended his lectures in Kūfa; the other two his lectures at Rayy. All three claim that they transmit what I.I. told them on the authority of a certain 'Affīf. I do not know of a parallel in I.I.'s work to a contradiction resting on the authority of the same original narrator. Different traditions from different *isnāds* from different sources are to be expected in any history; but here the same

[1] See M. Asin, *La escatología musulmana*.

[2] Can it be that I.H. has tampered with the text here?

[3] pp. 340 and 344.

[4] pp. 324–9.

[5] T. i. 1161. 8–1163. 2.

[illegible] is unrelated to the [illegible] for confirming traditions such as are to be found in the later collections of hadith.

The first tradition is suspect because it requires us to believe that from the earliest days of his ministry before he had any following apart from a wife and a young nephew Muhammad proclaimed the Arab conquest of the Byzantine and Persian empires in the Near East. Nothing in his life gives the slightest support to this claim, though it was to be made good soon after [illegible] death.

The second contains no reference to later conquests and may be credited. It definitely fixes the scene at Minā, which is about three miles distant from Mecca. The first account suggests, though it does not assert that the prophet was in Mecca, as he turned to face the Ka'ba when he prayed. Would he have done this had he been in Minā? Would he not rather have turned in the direction of Jerusalem, his first *qibla*? I.H. expressly affirms elsewhere[1] that while he was in Mecca Muhammad when praying turned his face towards Syria. The second account says nothing about the direction of his prayer. On the whole then, the second tradition as transmitted by Salama must be given the preference.

It is quite easy to see why I.H. a century later omitted both traditions: they were offensive to the ruling house of 'Abbās as they drew attention to an unhappy past which the rulers, now champions of orthodoxy, would rather have forgotten. But why did I.I. report them both, if in fact he did? On the whole it seems most reasonable to suppose that he first dictated the tradition which Yūnus heard in Kūfa, notorious for its attachment to the Alid party, and that he afterwards dropped it and substituted the second version which Salama heard in Ray some years later before he went on to Baghdad. Ṭ. with his usual thoroughness reported both traditions. The only alternative is to suppose that the reference to the conquests is an interpolation.

There is a subtle difference between these two versions which ought not to be overlooked. At first sight it would seem to be a mere detail that in the first tradition 'Alī wished that he had been the *third* to pray the Muslim prayer. Now there were already three: Muhammad, Khadīja, and 'Alī. In the second tradition he wished that he had been the *fourth*. If this latter is the original form of the tradition it means simply that he wished that he had been the first man outside the prophet's family to accept Islam. But the first tradition means more than this: by claiming, as it were, Muhammad himself, from the time it means that 'Alī was the second human being and the first male to accept Islam and to stand with Khadīja at the head of all Muslims in the order of priority. This has always been the claim of the Shī'a and to this day the priority of 'Alī in this respect is hotly disputed.[2]

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Ṭ. devotes a long section to the traditional claims of 'Alī, Abū Bakr, and Zayd b. Ḥāritha, i, pp. [illegible]. G. I.H. [illegible]

[illegible]

claim to authenticity. If that is admitted it follows that either I.I. or his *riwāt* adapted it in the interest of the Alid cause. In view of the accusation of partiality towards the Shī'a which was levelled against I.I.[1] it seems probable that he himself gave a subtle twist to the tradition that had come down to him from 'Affān and afterwards played for safety.

As one would expect of a book which was written in the eighth century about a great religious reformer, miracles are accepted as a matter of course. It does not matter if a person's alleged power to work miracles makes his early sufferings and failures unintelligible, nor does it matter if

recitation of the Qur'ān itself.[2] The Near East has produced an enormous number of books on the miracles of saints and holy men and it would be strange indeed if Islam had not followed in the footsteps of its predecessors in glorifying the achievements of its great leader at the expense of his human greatness. Here we are concerned simply with the literary form of such stories, the authorities that are quoted for them, and the way in which our author deals with them. To mention a few:[3] the prophet summoned a tree to him and it stood before him. He told it to go back again and back it went. It is interesting to notice that the person for whose benefit this miracle was wrought regarded it as sorcery. The author's father, Isḥāq b. Yasār, is responsible for the tale. Another tradition from 'Amr b. al-'Ālā bayd, who claimed to have had it from Jābir b. 'Abdullāh via al-Ḥasan, is merely a *midrash* composed to explain Sūra 5. 14 where it is said that God kept the hands of Muhammad's enemies from doing him violence. The story of the throne of God shaking when the doors of heaven were opened to receive Sa'd shows how these stories grew in the telling. Mu'ādh b. Rifā'a al-Zuraqī reported on the authority of 'anyone you like among my

[illegible]

knowing that it must be Sa'd, hurried off at once to find that he had died. However, more was said on the subject. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr from 'Amra d. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān reported that 'Ā'isha met Sa'd's cousin outside Mecca and asked him why he did not show more grief for one whose arrival had shaken the very throne of God. An anonymous informant claimed to have heard from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī that the pallbearers found the corpse of this fat, heavy man unexpectedly light, and the prophet told them that there were other women besides taking the weight with them and again it is reported that the throne shook. Suhaylī has a fairly long passage on the traditions which goes to show that serious minded men did not take them seriously at all. Some scholars tried to whittle away the meaning by suggesting that the shaking of the throne was a metaphor for the joy

[1] [illegible] Wāqidī's work is a biased monograph and I.I. is an [illegible] pp. [illegible] Hawārī, Ibn Ishāq, pp. [illegible] has reviewed and discussed the [illegible] in the biography of the Ṣaḥāba.

in heaven at Sa'd's arrival: others claimed that the angelic bearers of the throne were meant. But Suhayli will have none of this. The throne is a created object and so it can move. Therefore none has the right to depart from the plain meaning of the words. Moreover, the tradition is authentic while traditions like that of al-Barā' to the effect that it was Sa'd's bed that shook are rightly ignored by the learned. He goes on to point out that al-Bukhārī accepted the tradition not only on the authority of Jābir but also on the report of a number of other companions of the prophet—a further indication of the snowball growth of the legend. S. finds it most surprising that Mālik rejected the hadith and he adds naively from the point of view of later generations that Mālik would not have it mentioned despite the soundness of its transmission and the multitude of narrators, and he adds that it may be that Mālik did not regard the tradition as sound.[1] The passage is instructive in that it shows how far I.I could go in the face of one of the most learned of his contemporaries in Medina. Posterity has sided with I.I on this matter but Mālik clearly had many on his side in the town, men who would say who is he here rather a mere which they would not report out of hand, as he did, with the weight of contemporary [illegible]

Another feature that stands out clearly from time to time is the insertion of popular stories on the Goldilocks model. For the sake of the reader I have rendered these stories in accord with modern usage, as the repetition of the same words and the same answer again and again is intolerable to the modern adult. Such stories are the stock-in-trade of the Arabian gāṣṣ and the storyteller all the world over and invariably lead up to the climax which it is the speaker's intention to withhold until he has his audience on tiptoe. A good example of such stories is the narrative of Muhammad's arrival in Medina and the invitation of one clan after another always declined with the same words.

After giving due weight to the pressure of hagiology on the writer and his leaning towards the Shī'a one must, I think, affirm that the life of Muhammad is recorded with honesty and truthfulness and, too, an impartiality which is rare in such writings. Who can read the story of al-Zubir[2] who was given his life, family, and belongings but did not want to live when the best men of his people had been slain, without admitting that here we have a true account of what actually happened? Similarly who but an impartial historian would have included verses in which the noble generous character of the Jews of the Hijaz was lauded and lamented? The scepticism of earlier writers seems to me excessive and unjustified. We have only to compare Ibn Ishāq's Life of Muhammad to see the difference between the historical and the ideal Muhammad.

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

The Poetry

Doubts and misgivings about the authenticity of the poems in the *Sīra* are expressed so often by I.H. that no reference to them need be given here. Nevertheless, one should be on one's guard against the tendency to condemn all the poetry out of hand. What I.H. says about the poetry of those who took part in the battle of Badr, whether or not it includes the verses of Hassān b. Thābit, namely "These verses (of Abū Usāma) are the most authentic of those (attributed to) the men of Badr" (p. 534), casts grave doubt on the authenticity of a large section of the poetry of the *Sīra*. Nevertheless I.I is not to be blamed for the inclusion of much that [illegible] has not yet been understood. The poems he cites on pp. 814 and 948 he got from [illegible] b. Abū Bakr. We know, too, that Mūsā b. 'Uqba cited verses.[1]

An early critic of poetry, al-Jumahī[2] (d. 231), though perhaps rather [illegible] uses which cannot fail to carry conviction. He says: "Muhammad is [illegible] on all sorts of rubbish. He was one of those learned in the biography of the [illegible] As he said "Can you see anything remaining of them?"[3] and "Only God [illegible]

Obviously at this date criticism of the poetry of the *Sīra* can be based [illegible] grounds. Some of the poetry dealing with raids and skirmishes, [illegible] boasting, and elegies seems to come from contemporary sources, and no [illegible]

[illegible] Cf. the corresponding passage in T. [illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[6] [illegible]

[7] [illegible]

[8] [illegible]

[9] [illegible]

anxiety would require us to look for such allusions. As Moreover [illegible]

in the narrative and often put into the mouths of the heroes of the hour. [illegible]

[illegible] more of the Arabs which it most delights where poetry is concerned repeated [illegible] was bad. It is more than likely that I.I. himself was conscious that all was [illegible] were into the narrative at the crucial moment (as I.I. at times does), [illegible] whole collection of verse by various 'poets'. It is as though he [illegible] about poetry and you must make your own anthology.'[1] Even so, whatever his shortcomings were, it is only fair to bear in mind that I.H. often inserts a note to the effect that the text before him contains lines or verses which have not I.I.'s authority.

[illegible] whole. Ancient poetry has suffered greatly at the hands of forgers, [illegible] poems to his name which he would be astounded to hear, and these are [illegible]

Since these words were written two theses have been written in the [illegible] these findings will not be out of place here.

[illegible] of Yusuf reads: 'Your mother was of the pure stock of Kinani's. [illegible] To [illegible] Muqaqis.'

[illegible] Qurayzah met him out, the latter long before had been partners with [illegible]

al-Hajjaj bombarded it

After a careful study of the language and style of this verse Dr 'Azzam comes to the conclusion that comparatively little of it dates from the time of the prophet [illegible]

given here. He finds that the elegy on the Anṣār (p. 893) which is attributed to Ka'b b. Zuhayr is in the same rhyme and metre as the poem of al-Akhṭal[1] which was written at the instigation of Yazīd. There we find the words 'Baseness is under the turbans of the Anṣār'. A careful com- [illegible] *Sīra* is the answer to the one in the *Aghānī*.

Abdullah b. Abū Bakr is reported to have said 'The Anṣār were respected and feared until the battle of Ḥarra; afterwards people were emboldened to attack them and they occupied a lowly place.' It is in these circumstances, not those of the prophet's companions daily increasing in power and prestige, that we must look for the background of 'You will find that none ill uses or abuses us but a baseborn who has gone astray' (p. 646).

On p. 474 a poem which I.H. attributes to Ḥassān's son, 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān, obviously dates from a later generation. 'My people are those who sheltered the prophet and believed in him when the people of the land were [illegible] and who were [illegible] with the helpers. [illegible] a speaking of the poor attitude of the people to the prophet. [illegible] in a strange language to suggest to Ḥassān. [illegible] Hence the [illegible] of the [illegible] was not be a [illegible] to one of them. A still clearer reflection of a former generation is to be found on p. [illegible] which I.H. mentioned as an Abū'l-Ṭufayl which [illegible]. These people were the prophet's helpers and they are my people to whom I return when I relate my discourse.

Dr. 'Azzam notes that in the *Sīra* there are seventy-eight poems attributed to Ḥassān, the authenticity of fifteen of them is questionable or doubtful materially. The text of the poem on p. 798 in its rival form illustrates this [illegible] which [illegible] to Ḥassān were [illegible] and additional verses interpolated. Here *T* gives only the first five verses, the *Sīra* interpolation two verses after the first line and adds two at the end. On the other hand, the last three verses in the *Sīra* are not to be found in either of the other authorities. In the *Aghānī*[2] the poem is still longer and [illegible] in the metre of [illegible] [illegible] The facts which emerge from a study of the [illegible] which mentioned these poems are

1. Ḥassān mentioned the growing numbers and influence of the Muslim refugees.

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] where the [illegible]

2. After the attack on B. al-Muṣṭaliq a quarrel arose between the Muhājirūn and Medinans about the use of a well. Abdullah b. Ubayy said [illegible] and threatened that when they got back to Medina the stronger element would drive out the weaker. The words indicated are the very words used by Ḥassān in this poem. From this it is clear that Ḥassān is expressing our sole [illegible] against the Muslims by the mouth of Abdullah b. [illegible] party.

3. [illegible] that the [illegible] about 'I also [illegible].

4. [illegible] Ḥassān with his friend. According to the [illegible] in the poem in the *Dīwān Sufyān* attached Ḥassān because he had [illegible] loss of speaking the right [illegible] I [illegible] that in the *Aghānī Sufyān* wounded Ḥassān at the instigation of the prophet because his house was the centre of disaffection against the Muslims. The other explanation of the attack on Ḥassān is [illegible] against the [illegible]. However [illegible] Ḥassān a most dangerous offence was his [illegible] against the Muslim invaders; but when he abandoned 'Ā'isha he provided the prophet with an adequate reason for punishing him severely for an offence which would not engage the sympathies of the Anṣār. Whether loyal or disaffected, they could hardly support their comrade in such a matter.

With the further modifications of the story we are not concerned [illegible] sufficient has been said to show that the poem in fact is a genuine one in downright hostility against the Muslim refugees whose prosperity had become a nuisance to Ḥassān. In this poem he says nothing at all about [illegible] the high [illegible] have disdained to [illegible] Ḥassān. The poem does not have comparison with the genuine [illegible] and T was thoroughly satisfied in discarding them.

Another specimen of the spurious poems believed on Ḥassān is to be found on p. [illegible] which belongs to a later generation. Here [illegible] the prophet [illegible] 'Men write are the people against whom poets (?) in the prophet [illegible] There are the best of all living creatures.' When we remember the sentiment with which the Anṣār in general and Ḥassān in particular felt towards their [illegible] the verse 'Take [illegible] those who come where they are angry and put not your hearts on what they withhold' is singularly inept.

Another point which [illegible] against the genuineness of poems attributed to Ḥassān is the protestations which is often given to the Anṣār. It seems to be assumed that a Ḥassān would ignore the [illegible] of his own tribe or get them in the special place in the p. [illegible] where he [illegible] that the Anṣār [illegible] long after Islam was established. A plain example of a later Anṣārī's work is given on p. 71[illegible] where the poem begins '[illegible] my people to those may [illegible] against him and

can the good old days return?' an impossible attitude for a Muslim to take during the prophet's lifetime.

Again, when Ḥassān is reported to have said 'The best of the believers have followed one another to death' (p. 799), it is sufficient to remember that practically all the prophet's principal companions survived Uḥud. But when this careless forger wrote all the best Muslims had long been dead. However we have not got to his main point which is to glorify the house of Hāshim 'They are God's near ones He sent down His wisdom upon them and among them is the purified bringer of the book' Here the Aḥlāf are the 'friends' or 'saints' of God and Muḥammad is little more than a member of their family. Divine wisdom is given to them.

These two studies lay bare the wretched language in which many of these poems are written and incidentally bring out the difficulties which a translator has to cope with when the rules of Arabic syntax and the morphology of the language are treated with scant respect. In fine it may be said that their well-documented conclusions made it abundantly clear that the judgement of the ancient critics—particularly al-Jumaḥī—is justified up to the hilt

The partial restoration of the text original

Once the original text of I.I. existed in at least fifteen *riwāyas*:[1]

1	Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, 110–84	
2	Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakkā'ī, d. 183	Kūfa
3.	'Abdullāh b. Idrīs al-Awdī, 115–92	"
4.	Yūnus b. Bukayr, d. 199	
5.	'Abda b. Sulaymān, d. 187/8	
6.	'Abīdullāh b. Numayr, 115–99	
7.	Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Umawī, 114–94	Baghdad
8.	Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, 85–170	Basra
9.	Hārūn b. Abū Jīd	Basra.
10.	Salama b. al-Fadl al-Abrash, d. 191	Ray
11.	'Alī b. Mujāhid, d. c. 180	
12.	Ibrāhīm b. al-Mukhtār	
13.	Sa'īd b. Basīr	
14.	'Uthmān b. Sāj	
15.	Muḥammad b. Salama al-Ḥarrānī, d. 191	

It has been my aim to restore so far as is now possible the text of I.I. as it left his pen or as he dictated it to his hearers, from excerpts in later texts, disregarding the *Maḥāsin* section as I.H. did and for at least one of

[1] See further A. Guillaume 'The Biography of the Prophet in Recent Research' Islamic Quarterly Review 1954

[2] Have adopted the list given by Fück in his admirable monograph p. 44, where full biographical details are to be found. The towns are those at which the individuals named heard I.I. lectures

his reasons. At first I was tempted to think that a great deal of the original had been lost—and it may well be that it has been lost—for it is clear that the scurrilous attacks on the prophet which I.H. mentions in his Introduction are not to be found anywhere. But on the whole I think it is likely that we have the greater part of what I.I. wrote. Doubtless more was said for Alī and against 'Abbās, but it is unlikely that such material would add much to our knowledge of the history of the period. Possibly to us the most interesting exclusions would be paragraphs containing information which I.I. gathered from Jews and Christians: but in all probability the *Mubtada'* contained most of such passages. Still, it is unlikely that those passages which have been allowed to remain would have excited the annoyance that some of his early critics express on this score. Ibnu'l-Kuttā' al-'Ashrī gives a warning against 'exaggerated hopes' Yāqūt had made copious extracts from it in his *Geographical Dictionary*, so interesting and so important for our knowledge of the old Arabian heathenism that the great Nöldeke expressed the hope that he would live to see the text of the lost original discovered. He did: but a collation of the original work with the excerpts made by Yāqūt shows that practically everything of value had been used and nothing of real significance was to be learned from the discovery of the mother text. However, in a text of the nature of the *Sīra* it is just possible that a twist may be given to the narrative by an editor such as I.H.

The writers from whom some of the original can be recovered are

1. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, d. 207
2. Abū'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Azraqī from his grandfather (d. c. 220)
3. Muḥammad b. Sa'd, d. 230
4. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Qutayba, d. 270 or 276
5. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, d. 279
6. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, d. 310
7. Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdullāh al-Sīrāfī, d. 368
8. Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Māwardī, d. 450
9. Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Athīr, d. 630
10. Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Tādilī known as I. al-Zayyāt, d. 627
11. Ismā'īl b. 'Umar b. Kathīr d. 774
12. Abū'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, d. 852; 449.

For our purpose some of these has the importance of T. whose text rests on the *riwāya* of Salama and Yūnus b. Bukayr. Besides the important textual variants which will be found in the translation from time to time he is the source of reports from I.I. the prophet's temporary concession to polytheism at Mecca (1190 f.) and the capture of 'Abbās at Badr (744 f.).

1. al-Wāqidī. Only the *Maghāzī* has survived from the very large number of his writings. A third of it was published by von Kremer in 1856 from a poor manuscript and until the work has been edited its value

appears to accurately contained. The abridged translation by Wellhausen[1] gives the reader all the salient facts, but has omitted of representing [illegible] facts by pointed deflections on the text which call for explanation. Wagner[illegible] [illegible] J. among his mechanism. The reason for this [illegible] is that he did not want to refer to a man who already enjoyed a great reputation as an authority on maghāzī and to set a seam that his own book was a mere amplification of his predecessor's. It is by no means certain that he made use of I.I.'s book, or traditional lore, for he quoted his authorities, e.g. al-Zuhrī, Mūsā ibn ʿUqba, others, directly. On the other hand, he does not historic I.I. of whom he spoke warmly as a chronicler genealogist and traditionist, who transmitted poetry and was an indefatigable searcher of tradition, a man to be trusted.[2]

[illegible] believes that actually Wāqidī is not a writer from whom we the primary [illegible] thereof. Not until his *Maghāzī* has been published and studied as it [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] former prophets, Muhammad's childhood, his mission, the hijra, and his [illegible] much more to say on some matters than I [illegible] e.g. heresy and orthodoxy, and the prophet's last illness, where he shows an interest as pre-Islamic Arabian. For the Maghāzī Wāqidī is his main authority. The *Tabaqāt* deals with the prophet's companions and the transmitters of traditions, including the Ahl al-ʿ.[3]

4. I. Qutayba's *K. al-Maʿārif* contains a few short and unique statements.

5. Al-Bakrī's *Farīda*. Annals which were lost to our knowledge. De Goeje's making given valuable substances. "The lost text" which De Goeje, followed by Nöldeke, [illegible] in the *Sīra* would never [illegible]

[1] An edition from one MS. in the B.M. is being prepared by my colleague Mr. I. M. B. Jones.

[2] Muhammad in Medina, Berlin, 1882. [3] T. iii. 314.

[illegible]

[illegible] p. 16. [illegible] G.G. i. 194.

have found a place there as they obviously belong to I.I.'s lost book on *fiqh*. They deal with the question of how much water a man may retain on his land before he lets it flow down to his neighbour's ground. The last five citations belong to the age of the caliphs and need not concern us.

[illegible] lend support to T.'s version, and once at least a citation proves that the traditions was not preserved orally because the variant readings could only have come about through a transfer of a dot from the first to the second letter with the consequent misreading of the third. The citations are brief and concise: they tell all the truth that the writer needed for his purpose but not the whole truth, which would have been irrelevant.

[illegible]

part of the *Mabdaʾ* from his *Tafsīr*. Where his variants are merely stylistic and do not affect the sense of the passage I have ignored them. Practically all of them will be found in the footnotes to the Leyden edition. He was familiar with four of the recensions, numbers 4, 7, 9, and 10 on the list [illegible]

thus that of Hishām b. Muhammad[1] [al-Kalbī d. 204 or 206]. I.H. he ignores altogether and he omits a good deal of the poetry now in the *Sīra*. Whether his selection was governed by taste, whether he thought some of it [illegible]

He often gives the *isnād* which is lacking in I.I. (cf. 1794 12). On occasion at least (cf. W. 422 with T. 1271) it looks as if the narrative has been deliberately recast. T. frequently omits the *tayliya* and *tardiya* as ancient writers do.[2] I.H. omits Kaʿb's poem and the mention of its pro-

[illegible]

9. I. al-Athīr in his *Kāmil* is prone to throw his authorities together and produce a smooth running account from the sum of what they all [illegible]

quotes Ibn Bukayr where he offers what is in effect the same stories in different words. I propose to devote a special study to this *riwāya*.

[1] G.G. ii. 139.

[illegible] G.G. i. 14.

[illegible]

The Ahlu'l-sufiyah

[illegible]

[illegible] stated that he further included I.I.'s hadith in his *Musnad*, but refused to [illegible] apply almost exclusively to his last work, the *Sunan*.

[illegible] ally neutral and lastly, when the issue was no longer in doubt, a professed Muslim. Obviously since no attempt is made to conceal or [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] good, and weak, puts I.I. in the second category. To anyone with an historical sense this was a monstrous injustice, but it must be remembered [illegible] than its relevance, and provided that the chain of guarantors was [illegible]

[illegible] that of I. Sayyidi'l-Nas in his *Uyun al-Athar fi fununi'l-maghazi wa'l-shama'il wa'l-siyar*. He collected all the references to our subject that he could find, both favourable and unfavourable, and then [illegible] [illegible] I.I. were: 'The best informed man about the [illegible] in Medina in [illegible]

Sha'bu, Ibn-al-Hajjaj: Trusted in traditions, the seat of truthfulness because of his memory.

[illegible] some of the Medinans suspected him or spoke disparagingly of him [illegible] traditionists tested him and found him truthful. When he reminded Dubayna of Malik's doctrine of I.I. he denied that it referred to him

I. al-Madini: Apostolic traditions originally lay with 6 men; then it became the property of 12, of whom I.I.

al-Shafi'i: He who wants to study the highest doctrine must consult I.I. [illegible]

As I.I. died in 30 this was impossible

Abd Mu'awiya: A great memory; others modelled their traditions to his memory for safe keeping.

al-Bukhari: Al-Zuhri used to get his knowledge of the maghazi from I.I.

Abdallah b. Idris al-Audi: was amazed at his learning and other good lists.

Malik: He was attacked for reasons which had nothing to do with tradition.

Yazid b. Hirun: Were there a superior relator of traditions it would be I.I.

Ali b. al-Madini: His standard are sound. He had a great repertoire in Medina. Hisham b. 'Urwa's objection to him is no argument against him. He was asked later opinion to the latter's wife when he was a young man. His veracity in hadith is self-evident. I know only of two that are rejected as unsupported, which no other writer reported.

Yahya b. Ma'in: Firm in tradition.

Ahmad b. Hanbal: Excellent in tradition.

(b) The writer then goes on to state all that has been said against I.I. Omitting details of little significance we are left with the following charges which I. Sayyidu'l-Nas goes on to discuss and refute. Muhammad b. Abdullah b. Numayr said that when I.I. reported what he had heard from well-known persons his traditions were good and true, but he sometimes reported worthless sayings from unknown people. Yahya b. al-Qattan would never quote him. Ahmad b. Hanbal quoted him with approval, and when it was remarked how excellent the stories (*qisas*) were he smiled in surprise. His son admitted that Ahmad incorporated many of I.I.'s traditions in his *Musnad*, but he never paid heed to them. When he was asked if his father regarded him as an authority on what a Muslim must or must not do he replied that he did not. He himself would not accept a [illegible] gathered from a number of people without indicating who had contributed its separate parts. I. al-Madini said that at times he was 'fairly good'. Al-Maymuni reported that I. Ma'in (156–233) said he was 'weak', but others denied that he said so. Al-Duri said he was trustworthy but not to be used [illegible] strong. Al-Dawraqi said that a tradition from I.I. on the authority of his father was no legal proof; it could be used only to confirm what was already held to be binding. Yahya b. Sa'id said that though he knew I.I. in Kufa he abandoned him intentionally and never wrote down traditions on his authority. Abu Da'ud al-Tayalisi (131–203) reported that Hammad b. Salama said that unless necessity demanded it he would not hand on a tradition from I.I. When Malik b. Anas mentioned him he said, 'he is one of the antichrists'. When Hisham b. 'Urwa was told that I.I. reported [illegible]

When Abdallah b. Ahmad told his father of this he said that this was not to be held against I.I. He thought that he might well have reserved permission to interview her, but he did not know. He added that Malik was a liar. I. [illegible] said that he talked to Malik about the Maghazi and said: 'I heard this' but he was then surprised and he said: 'We drove him from Medina.' Malik b. Abdallah said that he criticized lectures of his; he wished to free his hair. When he mentioned traditions about the divine attributes he left him and never went back. On another occasion he said that when he left him he had attended twelve lectures of his in Rey.

Al-Mufaddal b. Ghassan said that he was present when Yazid b. Hirun began relating traditions in al-Ray, where a number of Muslims were listening. When he mentioned I.I. they withdrew saying: 'Don't tell us anything about he said. We know better than he.' Yazid went among them, but they would not listen and so he withdrew.

Abu [illegible] said that he heard Ahmad b. Hanbal say that 'I. was a man with a love of traditions, so that he took other men's writings and incorporated them in his work.' Abu Abdallah said that he preferred I. to Musa b. [illegible] al-Bakrawi. Ahmad said that he used to relate traditions on hearsay from a companion without intermediaries; [illegible] he said, 'I'll be back when there is a tradition he said.' A. said: 'and when that was not so he said: 'A said.'

Abu Abdallah said that I.I. came to Baghdad and paid no attention to those who studied hadith from al-Malik and others among [illegible] but he was an authority. Al-Fallas (d. 249) said that after being with Wahb b. Jarir studying before him the maghazi book which his father had got from I. we met Yahya b. Qattan to whom we said that we had brought a pack of lies from him.

Ahmad b. Hanbal said that in maghazi and such matters when I.I. said could be written down; but in legal matters further confirmation was necessary. In spite of the large number of traditions without a proper [illegible] he thought highly of him as long as he said, 'I informed me', and 'I heard'. I. Ma'in did not like to see him as an authority in legal matters. Abu Hatim said that he was weak in traditions and [illegible] Khalid what made him think that I.I. was a liar he said that Malik swore that he was said he gave us his woman [illegible] The latter's reason was that he reported traditions from his wife Fatima.

Abu Bakr al-Khatib said that some authorities accepted his traditions in preference to legal pronouncements of his critics who said that, [illegible] to hold the view that man had free will, and that his credit was defective. As for his traditions, it could not be denied.

Al-Bukhari quoted him as an authority and Muslim [illegible] people disputed about him. As to the tradition from Fātima, al-Khatib gave us an isnād running back through I.I. and Fātima to Asmā' d. Abū Bakr: "I heard a woman questioning the prophet and saying, "I have a rival wife and I pretend to be satisfied with what my husband has not in fact given me in order to anger her." He answered, "He who affects to be satisfied with what he has not been given is like one who does two false garments." Abū'l-Hasan said that this was the tradition from Fātima which injured I.I.'s reputation, so that her husband Hishām called him a liar. Mālik followed him and others imitated them. However, there are other traditions on her authority.

One cannot but admire the way in which I. Sayyidi'l-Nās discounts [illegible] the matter and shows what little substance there is in them. Though, like the [illegible] seem to have furnished their traditions with isnāds which would have met the rigorous demands of later generations who were familiar with a whole [illegible] of doubtful which, by omitting a link in the chain or by citing the original [illegible] shows. Thus he said in effect that though I.I.'s traditions at times lack complete documentation there is no question of his truthfulness in the [illegible] language, they are called in question little alleged and then nothing [illegible] with the Sīra. Again, what if Mālik b. Ibrāhīm did slander his [illegible] so what he says is of little significance.

Yazīd's story that the Medinans would not listen to traditions on I.I.'s [illegible] errors of the Medinans reminds us the foregoing account. Abū'l-[illegible]

As to Nasā'ī's accusation that he related false hadīth on the authority of unknown persons, even if his trustworthiness and honesty were not a matter of tradition, suspicion would be divided between him and his [illegible] and others whose hadīth differ greatly in [illegible]

[illegible] coming from known people is accepted. Sufyān b. 'Uyayna gave up Jarīr [illegible] he narrated traditions on his authority. She'ba related many traditions [illegible] him and others who were stigmatized as 'weak'.

[illegible] downright lie and pure invention. It is quite wrong to say such a thing of [illegible] few acceptable authorities Yahyā b. Sa'īd probably blindly [illegible] rejection.

[illegible] it not for the favourable verdict and praise that the learned gave him. [illegible]

stories, since but a few attacks on a man's good faith, explicit or not, are enough to destroy the reputation of one whose former circumstances are not known when an impartial critic has any doubt him justice.

In his book about trustworthy narrators Abū Ḥātim said that the two men who attacked I.I. were Hishām and Mālik. The former stated that he had heard traditions from Fīrūz. But what he said does not impugn men's veracity in hadīth, for 'followers' Bint al-Ashraf and Asmā' heard 'Ā'isha's voice without seeing her. Similarly I.I. used to hear Fāṭima when the curtain was let down between them. As for Mālik, what he said was momentary and afterwards he did him justice. Nobody in the Ḥijāz knew more about genealogies and wars than I.I., and he used to say that Mālik was a freed slave of Abū Aṭīq while Mālik alleged that he was a full member of the tribe so that there was bad feeling between them; and when Mālik compiled the *Muwaṭṭa'* I.I. said, 'Bring it to me for I am its veterinary surgeon.' Hearing of this Mālik said 'He is an antichrist' he reports traditions on the authority of the Jews. The quarrel lasted until I.I. decided to go to Iraq. Then they were reconciled and Mālik gave him 30 dīnārs and built his date crop as a parting gift. Mālik did not intend to bring him into ill favour as a traditionist all that he disliked was his following the Jews who had become Muslims and learning the story of Khaybar and Qurayẓa and al-Naḍīr and similar (otherwise) unattested happenings from their fathers. In his *Muwaṭṭa'* I.I. used to learn from them but without necessarily asserting that their report was the truth. Mālik himself only relied on trustworthy truthful men.

The author ends by remarking that I.I. was not the originator of the challenge to Mālik's Arab ancestry because al-Kalbī and others had said the same thing.[1]

The Translation

I have endeavoured to follow the text as closely as possible without sacrificing English idiom. In rendering poetry I have tried to give the sense without making any attempt at versifying, the only exception being 'doggerel and ag' In these cases it seemed that it was fair to reproduce doggerel by doggerel and to try to put poor rhymes into rhymes that could not be worse. Inevitably some exactness is lost but the general sense and tone are more faithfully reproduced in this way.

The book is very long and I have made a few cuts where no loss can result e.g. I.H. a recurring formula 'This verse occurs in an ode of his' I have excluded because it is obvious that the line, which is generally one of his *shawāhid*, cannot have stood by itself. Again I have shortened dialogues in oratio recta into indirect speech in accordance with English practice unless the pronouns verbs of the speaker seemed called for naturally.

[illegible]

or are in themselves important. Lastly I have omitted genealogical formulae after the first mention of the people concerned.

My predecessors in translating the *Sīra* have made many mistakes and I cannot hope to have escaped all the pitfalls. Of Weil's translation, now nearly a century old be it remembered, Nöldeke wrote 'Die Übersetzung von G. Weil. Stumpf, 1864 ist ein. und unrichtig, und noch philologisch noch mehr geringend. Die grossen Widrigkeiten des Werkes würde eine neue Übersetzung rechtfertigen' while Wellhausen's translation of al-Wāqidī evades the difficulties of the text by silence. The poetry of the *Sīra* as Nöldeke said long ago of the poetry in Badr, 'is not easy to translate because of its many synonyms the superficial commentary of Abū Dharr is no help at all'.[2]

The Text

I have followed the pagination of the excellent *Corpus scriptorum* of Wüstenfeld's edition 1858–60 but the text I have actually used is the Cairo edition of 1355 917 produced in four parts by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, and 'Abdu'l-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī which prints at the bottom of the page most of the notes from Abū Dharr and Suhaylī that W. relegated to the second volume of his cheaper admirable edition. For this reason it is much easier to use and its fine bold type is kind to one's eyes. When I have had occasion to refer to differences between the texts they are marked C and W.

THE EDITOR IBN HISHĀM

Abū'l-Malik b. Hishām was born in Baṣra and died at Fusṭāṭ in Egypt in 218 or 213. Krenkow, however thinks that he must have died some years later.[3] Besides editing the present work he made use of I.I.'s learning in his A[illegible] Tubba' [illegible] Mu'ārib [illegible] a work [illegible] outlined in his Introduction, and they need not be repeated here. He was a philologist [illegible] and [illegible] he *shawāhid* he produces to illustrate the meaning of unusual words. These lines, divorced as they are from their context, form some of the most difficult of all the difficulties of the *Sīra* and are of course for the most part unnecessary now that the Arabs have produced lexicons of their language. Occasionally he is helpful with his genealogical notes more rarely he has something useful to say about the interpretation of a line in I.I.'s work.

Suhaylī gives some traditions which I.H. omitted or knew nothing of, e.g. W. 183 = Suhaylī 183 W. 327 = S. ii, 2 f. He also (p. 258 = W. 844) draws attention to a mistake in one of I.H.'s notes saying that the truth is either his or al-Bakkā'ī's because Yūnus has the right reading

G.G. 130. [2] *Z.A.* xxvi. 190. [3] *Ar. Gal.* ii. [illegible]

[illegible] *fī al-ṣaḥīḥ* [illegible] *Yūnus* [illegible] p. 387

Another error of his is the statement that I.I. said nothing about the mission of 'Amr b. Umayya whom the prophet sent to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and who [illegible] the corpse of Khubayb from the cross to which he was [illegible] I.'s version of this story which is far superior to the garbled version of I.H., who is obviously compressing a [illegible] capable of bearing a man's body) could hardly have been moved by [illegible]

[illegible]

What remains to be explained is why I.H. should assert that I.I. had said nothing about the abortive passage to Quraysh. [illegible] the equally unsuccessful effort to recover Khubayb's body. If I.I. said nothing at all about either matter, how come it that I.H. dealt with them? Since we know that I.I. expected what had happened from traditions that were transmitted by 'Amr's own family and [illegible] but they omitted in toto and written [illegible] with the evidence.

Perhaps the prophet answer is his general observations on the authenticity of the poetry of the *Sīra*, not only where he records that all, or most, [illegible] *Ḥassān* [illegible] Hence he reported that Abū 'Ubayda said that [illegible] produced one of the finest panegyrics which were better than their sources.'

Suhayl [illegible] that I.H. wrote a book explaining the difficult words in [illegible]

[illegible] C. A. [illegible] about the work.

the poetry of the *Sīra*. Suhayl's words indicate that he had read Ibn Hishām's book. Were it ever found it might well tell us what I.H.'s generation really thought about these poems.

A FRAGMENT OF THE LOST BOOK OF MŪSĀ B. 'UQBA

These fragments [illegible] concerning the [illegible] the expulsion of the prophet on a given occasion, [illegible] the subject is generally assumed that the original work [illegible] in this particular, in that this information that the book when continued a [illegible] account of the Sīra [illegible] There is no [illegible] Abū Huraysa b. Muḥammad b. al-Naqqāsh (762).

1. I. Shihāb from Salim b. 'Abdallāh from 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar. I heard the apostle say: While I was asleep I dreamt that I was going round the Ka'ba when a man with curly hair between the two men was head dripping with water. When I asked who it was they said 'Īsā b. Maryam. Then I turned away when lo a red man, heavy, with curly hair, one eyed, it seemed as though his eye was a grape or [illegible] water. When I asked who it was they said the Antichrist. **The man seem like Ibn Qaṭan al-Khuzā'ī.**

This tradition is similarly reported in Bukhārī ii. 388, 19-20; p. 4. It should be compared with I.I. 269, also from al-Zuhrī, where the prophet is [illegible] the face appearing like drops of water. The reference here to the 'two men' presumably refers to the two thieves on the cross.

2. Ibn Shihāb. The first to hold Friday prayers for the Muslims in Medina [illegible] the apostle was Muqrin b. [illegible] I. Shihāb said in another tradition from Sālim contradicting this.

The first statement agrees with I.S. iii. 1. 85, 25; the second apparently with I.I. [illegible] and I.H. [illegible]

3. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mihrān b. [illegible] al-Muqlī from his father Mihrān from his brother Sālim b. Ja'far. When the apostle was on his way from Mecca migrating to Medina Quraysh offered a reward of [illegible] camels to anyone who would bring him back. [illegible] the apostle.

This passage is in all essential respects the same as I.I. [illegible] though there are many verbal differences. [illegible] I.H. has been [illegible] and [illegible] in an incomplete form. Cf. Bukhārī iii. 39, 41 and Wāqidī (Wellh. 374).

4. I. Shihāb alleged that 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr said that al-Zubayr met the apostle [illegible] a trading journey to Syria. They bestowed some goods with the apostle [illegible]

So Bukh. iii. 40. Different source in I.S. iii. i. 153. 19.

5. [illegible] hear what I say better than they.

So Bukh. iii. 70. 17, 18, and cf. I.I., pp. 453 f., where the words of [illegible] but they do not hear.

6. I. Shihāb from Anas b. Mālik: Some Anṣār asked the apostle's [illegible] 'Amr al-Khazraji. Cf. Bukh. ii. 368. 18 f. for the same claim.

7. [illegible] spears', came to the apostle when he was a polytheist and the apostle explained Islam to him and he refused to accept it. He gave the apostle [illegible] a polytheist. 'Āmir said 'O apostle, send with me those of your messengers [illegible] Ṭufayl heard about them he tried to call out B. 'Āmir against them, but [illegible] killed them in Bi'r Ma'ūna except 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī whom [illegible] apostle the latter said to him, 'Are you the sole survivor?'

This is a much briefer account than that given in I.H. 648 f. Cf. Ṭ. 1443 f., Wāq. (Well.) 337 f.

8. [illegible] leader. He was one of the dearest of all men to me, and this man 'his son'

[illegible] no more, for he is one of the best of you.

[illegible]

9. [illegible] The apostle used not to make an exception for Fāṭima.

[illegible]

10. 'Abdullah b. Faḍl from Anas b. Mālik. I grieved over my people who were killed in the ḥarra. Then Zayd b. Arqam (d. 68) wrote to me [illegible]

11. [illegible] likely that the variant is due to misreading them in oral tradition [illegible]

12. I. Shihāb from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. [illegible] of the inhabitants of hell was mentioned.

13. [illegible] dered a hundred loads, that the mission of Usāma b. Zayd should be [illegible] remain in the peninsula of the Arabs.'

[illegible]

14. [illegible] Christians from the peninsula of the Arabs.

15. I. Shihāb from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and

al-Miswar b. Makhrama. When the apostle gave men permission to free the Hawāzin captives he said, 'I do not know who has or has not given you permission, so go back until your leaders bring us a report of your affairs.' So the men returned and their leaders instructed them and they returned to the apostle and told him that the men (Muhammad's companions) had treated them kindly and given them permission (to recover their captive people).

For the context see I.H. 877.

18. I. Shihāb from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr: 'The captives of Hawāzin, whom the apostle returned were 6,000 men, women, and children. He gave some women who had fallen to some men of Quraysh—among whom were 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf and Safwān b. Umayya who had appropriated two women as concubines—the choice (of returning or remaining) and they elected to go back to their own people.

Cf. Wāq. (W.) 375.

17. Isma'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Uqba from his uncle Mūsā b. 'Uqba from I. Shihāb: 'The apostle made the pilgrimage of completion in A.H. 10. He showed the men the rites and addressed them in 'Arafa sitting on his camel al-Jad'ā.'

Cf. I.H. 966 and Wāq. 434.

18. I. Shihāb from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from al-Miswar b. Makhrama from 'Amr b. 'Auf, an ally of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy who had been at Badr with the apostle: 'The apostle sent Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh to bring the poll tax. He had made peace with the people of al-Bahrayn and set over them al-'Alā' b. al-Hadramī. When Abū'Ubayda came from al-Bahrayn with the money the Ansār heard of his coming which coincided with the apostle's morning prayer. When they saw him they stood in his way. Seeing them he smiled and said, 'I think you have heard of the coming of Abū 'Ubayda and that he has brought something.' When they agreed he added: 'Rejoice and hope for what will gladden you. By Allāh it is not poverty that I fear on your account. I fear that you will become too comfortable and will be led astray like those before you.'

So Bukh. iii. 68, 18 f.

19. Sa'īd b. Ibrāhīm from Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf: 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf was with 'Umar one day and he (the former) broke al-Zubayr's sword. But God knows best who broke it. Then Abū Bakr got up and addressed the people excusing himself and saying, 'Never for a moment was I eager for authority (imāra) nor did I want it or pray to God for it secretly or publicly. But I was afraid of disorder. I take no pleasure in authority. I have been invested with a great matter for which I have not the strength and can only cope with it if God gives me the strength. I wish that he who has the most strength for it were in my place.' The emigrants accepted his excuse and 'Alī and al-Zubayr b.

al-'Awwām said: 'We were angry only because we were not admitted to the council and we think that Abū Bakr is the most worthy of supreme authority now that the apostle is dead. He was the one with the apostle in the cave and we recognize his dignity and seniority and the apostle put him in charge of the prayers while he was still with us.'

A few comments on this brief anthology will not be out of place here. No. 12 clearly deals with the vexed question of the future state of the wicked Muslim, while No. 18 is a post mortem prophecy. Inevitably they arouse doubt in the mind of the reader.

From this selection as a whole we can see where the sympathies of the collector lay. Thus, al-Zubayr's generosity to Muhammad and Abū Bakr are recorded in No. 4. The claims of the Alides to special consideration are brushed aside in No. 9, while No. 19 states that 'Alī explicitly accepted Abū Bakr as Muhammad's successor. No. 6 shows that al-'Abbās had to pay his ransom in full even when the Ansār pleaded for his exemption. No. 19 mentions the victims of the Umayyads at al-Harra and records that the prophet implored God's blessing on them and their grandchildren.

Clearly Mūsā's sympathies lay with the family of al-Zubayr and the Ansār. They alone emerge with credit. The Abās, on the other hand, are no better than anyone else; the Umayyads are implicitly condemned for the slaughter at al-Harra; and al-'Abbās is shown to have been a rebel against the prophet who was forced to pay for his opposition to him to the uttermost farthing.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba has said pretty much the same on the subject of the Ansār and al-'Abbās as I.I. said before his editor I.H. pruned his work though he took a different view of the Alides.[2]

PART I

THE GENEALOGY OF MUHAMMAD

TRADITIONS FROM THE PRE-ISLAMIC ERA

MUHAMMAD'S CHILDHOOD AND EARLY MANHOOD

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE THE MERCIFUL

PRAISE BELONGS TO GOD THE LORD OF THE WORLDS AND MAY HIS BLESSING BE UPON OUR LORD MUHAMMAD AND HIS FAMILY, ALL OF THEM[1] 3

MUHAMMAD'S PURE DESCENT FROM ADAM

Abū Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Malik ibn Hishām the Grammarian said

This is the book of the biography of the apostle of God.

Muhammad was the son of 'Abdullāh, b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib (whose name was Shayba), b. Hāshim (whose name was 'Amr), b. 'Abdu Manāf (whose name was al-Mughīra), b. Quṣayy (whose name was Zayd), b. Kilāb, b. Murra, b. Ka'b, b. Lu'ayy, b. Ghālib, b. Fihr, b. Mālik, b. an-Naḍr, b. Kināna, b. Khuzayma, b. Mudrika (whose name was 'Āmir), b. Ilyās, b. Muḍar, b. Nizār, b. Ma'add, b. 'Adnān, b. Udd (or Udad), b. Muqawwam, b. Nāḥūr, b. Tayraḥ, b. Ya'rub, b. Yashjub, b. Nābit, b. Ismā'īl, b. Ibrāhīm, the friend of the Compassionate, b. Tāriḥ (who is Āzar), b. Nāḥūr, b. Sārūgh, b. Ra'ū, b. Fālikh, b. 'Aybar, b. Shālikh, b. Arfakhshadh, b. Sām, b. Nūḥ, b. Lamk, b. Mattūshalakh, b. Akhnūkh, who is the prophet Idrīs according to what they allege,[2] but God knows best (he was the first of the sons of Adam to whom prophecy and writing with a pen were given), b. Yard, b. Mahlā'il, b. Qaynan, b. Yānish, b. Shīth, b. Adam (10A)[*]

THE LINE OF ISMĀ'ĪL

Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm begat twelve sons: Nābit the eldest, Qaydhar, Adhbul, Mibshā, Mishma, Māshī, Dūmā, Adhr, Ṭayma, Yafūr, Nabish, Qaydhūmā. Their mother was Ra'la d. Modād b. 'Amr al-Jurhumī (11). Jurhum was the son of Yaqṭan b. 'Aybar b. Shālikh, and [Yaqṭan was][3] Qaḥṭān b. Aybar b. Shālikh. According to reports Ismā'īl lived 130 years,

[1] The formula of blessing which follows every mention of the prophet is omitted henceforth. Capital B. stands for 'Sons of', b. for 'son of', d. for daughter of.

[2] The phrase employed indicates that the writer doubts the statement. There is a saying in Arabic, "There is a euphemism for everything and the polite way of saying 'It is a lie' is 'they allege'" (ibn ishāq).

[3] These words are added by C as the context demands.

[*] I.H. additions to the text are numbered 10 and onwards.

5 and when he died he was buried in the sacred precincts of the Ka'ba beside his mother Hagar (12).

Muhammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydallah b. Shihab al-Zuhri told me that 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik al-Anṣari, also called al-Sulami, told him that the apostle of God said: 'When you conquer Egypt treat its people well, for they can claim our protection and kinship.' I asked al-Zuhri what the apostle meant by making them our kin and he replied that Hagar, the mother of Isma'il, was of their stock (13).

'Ad b. Aus b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ and Thamūd and Jadīs the two sons of Ṭabī b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ, and Ṭasm and Imlīq and Umaym the sons of Lawdhān b. Sām b. Nūḥ are all Arabs. Nābit b. Isma'il begat Yashjub and the line runs: Ya'rub-Tayrah-Nāhūr-Mughawwir-Ulad-'Adnān (14).

From 'Adnān the tribes descended from Isma'il sprit off. 'Adnān had
6, 1 two sons, Ma'add and 'Akk (15). Ma'add had four sons: Nizār, Qudā'a (he being his first born he was called Abū Qudā'a), Qunuṣ, and Iyād. Qudā'a went to the Yamān to Himyar b. Saba' whose name was 'Abdu Shams, the reason why he was called Saba' was that he was the first among the Arabs to take captives. He was the son of Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qahṭān (15). Of Qunuṣ b. Ma'add according to the genealogists of Ma'add none has survived. Al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir king of al-Ḥira belonged to the line of the Banu Zuhrī told me that this Nu'mān belonged to the Qunuṣ b. Ma'add (16).

Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that a shaykh of the Anṣār of B. Zurayq told him that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when he was given the sword of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, sent for Jubayr b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adiy b. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Quṣayy (he being the best genealogist of the Quraysh and indeed of all the Arabs and claimed to have been taught by Abū Bakr who was the greatest genealogist of the Arabs) and girded it on him. When he asked who al-Nu'mān was, Jubayr replied that he was a survivor of the tribe of Qunuṣ b. Ma'add. However, the rest of the Arabs assert that he belonged to the Lakhm of the Rabī'a b. Naṣr. Only God knows the truth (17).

7 OF RABI'A B. NAṢR KING OF THE YAMAN AND THE STORY OF SHIQQ AND SAṬIḤ THE TWO SOOTHSAYERS

Rabī'a b. Naṣr, king of the Yamān, was of the true stock of the Tubba' kings. He had a vision which terrified him and continued to cause him
10 much anxiety. So he summoned every soothsayer, sorcerer, astrologer, and sorcerer in his kingdom and said: 'I have had a vision which terrifies me and is a source of anxiety. Tell me what it was and what it means.' They replied: 'Tell us the vision and we will tell you its meaning.' 'If I tell you it,' said he, 'I can have no confidence in your interpretation for

The Ka'ba is the semicircular space between the Jaghir (wall) and the Ka'ba.

the only man who knows its meaning is he who knows about the vision without my telling him.' Thereupon one of them recommended him to send for Shiqq and Saṭiḥ, for they knew more than others and would be
1 able to answer his questions. Saṭiḥ's name was Rā'i b. Rabī'a b. Mas'ūd b. Māzin b. Dhi'b b. Adiy b. Mizin Ghassān. Shiqq was the son of Sa'b, b. Yashkur b. Ruhm b. Afrak b. Qasr b. 'Abqar b. Anmār b. Nizār, and Anmār was the father of Bajila and Khath'am (18).

So he sent for them and Saṭiḥ arrived first. The king then repeated his words, ending, 'If you know the vision you will know what it means.' Saṭiḥ replied [in say]

A fire you did see
Come forth from the sea.
It fell on the low country
And devoured all that be.

The king agreed that this was exactly what he had seen, and what was the meaning of it all? He answered

By the serpent of the lava plains I swear
The Ethiopians on your land shall bear
Ruling from Abyan to Jurash everywhere

The king exclaimed that this was distressing news, but when would these things come to pass—in his time or after him? He replied [again in rhyme] that more than sixty or seventy years must first pass. Would the new-comers' kingdom last? No, an end would be put to it after seventy years or more; then they would be slain or driven out as fugitives. Who would do this? Ivan b. Dhi'l Yazan, who would come against them from Aden and not leave one of them in the Yamān. Further questions drew the information that their kingdom would not last, but a pure prophet to whom revelation came from on high would bring it to an end; he would be a man of the sons of Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr. His dominion would last to the end of time. Has time an end? asked the king. Yes, replied Saṭiḥ, the day on which the first and the last shall be assembled, the righteous for happiness, the evildoers for misery. Are you telling me the truth? the king asked.

Yes, by the dark and the twilight
And the dawn that follows the night
Verily what I have told you is right.

Later Shiqq arrived and the king acquainted him with the facts but did not tell him what Saṭiḥ had said, so that he might see whether they agreed or differed. His words were

A fire you did see
Come forth from the sea.
It fell between rock and tree
Devouring all that did breathe.

Perceiving that they agreed one with the other and that the difference was a mere choice of words, the king asked Shiqq for his interpretation.

> By the sons of the plains I swear
> The blacks on your land shall tear
> Pluck your little ones from your care
> Rulling from Abyan to Najrán everywhere.

The king put the same questions to him and learned that after his terms:

> There shall deliver you from them one mighty great of name
> And put them to the utmost shame.

He wrote be

> A young man neither remote nor base
> Coming forth from Dhu Yazan's house, his place.
> Not one of them shall leave on Yaman's face

He continued in answer to the questions already put to his predecessor His kingdom shall be ruled by an upright who will bring truth and justice among men of religion and virtue. Dominion will rest among his people until the Day of Separation, the day on which those near God will be rewarded, on which demands from heaven will be made which the quick and dead will hear. men will be gathered at the appointed place, the God-fearing to receive salvation and blessing. By the Lord of heaven and earth, and what lies between them high as I have told you but the truth in which no doubt (*zaif*) lies (19).

When these two men said made a deep impression on Rabi'a b. Nasr and he despatched his sons and family to Iraq with all that they might need, giving them a letter to the Persian king Sábúr b. Khurrazádh who let them settle in al-Hira.

Al-Nu'mán b. al-Mundhir was a descendant of this king in the genealogies and traditions of the Yaman in his line is al-Nu'mán b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mán b. Mundhir b. 'Amr b. 'Adiy b. Rabi'a b. Nasr (20).

HOW ABÚ KARIB TUBBA AS'AD TOOK POSSESSION OF THE KINGDOM OF THE YAMAN AND HIS EXPEDITION TO YATHRIB

When Rabi'a b. Nasr died the whole kingdom of the Yaman fell into the hands of Abú Karib Tubba As'ad Abú Karib. (Tubba As'ad was the last Tubba the son of Kulayb Karib b. Zayd, Zayd being the first Tubba son of Amr Dhu-l-Adh'ar b. Abraha Dhu-l-Manár b. al-Rish (21) b. Adiy b. Sayfi b. Saba al-Asghar b. Ka b—Kahf al-Zulm b. Zayd b. Sahl b. Amr b. Qays b. Mu'awiya b. Jushum b. 'Abdu Shams b. Wá'il b. al-Ghawth b. Qatan b. 'Arib b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. al-Hamisa' b. al-'Arawij, the father is Himyar b. Saba al-Akbar b. Ya'rub b. Yashjub b. Qahtán (22).)

Tubba As'ad Abú Karib who went to Medina and took away to the Yaman two Jewish rabbis from thence. He adorned the sacred temple and covered it with cloth. His reign was before that of Rabi'a b. Nasr (23).

When he came from the east he had come by Medina without harming its people, but he left behind there one of his sons who was treacherously slain. Thereupon he returned with the intention of destroying the town and exterminating its people and cutting down its palms. So this tribe of the Ansár gathered together under the leadership of 'Amr b. Talla the brother of B. al-Najjár and one of B. 'Amr b. Mabdhúl. Mabdhúl's name was 'Amr b. Milih b. al-Najjár and al-Najjár's name was Taym Allah b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Hárithá b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Amir (24).

Now a man of B. Adiy b. al-Najjár called Ahmar had fallen upon one of the followers of Tubba when he brought them to Medina and killed him,* because he caught him among his palms cutting the dates of [illegible] the town who cultivates it.' This enraged the Tubba against them and fighting broke out. Indeed the Ansár assert that they used to fight them by day and treat them as guests by night. Tubba was amazed at this and used to say 'By God our people are generous!

While Tubba was occupied in this fighting there came two Jewish rabbis from B. Quraysa—Quraysa, and al-Nadir and al-Najjám and 'Amr nicknamed Hanging-up were sons of al-Khazrán b. al-Sarih b. al-Tha'alán b. al-Sibt b. al-Yam b. Sa'd b. Lawi b. Khayr b. al-Najjám b. Tanhúm b. 'Amr b. 'Ilat b. Hárún b. Imrán b. Yashar b. Qáhat b. Lawi b. Ya'qúb otherwise called Isrá'il b. Ishaq b. Ibráhim the friend of al-Rahmán—learned men well grounded in tradition. They had heard about the king's intention to destroy the town and its people and they went to him 'O King, do not do it, for if you persist in your intention something will happen to prevent your carrying it out and we fear that you will incur speedy retribution.' When the king asked the reason for this they told him that Yathrib was the place to which a prophet of the Quraysh would migrate in time to come, and it would be his home and resting-place. Seeing that these men had hidden knowledge the king took their words to good part and gave up his design, departed from Medina and embraced the rabbis' religion.

Khálid b. Abú al-'Uzzá b. Ghaziya b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Ghanm b. Milih b. al-Najjár boasting of 'Amr b. Talla said

> Has he given up youthful folly or ceased to remember it?
> Or has he had his fill of pleasure?

[illegible]

Or have you remembered youth?
And what a memory of youth and its times you have!
It was a young man's war
Such as gives him experience.
So ask Jurhum or Asad.
When headlong[1] with the morning star came
Abu Karib with his great squadrons
Clad in long mail, of pungent smell.
They said, Whom shall we make for,
The Banu Asad or the Najjar?
Surely the Banu-l-Najjar
For we seek revenge for our dead,
[illegible]
[illegible]
Among them [illegible]
(God prolong his life for the welfare of his people).
[illegible]
[illegible]

This tribe of the Aus claim that the Tubba' was corrupted only against this tribe of the Jews who were living among them and that it was only his intention to destroy them, but they protected them until he went his way. Therefore in his verse he said

In rage against two Jewish tribes who live in Yathrib
Who rightly deserve the punishment of a fateful day (?).[2]

Now the Tubba' and his people were idolaters. He set out for Mecca which was on his way to the Yemen, and when he was between 'Usfan and Amaj[3] some men of the Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Mudar b. Nizar b. Ma'ad came to him saying, 'O King, may we not lead you to an ancient treasury which former kings have overlooked? It contains pearls, topaz, rubies, gold and silver.' 'Certainly,' said he, and they added that it was a temple in Mecca which its people worshipped and where they prayed. But the real intention of the Hudhaylis was to encompass his destruction, for they knew that any king that treated it with disrespect was sure to die. Having agreed to their proposal he sent to the two rabbis and asked their opinion. They told him that the sole object of the tribe was to destroy him and his army. 'We know of no other temple in the land which God has chosen for Himself,' said they, 'and if you do what they suggest you and all your men will perish.' The king asked them what he should do when he got there, and they told him to do what the people of Mecca did: to

[illegible]

circumambulate the temple, to venerate and honour it, to shave his head, and to behave with all humility until he had left its precincts.

The king asked why they too should not do likewise. They replied that it was indeed the temple of their father Abraham, but the idols which the inhabitants had set up round it, and the blood which they shed there, presented an insuperable obstacle. They are unclean polytheists, and they go on words to that effect.

Recognizing the soundness and truth of their words the king summoned the men from the Hudhayl and cut off their hands and feet, and continued his journey to Mecca. He went round the Ka'ba, sacrificed, and shaved his head, staying there six days (so they say) sacrificing animals which he distributed to the people and giving them honey to drink.

It was revealed to him in a dream that he should cover the temple, so he covered it with woven palm branches; a later vision showed him that he must do better so he covered it with Yamani cloth; a third vision induced him to clothe it with fine striped Yamani cloth. People say that the Tubba' was the first man to cover the temple in this way. He ordained six Jurhumi guardians to keep it clean and not to allow blood, dead bodies, or menstruous cloths to come near it, and he made a door and a key for it.

Sidney's d. al-Afsah b. Zaibar b. Juhifna b. 'Auf b. Nasr b. Mu'awiya b. Bakr b. Ha'ban b. Mamir b. 'Ubaya b. Khuqafa b. Qasr b. Ri'la was the wife of Abu Murra b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ay b. Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. Nadr b. Kinana. She had by him a son called Khalid and in undertaking on behalf of the citizens of Mecca and forbidding him to commit grievous sin there, she extended him of Tubba' and his humility towards it and his work there, in the following lines

O my son, oppress neither the stone nor the guest in Mecca.
Preserve its sanctity and be not led away.
He who does evil in Mecca will meet the worst misfortune.
His face will be smitten and his cheeks will burn with fire.
I know from certain knowledge that the evildoer there will perish.
God has made it inviolate though no castles are built in its court.
God has made its birds inviolate and the wild goats on Thabir[4] are safe.
Tubba' came against it, but covered its building with embroidered cloth.
God humbled his sovereignty thus so he fulfilled his vows,
Walking barefoot to it with two thousand camels in its courtyard.
Its people he fed with the flesh of Mahri camels.
Gave them to drink strained honey and pure barley-water.
(God) destroyed the army of the elephant,
They were pelted with great stones.[5]

[1] A conjecture of this at 31 and 34 n.
[2] A museum gives Hizal. 'Upon could wear wild Nizar'.
[3] Either the pass has [illegible] because the
[illegible] of the Elephant belongs to the expedition of Abraha; the diplomatic mentioned on

And (God destroyed) their kingdom in the farthest lands
Both in Persia and Khazar.
Hearken therefore when you are told the story
And understand the end of such things (26)

63 Afterwards he set forth for the Yamen with his army and his two rabbis, [illegible] and had his own country he invited his people to adopt his new religion, but they refused until the matter could be tested by the ordeal of fire which was there.

Abū Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Abū Mālik al-Qurazī told me that he heard 'Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh narrate that when Tubba drew near to the Yamen the Ḥimyarites blocked his path, refusing [illegible] them to accept his religion on the ground that it was better than theirs they proposed that the matter should be subject to the ordeal by fire. The Yamanites say that a fire used to settle matters in dispute among them by consuming the guilty and letting the innocent go scatheless. So his people went forth with their idols and sacred objects, and the two rabbis went forth with their sacred books* hanging like necklaces from their necks until they halted at the place whence the fire used to blaze out. On this occasion when it came out the Yamanites withdrew in terror but their followers encouraged them and urged them to stand fast, so they held their ground until the fire covered them and consumed their idols and sacred objects and the men who bore them. But the two rabbis came out with their sacred books, swearing profusely but otherwise unharmed. Thereupon the Ḥimyarites accepted the king's religion. Such was the origin of Judaism in the Yamen.

Another informant told me that the two parties only went up to the fire to drive it back, for it was held that the one who succeeded in driving it back was most worthy of credence. When the Ḥimyarites with their idols came near to drive the fire back, the fire came out against them and they [illegible] reciting the Torah, the fire receded so that they drove it back to the place from which it had emerged. Thereupon the Ḥimyarites accepted their religion. But God knows which report is correct.

Now Ri'ām was one of the temples which they venerated and where they offered sacrifices and received oracles when they were polytheists. The two rabbis told Tubba that it was merely a shaytān which deceived them in this way and they asked to be allowed to deal with it. When the king agreed they commanded a black dog to come out of it and killed it [illegible]

at least than is what the Yamanites say. Then they destroyed the temple and I am told that its ruins to this day show traces of the blood that was poured out.*

[illegible] Tubba composed the following lines about his expedition, what he had intended to do with Medina and the Jews, what he actually did to the people of Hadhramawt, and how he pitched and purified the temple and what the two rabbis told him about the apostle of God.

Why, O soul, is thy sleep disturbed like one whom ants pain him?
Why does thou suffer from perpetual insomnia,
Enraged against two Jewish tribes who live in Yathrib,
Who richly deserve the punishment of a fearful day?
When I mounted in Maliku
Calm and refreshing was my sleep.
I made my dwelling on a hill
Between al-Aqiq and Baqi' al-Gharqad.
We left its rocks and plateau
And its bare salty plain
And came down to Yathrib, and my herald
Shouted with anger as he a thing of my own
I had sworn a oath that was
An oath full strong and binding,
If I reach Yathrib I will leave it
Stripped of palms both striplings and fruitful
When in from Qurayza came
A rabbi who, among the Jews respected
'Stand back from a city preserved,' said he,
'For Mecca's prophet of Quraysh true-guided.'
So I sargave them without reproach
I left them to the judgement of the last day
To God whose pardon I hope for
On the day of reckoning that I escape the flames of hell
Some of our people I left there for him,
Men of reputation and valour
Men who carry plans to victory's end.
I hope thereby for a reward from Muhammad's Lord
I knew not that there was a pure temple
Devoted to God in Mecca's vale,
Till slaves from Hadhay. came to me
In al-Duff of Jurdān above al-Mawrad
'A house of ancient wealth in Mecca
Treasure of pearls and jewels' they said.
I wanted to seize them but my Lord said my
For God prevents destruction of his sanctuary
I gave up my purpose there

And left those men an example to the discerning,
Dhū'l-Qarnayn before me was a Muslim
Conquered kings thronged his court,
East and west he ruled, yet he sought
Knowledge true from a learned sage.
He saw where the sun sinks from view
In a pool of mud and fetid slime.
Before him Bilqis my father's sister
Ruled them until the hoopoe came to her.[f]

THE REIGN OF HIS SON HASSAN IBN T BAN AND HOW AMR KILLED HIS BROTHER

When his son Hassān b. Tubba As'ad Abū Karib came to the throne he set out with the Yamanites to subdue the land of the Arabs and Persians. However when they reached a place in Iraq (27) the Himyarite and Yamanite tribes were unwilling to go farther and wanted to return to their families, so they approached one of his brothers called Amr who was with him in the army and said that if he would kill his brother they would make him king so that he might lead them home again. He said that he would do so, and they all agreed to join in the plot except Dhū Ru'ayn the Himyarite. He forbade him to do this, but he would not heed, so Dhū Ru'ayn wrote the following verses:

Oh who would buy sleeplessness for sleep?
Happy is he who passes the night in peace
Though Himyar have been treacherous,
God will hold Dhū Ru'ayn blameless.

He sealed the document and brought it to 'Amr, saying: Keep this with you for me, and he did so. Then Amr killed his brother Hassān and returned to the Yaman with his men.[1] One of the Himyarites was moved to say:

In former generations
What eyes have seen
The like of Hassān who has been slain!
The princes slew him lest they should be kept at war
On the morrow they said 'It is naught!'
Your dead was the best of us and your living one
Is lord over us while all of you are lords.

The poem is spurious. It is not difficult to see how Ibn Ishāq persuaded himself to interpret such an obscure fragment as a serious historical work. At this point Ibn Hishām adds a long passage from [illegible] A much longer version of Ibn Ishāq is given by Ibn [illegible] T. 2 [illegible] Hassān vainly appeals to his brother thus:

Do not hasten my death, Amr,
Take the kingdom without using force.

The words 'lābbā lābbā' mean 'no matter' in the Himyarī language (28).

When Amr b. Tubba returned to the Yaman he could not sleep and insomnia took a firm hold of him. Being much concerned at this, he asked the physicians and those of the soothsayers and diviners who were seen about his trouble. One of them said: No man has ever killed his brother or kinsman treacherously as you killed your brother without losing his sleep and becoming a prey to insomnia. At this he began to kill all the nobles who had urged him to murder his brother Hassān, till finally he came to Dhū Ru'ayn who claimed that Amr held the proof of his innocence, namely the paper which he had given him. He had it brought to him and when he had read the two verses he let him go, recognising that he had given him good counsel. When Amr died the Himyarite kingdom fell into disorder and the people split up into parties.

HOW LAKHMI'A DHŪ SHANATIR SEIZED THE THRONE OF THE YAMAN

A Himyarī who had no connexion with the royal house called Lakhmi'a Yanūf Dhū Shanātir[1] arose and killed off their leading men and put the royal family to open shame. Of this man a certain Himyarī recited:

Himyar was slaying its sons and selling its princes,
Working its shame with its own hands,
Destroying its worldly prosperity with frivolous thoughts.
Even greater was the loss of their religion.
So did earlier generations bring their doom
By acts of injustice and profligacy.

Lakhmi'a was a most evil man—a sodomite. He used to summon a young man of the royal family and assault him in a room which he had constructed for this very purpose, so that he could not escape after him. Then he used to go from this upper chamber of his to his guards and soldiers, (who were below) having put a toothpick in his mouth to let them know that he had accomplished his purpose. (T. Then he would release him and he would appear before the guards and the people utterly disgraced. One day he sent for Zur'a Dhū Nuwās son of Tubba As'ad brother of Hassān. He was a little boy when Hassān was murdered and had become a fine handsome young man of character and intelligence. When the messenger came he perceived what was intended and took a fine sharp knife and hid it under the sole of his foot and went to Lakhmi'a. As soon as they were alone he attacked him and Dhū Nuwās rushed upon him and stabbed him to death. He then cut off his head and put it in the window

[f] Tab. 916 f. contains a long poem described to Amr.
[1] Nöld. Geschichte der Perser u. Araber (97), notes that the name Lakhmi'a here given is unknown and that Shanātir means 'fingers'.

which overlooked the town below. He struck the mouthpiece in his mouth and [illegible] up to the parapet, [illegible] language [illegible] what had happened.' 'Ask that hand,' he replied. They looked at the window and there was [illegible] cut off. So there were a number of [illegible] Nawfal and said: 'You must be one thing and no one else, seeing that you have told us of this disgusting fellow.' (29)

THE REIGN OF DHU NUWAS

There made [illegible] king and all the tribes of Yemen served him. He was the last of the Yemeni kings and the man who had the ditch made.[1] He was called Joseph and reigned for some considerable time.

In Najrān there were some people[2] who held the religion of 'Isā b. Maryam, a virtuous and upright people who followed the Gospel. Their head was named [illegible] Thāmir. The place where this religion took root was in Najrān, at that time the centre of the Arabs' country; its people, and indeed the rest of the Arabs, were idolaters. A Christian by the name of Faymiyūn had settled there and converted the people to his religion.

THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY IN NAJRĀN

A [illegible] Abū Lubāba, a kinsman of al-Bilālī, on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih the Yemeni told me that the origin of Christianity in Najrān was that in a town named [illegible] there was a righteous, virtuous ascetic man whose prayers were answered. He used to wander between towns; as soon as he became known in one town he moved to another, eating only what he earned. As he was a builder by trade using mud bricks. He used to keep Sunday as a day of rest and would do no work then. He used to go into a desert place and pray there until the [illegible]. While he was following his trade in a certain village [illegible] some of the people there called Sālih [illegible] was and felt a violent affection for him, so that unperceived by Faymiyūn he used to follow him from place to place, until one Sunday he went as he went was out into the desert followed by Sālih. Sālih chose a hiding-place and sat down where he could see him. He watching him to know where he was. As Faymiyūn stood to pray a female, a seven-headed snake, came towards him and when Faymiyūn saw it he cursed it and it died. Seeing the snake but not knowing what had happened to it and fearing for Faymiyūn's safety, Sālih could not contain himself and cried out: 'Faymiyūn, a tinnīn is upon you!' He took no notice and went on with his prayers until he had ended them. Night had come and he departed. He knew that he had been recognized and Sālih knew that he had seen him. So he said to him: 'Faymiyūn, you know that I have never loved anything as I love you. I want to be always with you and go wherever you go.' He replied: 'As you will. You know how I live and if you feel that you can bear the life well and good.' So Sālih remained with him, and the people of the village were on the point of discovering his secret. For when a man suffering from a disease came to his way by chance he prayed for him and he was cured, but if he was summoned to a sick man he would not go. Now

[illegible] man who built houses for people for a wage. Thereupon the man said he was [illegible] and [illegible] a gentleman came [illegible] and wanted to [illegible] saying that he wanted him to build some rooms for him at his house and wanted to come and talk to him and they [illegible] agreed on a price. Arrived at the house Faymiyūn asked what he wanted done, and after giving details the man suddenly whisked off the covering from the boy and said: 'O Faymiyūn, one of God's creatures is in the state you see. So pray for him.' Faymiyūn did so[3] and the boy got up entirely healed. Knowing that he had been recognized he left the village followed by Sālih, and while they were walking through Syria they passed by a great tree and a man called from it saying, 'I've been expecting you and saying "When is he coming?" until I heard your voice and knew it was you. I am [illegible] the prayer for I am about to die.' He died and [illegible] there. Then he left followed by Sālih [illegible] the tomb of the hermit who had died there, and [illegible] and went back to Najrān. So that [illegible] the people of Najrān followed the religion of the hermit worshipping a great palm tree there. [illegible] there was a festival when they hung up the tree any five garments they could find and women's jewels. Then they [illegible] and devoted the day to [illegible]. One morning [illegible] Sālih [illegible]. Some it happened that when Faymiyūn was praying [illegible] a house which his master had assigned to him [illegible] His master was astonished at the sight, and asked him about his religion. Faymiyūn told him and spoke [illegible] to him. [illegible] the man said he would [illegible] to come the way to come the way on the [illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] God, the [illegible] has [illegible] the people of [illegible]

[3] Or, perhaps, 'prayed round it.'

[illegible] 'Then do so,' said his master, 'for if you do that we shall embrace your religion, [illegible] Then the people of Najrān accepted [illegible] This was the origin of [illegible] bih on the authority of the people of Najrān.

[illegible]

[illegible] gave him but simply said a man came there—he put up a tent between [illegible] used to send their young men to that sorcerer to be taught sorcery and [illegible] asked the man what was the Great Name of God. Although he knew it he [illegible] it from him, saying 'My dear young man,[1] you will not be able to bear it; I fear that you are not strong enough.' Now al-Thāmir had no idea that his son 'Abdullah was not visiting the sorcerer along with the [illegible] until when he reached the stick with the Great Name inscribed on it he threw it in, and it immediately sprang out untouched by the fire. There[illegible] Name which he had concealed from him. The latter questioned him and when he learned how he had found out the secret he said, 'O my young

[illegible]

friend,' you have got it, but keep it to yourself, though I do not think you will.

Thereafter whenever 'Abdullah b. al-Thāmir entered Najrān and met [illegible] that he may heal you of your affliction?' The man would agree, acknowledge [illegible] would be healed, until in the end there was not a single sick person in Najrān but had adopted his religion and become whole from his sickness. When the news reached the king he sent for him and said 'You have corrupted the people of my town so that they are against me and have opposed my religion and the religion of my fathers. I will make a terrible example of you!' He replied: 'You have not the power to do that.' The king had him taken to a high mountain and thrown down headlong, but he reached the ground unhurt. Then he had him thrown into deep water in [illegible]

Having thus got the better of him 'Abdullah told him that he would not [illegible] his hand he killed him and died himself on the spot. The people of Najrān [illegible]

Such is the report of Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi and one of the [illegible] happened.

[illegible] except Judaism, giving them the choice between that or death: they chose death. So he dug trenches for them;[2] burnt some in fire, slew some with [illegible] of them.[3] Concerning Dhū Nuwās and that army [illegible] his apostle:

On the trenchmakers be curses
[illegible]
Watching as the flames grew higher
The sufferings of the faithful, there:
They only tormented them because they believed in
God the Mighty, the Worthy to be Praised (96).[4]

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[1] Lit. 'Son of my brother'.
[2] ukhdūd. [illegible]
[3] Then Dhū Nuwās returned to San'ā with his troops.
[4] Sūra 85. 4.

It is said that among those put to death by Dhū Nuwās was 'Abdullāh b. al-Thāmir, their leader and leaders.[1]

I was told by 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm that he was told that in the days of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb a man of Najrān dug up one of the ruins of Najrān intending to make use of the land, when they came upon 'Abdullāh b. al-Thāmir under a grave. He was in a sitting posture with his hand covering a wound in his head and holding firmly to it. When his hand was removed the blood began to flow; when they let go of his hand it returned to its place and the flow of blood ceased. On his finger was a ring inscribed 'Allāh is my Lord'. A report was sent to 'Umar and he replied: 'Leave him alone and cover in the grave,' and his orders were duly carried out.

ON DAUS DHŪ THA'LABĀN AND THE BEGINNING OF THE ABYSSINIAN DOMINATION AND THE HISTORY OF ARYĀṬ WHO BECAME VICEROY OF THE YAMAN

A man of Saba' called Daus Dhū Tha'labān escaped on a horse, and taking to the desert eluded them.[2] He pressed on until he reached the Byzantine court, where he asked the emperor to aid him against Dhū Nuwās and his troops, telling him what had happened. The latter replied that his country was too distant for him to be able to help by sending troops, but that he would write to the Abyssinian king who was a Christian and whose territory was near the Yaman. Accordingly he did write ordering him to help Daus and seek revenge.

Daus went to the Negus with the emperor's letter, and he sent with him seventy thousand Abyssinians, putting over them a man called Aryāṭ (T). He ordered him to kill a third of the men, lay waste a third of the country, and seize a third of the women and children if he conquered. With the army there was a man called Abrahah [illegible] Aryāṭ crossed the sea with Daus Dhū Tha'labān and landed in the Yaman. Dhū Nuwās with the Ḥimyarites and such of the Yamani tribes as were under his command came out against him, and after an engagement Dhū Nuwās and his force was put to flight.[3] Seeing that his cause was lost Dhū Nuwās turned his horse seawards beating it until it entered the waves and carried him through the shallows out into the deep water. This was the last that was seen of him. Aryāṭ entered the Yaman and took possession of it (T). He

[illegible] Abdullāh was killed [illegible] Yaman [illegible] Tabari [illegible] Ibn Hishām [illegible] Abū Abdullāh [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] that there was a Yaman [illegible] that a man of Najrān [illegible] b. Fa[illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] on account of the [illegible] the Yamani army and their [illegible] oppression

carried out the Negus's orders, and sent a third of the women and children to him. He stayed on in the country and reduced it to subjection.]

One of the Yamanis remembering how Daus had brought the Abyssinians upon them said:

Not like Daus and not like the things he carried in his saddle bag.

And this saying has become proverbial in the Yaman until this day.

Dhū Jadan the Ḥimyarī (T) recording their humiliation after their former glory and Aryāṭ's destruction of their castles Silhin, Raymān, and Ghumdān (unique in their splendour) recited:

Gently! Tears cannot recall what is sped.
Pour not thyself for those who are dead.
After Raymān no stones nor trace remain,
And after Silhin shall men build such lofty spire?

Raymān, Silhin, and Ghumdān are Yamani castles which Aryāṭ destroyed and none like them existed.

He continued:

Peace, confound you! You can't turn me from my purpose
Thy scolding dries my spittle!
To the music of singers in times past 'twas fine
When we drank our fill of purest noblest wine.
Drinking freely of wine brings us no shame
If my behaviour no boon-companion would blame.
For death no man can hold back
Though he drink the perfumed potions of the quack.
Nor monk in his secluded cell on high
Where the vulture round his nest doth fly
You have heard of Ghumdān's towers
From the mountain top it lowers
Well serpentered, with stones for stay.
Plastered with clean, damp, slippery clay,
Oil lamps within it show
At times like the lightning's glow
Beside its wall the palm-trees line
With ripening fruit in clusters shine.
That once-new castle is ashes today.
The flames have eaten its beauty away
Dhū Nuwās humbled gave up his castle great
And warned his people of their coming fate.

With reference to that, Ibn al-Dilfā al-Thaqafī said (311):

By thy life there's no escape for a man when death and old age seize him.
By thy life a man has nowhere to flee—no asylum

Could there be after Himyar's tribes were destroyed one more by calamity's stroke,
A thousand thousand with spearmen (glittering) like the sky before rain.
Their cry deafened the chargers and they put to flight the warriors with their pungent smell.
Wrathful as the sand in number the very tip of trees dried at their approach.

Amr b. Ma'di Karib al-Zubaydi said concerning a dispute which he had with Qays b. Maksuh al-Murad when he heard that he had threatened him, and bringing to memory the war glory of Himyar

Do you threaten me as though you were Dhū Ru'ayn
Or Dhū Nawas in the days of their power?
Many a man before you was prosperous
With a kingdom firmly rooted among men.
Ancient as the days of 'Ad
Exceeding fierce, overcoming tyrants,
Yet his people perished
And he became a wonderer among men (32).

28 HOW ABRAHA SEIZED POWER IN THE YAMAN AND KILLED ARYAT[1]

Aryat held sway in the Yaman for some years and then Abraha the Abyssinian (T. who was in his army) disputed his authority, and the Abyssinians split into two parties each claiming supporters. When war was about to begin, Abraha sent to Aryat asking him to avert the danger of internecine war and inviting him to settle the dispute by personal combat, the winner to be the sole commander of the army. Aryat agreed and Abraha went forth to meet him. He was a short fat man holding the Christian faith and Aryat advanced against him spear in hand; he was a big, tall, handsome man. Abraha had a young man called 'Atawda at his back to defend him against attack from the rear. Aryat raised his spear striking
29 Abraha's skull and hit him on the forehead splitting his eyebrows, nose, eye, and mouth. It was for this reason that he was called al-Ashram (split-face). Thereupon 'Atawda coming out from behind Abraha attacked Aryat and killed him, and Aryat's army joined Abraha, and the Abyssinians in the Yaman accepted him as their chief. (T. Then 'Atawda cried: 'Atawda you son, of an evil company' parentless in nobility', meaning that Abraha's slave had killed Aryat. Al-Ashram asked what he wanted, for though he had killed him blood-money must be paid. He asked and obtained from him

[1] A slightly longer account is given in Ar. 86.

the right of *prises nectis* in Yaman.) Abraha paid blood-money for killing Aryat. (T. All this happened without the knowledge of the Negus.

When the news of this affair reached the Negus he was filled with rage and said: 'Has he attached my army and killed him without any order from me?' Then he swore an oath that he would not leave Abraha alone until he had trodden his land and cut off his forelock. So Abraha shaved his head and filled a leather bag with the earth of the Yaman and sent it to the Negus with the following letter: 'O King, Aryat was only thy slave and I too am thy slave. We disputed about your orders; everyone must obey you but I was stronger, firmer, and more skilful in managing the affairs of the Abyssinians. Now when I was told of the king's oath I shaved the whole of my head and I send it to you with a bag of the dust of my land that you may put it beneath your feet and thus keep your oath concerning me.' When this message reached the Negus he was reconciled to him and wrote to him that he was to stay in the Yaman until further orders; so Abraha remained in the Yaman. (T. When Abraha perceived that the Negus was reconciled and had made him viceregent of the Yaman, he sent to Abū Murra b. Dhū Yazan and took away from him his wife Raytana d. Anqama b. Malik b. Zayd b. Kahlān. Abū Murra who is Dhū Jadan had a son by her—Ma'di Karib. Afterwards she bore to Abraha a son Masrūq and a daughter Rudaina. Abū Murra took to flight. His slave 'Atawda went on exercising his right in Yaman until a man of Himyar of Khath'am attached and killed him; and when the news reached Abraha, who was a lenient noble character, a Christian of temperate habits, he told the people that it was high time that they had an official with due self-control and that had he known that 'Atawda would have chosen such a reward for his services he would not have allowed him to choose his reward. Further no bloodwit would be exacted and he would not take any action against them for killing 'Atawda.)

THE HISTORY OF THE ELEPHANT AND THE STORY OF THE INTERCALATORS

Then Abraha built the cathedral[1] at San'ā' such a church as could not be seen elsewhere in any part of the world at that time. He wrote to the Negus saying: 'I have built a church for you, O King, such as has not been built for any king before you. I shall not rest until I have diverted the Arabs' pilgrimage to it.' When the Arabs were talking about this letter of his, one of the calendar intercalators was enraged. He was of the B. Faqaym b. Adiy b. 'Amir b. Tha'laba b. al-Hārith b. Mālik b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Mudar. The intercalators are those who used to adjust the months for the Arabs in the time of ignorance. They

[1] al-Qulays. The word is not found in Arabic but it is simply the Greek κυκλος.

[illegible] made one of the lots sacrifice problem, and made one of the problem [illegible] lots to balance the calendar. It was about this that God spoke [illegible] Pentecost and a sacred month [illegible] which [illegible] who disbelieve are misled. They make it the month profane [illegible] year and make it sacred the next year, but they must make up the number of the months which God has made sacred (33).*

The first to impose this system of intercalation on the Arabs was al-Qalamas who was Hudhayfa b. 'Abd b. Fuqaym b. 'Adi b. 'Amir b. Tha'laba b. al-Harith b. Mulaik b. Kinana b. Khuzayma. He was followed by his descendants Qala', Umayya, Abi, and Abi Thumama Junada b. 'Auf who was the last of them, for he was overtaken by Islam. When the Arabs had finished pilgrimage, it used to be their practice to gather round him and he would declare the four sacred months Rajab (Muḍar), Dhu'l-Qa'da, Dhu'l-Hijja, and al-Muharram. If he wanted to make a period he would say at Muharram and they would declare it safe and lay Safar in its place so as to make up the number of the four sacred months. When they wanted to return from Mecca,* he got up and said: 'O God, I have made one of the Safars free for them, the first Safar, and I have postponed the other till next year.'

About this 'Umayr b. Qays Jadilat'l-Ṭ'in, one of the B. Fiqs b. Ghanm b. Tha'laba b. Milkan b. Kinana, boasting of this determining of the months, improvised:

> We said to him that our people are the most honourable of men and have noble ancestors,
> Who are accepted of whom we seek acceptance and whose laws we use [illegible] the year
> Are we not the sons of Nasi', intercalators, making profane months sacred? (34)

The Kindites went forth until he came to the [illegible] and defiled [illegible]. Then he returned to his own country. Hearing of the matter Abraha became angry and learned that the message had been entrusted to an Arab who came from the temple in Mecca where the Arabs went on pilgrimage and that he had done this in order to divert the Arabs' pilgrimage to the cathedral, showing thereby that it was something of importance.

Abraha was enraged and swore that he would go to the temple and destroy it. [illegible] At Mecca Abraha there were many Arabs who had come to seek his favours, among them Muhammad b. Khuzaylid b. Rawaha al-'Ansari, with a number of his companions including a brother of his called Ajrad. While there were such both a boat of Abraha's arrived and he came to assure them of the truth. There he went to set up a pulpit [illegible]

Note 1, p. [illegible]

* It is thus seen a sacred month was also nothing and thus [illegible] month to allow [illegible] the year for the month profane.

[illegible] where the prophet was he replied thus: 'By God, if we run from the Arabs [illegible] we are only the sons and shoulders.' Abraha replied that he would send them what they liked [illegible] to show that he honoured them. Then he crowned Muhammad and made him [illegible] and ordered him to go among the people [illegible] pilgrimage [illegible] Abraha Muhammad got up [illegible] the people of the territory [illegible] he had come to [illegible] a man of Hudhayl called [illegible] (Hudhayl [illegible] who [illegible] 'Have you [illegible] him did to Abraha and told him the news, which increased his rage and fury and he swore to raid the B. Kinana and destroy the temple.) So he commanded the Abyssinians to prepare and made ready and [illegible] with the elephant. News of his passage to Arabia were alarm and [illegible] that [illegible] to fight against him when they heard that he meant to destroy the Ka'ba [illegible]

A member of one of the ruling families in the Yemen, Dhu Nafr by name, summoned his people and such of the Arabs as would follow him to fight Abraha and stop him from attacking and destroying God's holy house. A serious skirmish supervened between [illegible] and Dhu Nafr and his followers were put to flight and he himself was taken prisoner and brought to Abraha. When he was about to put him to death Dhu Nafr pleaded for his life on the ground that he would be more useful to him as a living slave. Abraha then gave him his life but kept him in custody. He was a merciful man.

Abraha continued on his road to Mecca until he came to the vicinity of Khath'am [illegible] Shahran and Nihm and such of the Arab tribes as followed him. After an engagement he was defeated and taken prisoner. When Abraha thought of killing him, Nufayl said: 'Don't kill me, O King, for I will be your guide in the Arab country.' There are [illegible] that the two tribes of Khath'am, Shahran and Nihm, were [illegible] Abraha let him go.

He continued with him as a guide until they reached Ta'if where there lived [illegible] b. Mu'attib b. Malik b. Kinana b. [illegible] b. Thaqif. There came out to him with the men of Thaqif. Thaqif's name was Qasiy b. al-Nabit b. Munabbih b. Mansur b. Yaqdum b. Afsa b. Da'mi b. Iyad b. Nizar b. Ma'add b. 'Adnan. Umayya b. Abi Salt al-Thaqafi said:

> My people are lost, would that they were now
> [illegible] would that their [illegible] might be
> thus.

When on the march Iraq's wide plain
In thirsts—moreover they read and write (36).

[illegible] said

If you ask not who I am, Lebayna, and of my line
[illegible]
We belong to al-Nasir the Saver of [illegible]
To Hawdir son of Yaghur (our) forefather (37).

Then said to him, O Kaw, we are thy servants attentive and obedient [illegible] is not the one you seek. You want only the temple in Mecca, and [illegible] passed on leaving them [illegible].

As to al-Lat it was a temple of theirs in al-Ta'if which they used to [illegible] to guide him on the way to Mecca, and when he had brought him so far as al-Mughammis' Abu Righal died there and the Arabs [illegible] there.

[illegible] and others who came to the holy place mentioned battle, but seeing that [illegible]

Abraha sent Hanata the Himyarite to Mecca instructing him to inquire [illegible] message was that he had not come to fight them, but only to destroy the [illegible] and if he wished to avoid war he should return with him. On reaching [illegible] defends it against you it is His temple and His sanctuary, and if he has not have it by God we cannot defend it'. Hanata replied that he must come with him to Abraha, for he was ordered to bring him back with him.

[illegible]

[illegible] help them in their trouble. Dhu'l Nafr replied: 'What use is a man held a [illegible] I can do nothing to help you except that Unays the keeper of the elephant [illegible] when two hundred camels belonging to 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, lord of Quraysh and master of the Meccans' well who feeds men in the plain and wild creatures on the top of the mountains, had a mare here. So ask permission for me that I may see the king and help him so far as you can.' He said he would [illegible] to see him. Now 'Abdu'l-Muttalib was a most impressive, handsome, and [illegible] him there. Then he told his interpreter to express what he wanted, and the [illegible] which he had taken. Abraha replied [illegible] me much when I saw you; then I was much [illegible] heard what you said. Do you wish to talk to me [illegible] of yours which I have taken, and say nothing about your religion and the [illegible]

[illegible] when he sent Hanata to him, there accompanied him Ya'mur b. Nufaba [illegible] of B. Bakr, and Khuwaylid b. Wabila, then chief of Hudhayl. They [illegible] that he would withdraw from them and not destroy the temple, but he [illegible]

to God and imploring his help against Abraha and his army. As he was holding the knocker of the temple door, 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib said:

35 O God, a man protects his dwelling so protect Thy dwellings.[1]
Let not their cross and their craft tomorrow overcome Thy craft (39).[2]

'Ikrima b. 'Amir b. Hāshim b. 'Abdu Manāf b. 'Abdu'l-Dār b. Quṣayy said:

O God, humiliate al-Aswad b. Maqṣūd
Who took a hundred camels wearing their collars;
Between Ḥirā' and Thabīr and the deserts,
He shut them in when they should be pasturing freely.
And delivered them to the black barbarians,
Withdraw from him thine aid, O Lord, for Thou art worthy to be praised (40).

'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib then let go the knocker of the door of the Ka'ba and went off with his Quraysh companions to the mountain tops where they took up defensive positions waiting to see what Abraha would do when he occupied Mecca. In the morning Abraha prepared to enter the town and made his elephant ready for battle and drew up his troops. His intention was to destroy the temple and then return to the Yaman. When they made the elephant (its name was Maḥmūd) face Mecca, Nufayl b. Ḥabīb came up to its flank and taking hold of its ear said: 'Kneel, Maḥmūd, or go straight back whence you came, for you are in God's holy land!' He let go of its ear and the elephant knelt, and Nufayl made off at top speed for the top of the mountain. The troops beat the elephant to make it get up but it would not; they beat its head with iron bars; they stuck hooks into its underbelly and scarified it; but it would not get up. Then they made it face the Yaman and immediately it got up and started off. When they set it towards the north and the east it did likewise, but as soon as they directed it towards Mecca it knelt down.

Then God sent upon them birds from the sea like swallows and
36 starlings; each bird carried three stones, like peas and lentils, one in its beak and two between its claws. Everyone who was hit died but not all were hit. They withdrew in flight by the way they came, crying out for Nufayl b. Ḥabīb to guide them on the way to the Yaman. When he saw the punishment which God had brought down on them Nufayl said:

Where can one flee when God pursueth?
Al-Ashram is the conquered not the conqueror (41).

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[1] Ḥilāl, the plural of ḥilla, means a collection of houses and also the people who live therein. [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

Nufayl also said:

Our greetings, Rudayna!
You rejoice our eyes this morning!
[Your fuel-seeker came to us last night,
But we had naught to give him.]
If you had seen, but you will not see, Rudayna,
What we saw on al-Muḥaṣṣab's side
You would have forgiven me and praised my action
And not have been vexed at what has passed and gone.
I praised God when I saw the birds,
And I feared the stones that might fall upon us.
Everyone was asking for Nufayl
As though I owed the Abyssinians a debt.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

i.e. so that their status should remain unaltered because of God's good purpose towards them (if they would receive it (42).

38 Abdullah b. Abū Bakr via Amra daughter of 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Sa'd b. Zurāra told me that 'Ā'isha said: 'I saw the leader of the elephant and its groom walking about Mecca blind and crippled begging for food.'

REFERENCES IN POETRY TO THE STORY OF THE ELEPHANT

When God turned back the Abyssinians from Mecca and executed His vengeance upon them, the Arabs held the Quraysh in great honour saying, 'They are the people of God. God fought for them and thwarted the attack of their enemies.' On this theme they composed many poems. Thus 'Abdullāh b. al-Zibaʿrā b. Adīy b. Qays b. Adīy b. Sa'd b. Sahm b. Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr said:

Withdraw from the vale of Mecca for
From of old its sanctuary has not been violated.
When it was sanctified, Sirius had not been created.
No mighty man has ever attacked it.
39 Ask the commander of the Abyssinians[2] what he saw

He who knows what happened will tell the ignorant.
Sixty thousand men returned not home
Nor did their sick recover after their return,
Ād and Jurhum were (in Mecca) before them,
God has set it above all creatures.

The words 'nor did their sick recover after their return' refer to Abraha whom they carried with them when he was smitten, until he died in Sanʿā'.

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, Sayf by name (43), said:

His work it was on the day of the Abyssinian elephant.
Whenever they urged it forward it held its ground,
(They drove) their hooks beneath its flanks,
They split its nose and it was torn.
They used a knife as a whip.
When they applied it to its back it made a wound.
It turned and faced the way it had come.
Those there bore the burden of their injustice.

this tradition. The four brothers gave this protection (*ḥilf*) to those journeying to the several countries. Thus for *ḥilf* the meanings of covenant, protection, and responsibility for safety are illustrated.

Ibn Ishāq reports from L., that envoys from the tribes went to congratulate Sayf b. Dhū Yazan on his restoration to kingship. He singled out Quraysh for special treatment.

[2] I prefer the reading *ḥabshī* (W.) to the *ṣāḥib* of C.

God sent a wind bringing pebbles from above them
And they huddled together like lambs.
Their priests urged them to endure.
But they bleated like sheep (44).

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat also said:

Rise and pray to your Lord and circle
The corners of this temple between the mountains.[2]
He gave you a convincing test
On the day of Abū Yakṣūm leader of the squadrons.
His cavalry was in the plain, his infantry
Upon the passes of the distant hills.
When the help of the Lord of the Throne reached you,
His armies repulsed them,[3] pelting them and covering them with dust
Quickly they turned tail in flight, and none
But a few returned to his people from the army (45).[4]

Ṭālib b. Abū Ṭālib b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib said:

Know you not what happened in the war of Dhū'l-Ḥijja[5]
And Abū Yakṣūm's army when it filled the pass?
But for the help of God the Sole Existent One
You would have been unable to save your lives (46).[6]

Abū al-Ṣalt b. Abū Rabīʿa al-Thaqafī referring to the elephant and to the Ḥanīfī religion being that of Abraham said (47):

The signs of our Lord are illuminating.[7]
None but infidels doubt them.
Night and Day were created and all
Is abundantly plain, its reckoning is fixed.
Then the merciful Lord revealed the day
By the sun whose rays are seen everywhere.
He held the elephant fast in al-Mughammas until
It sank to the ground as though it were hamstrung.[8]

[1] With some hesitation I read the last *fakaffaraha* . . . *al-qarna*. W. reads *wakaffaraha*; C. interprets as vocative to the form I have read as indicated. Both W. and C. read *al-qarna*. which means 'small lance'. Abū Ḥayyān (ii, 51) read *al-qurna*, which he explained by *nāhiyat al-qarna*. The line that follows seems to require a reference to sheep here.

The term *al-ḥiddāb* refers to the mountains of Mecca.

[2] i.e. the angels.

[3] Or, 'from the Abyssinians'. See n. 2, p. 28. These lines occur again in W., p. 180.

[4] Dhū is the name of a battle. Foul play during a truce led to a long and bloody feud between the tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān. See Nicholson, *L.H.A.* 61–62.

[5] Or, 'property'.

[6] Reading *ṣāḥibkum* with C.

[7] *Diwān*, Ḥifnī, Bayrūth, Cairo, 1945/1964, vii, 198, reads *mā'ūn*, but the received text is better. I owe this explanation of *ḥalqa* to my colleague Dr. al-Tayib. Commentators and translators have missed the point.

Its trunk curled ring-wise: it lay motionless as,
A boulder flung down from Kaldah's rocks.
Round it Kinda's kings, mustered,
Mighty lords in war
They abandoned it and departed hastening
All of them, the church of each one of them was brother.
In God's sight at the Resurrection every religion
But that of the hanif is deemed in preference (41).

When Abraha died his son Yaksum became king of the Abyssinians. (T. Hosayn said he (sons of Yaman were humiliated under the hand of the Abyssinians. They took their women and killed their men and seized their young men to act as interpreters.) When Yaksum b. Abraha died his brother Masrûq b. Abraha reigned over the Abyssinians in the Yaman.

THE JOURNEY OF SAYF B. DHÛ YAZAN AND THE RULE OF WAHRIZ IN THE YAMAN

When the people of the Yaman had long endured oppression, Sayf b. Dhû Yazan the Himyarite, who was known as Abû Murra, went to the Byzantine emperor and complained to him of his treatment, asking him to drive out the Abyssinians and take over the country. He asked him, he said, what forces he pleased and promised him the kingdom of the Yaman.

The emperor paid no attention to his request, so he went to al-Nu'mân b. al-Mundhir, who was Chosroes' governor of al-Hîra and the surrounding country of Iraq. When he complained of the Abyssinians, al-Nu'mân b. al-Mundhir told him that he paid a formal visit every year to Chosroes and he asked him to stay with him until then. Accordingly he took him with him and introduced him to Chosroes. Now he used to sit in his audience chamber which comprised six doors. Any visitor to receive, he would wear a huge gold-crowned with rubies, pearls, and emeralds set in gold and which suspended by a golden chain from the top of the dome in his hall of audience. Such was the weight of the crown that his neck could not bear it. He was hidden behind a robe until he sat on his throne; then his head was inserted into the crown and when he was settled comfortably on his throne the robes were taken from him. Everyone who saw him on the first time fell on his faces in awe. When Sayf b. Dhû Yazan entered his presence he fell on his knees (42).

He said: 'O King, revolts have taken possession of our country.' Chosroes asked, 'What revolts, Abyssinians or Nubians?' 'Abyssinians,' he replied, 'and I have come to you for help and then we may recover the

kingship of my country.' He answered, 'Your country is far distant and has little to attract me; I cannot endanger a Persian army in Arabia and there is no reason why I should do so.' Then he made him a present of an ass's dirhemat sterling and invested him in a fine robe. Sayf went out with the silver and began to scatter it among the people. (T. Bara said (T. Sayf slaves of both sexes scrambled for the coins). When the king was told of this he thought it very extraordinary and sent for Sayf and said, 'You seem to throw away a royal gift!' He answered, 'What use is silver to me? The mountains of my country from which I come are nothing but gold and silver.' This he said to excite his cupidity. Chosroes thereupon gathered his advisers together and asked their opinion about the man and his project. One of them reminded the king that in his country there were very often people condemned to death. If he were to send them with Sayf and they were killed, then [illegible] the land [illegible] on the other hand if they conquered the country he would have taken it in his empire. Thereupon Chosroes sent those who were confined in his

[illegible]

age and of excellent family and lineage. They set out in eight ships, two

[illegible]

brought all the people that he could to Wahriz saying, 'My foot is with

[illegible]

Wahriz sent one of his sons to fight them so as to get experience in their way of fighting. His son was killed and he was filled with rage against them. When the men were drawn up in their ranks Wahriz said, 'Show me their king.' They said, 'Do you see a man on an elephant with a crown on his head and a red ruby on his forehead?' Then a their king. 'Let him be,' he said, and they waited a long time and then he said, 'What is he riding

[illegible]

asked the same question and they said he was bestride a mule. Said Wahriz, 'An ass's filly! A weak creature, and so is his kingdom. I will

[illegible]

until I give you permission to advance, for I shall have missed the fellow

[illegible]

upon them.' He then bent his bow (the story goes that it was so tough that no one but he could bend it) and ordered that his eyebrow be fastened back,' then he shot Masrûq and split the ruby on his forehead and the arrow pierced his head and came out at the back of his neck. He fell off his

[illegible]

upon them, they fled and were killed as they bolted in all directions. Wahriz advanced to enter into San'â' and when he reached its gate he said that his standard should never be lowered and he ordered them to destroy the gate and went in with his flag flying.

Sayf b. Dhū Yazan al-Himyarī said,

44 Men thought the two kings had made peace
And those who heard of their reconciliation found the matter was very grave.
We slew the prince Masrūq and reddened the sands with blood.
The new prince, the people's prince,
Wahriz swore an oath that
He would drink no wine until he had captured prisoners and spoil (50).

Abū al-Ṣalt b. Abū Rabī'a al-Thaqafī (51) said

Let those seek vengeance who are like Ibn Dhū Yazan
Who spent long years at sea because of his enemies,
When the time for his journey came he went to Caesar
But did not attain what he sought.
Then he turned to Chosroes after ten years,
Counting his life and money cheap,
Until he came bringing the Persians with him.
By my life you were swift in action,
What a noble band came out
Never were their like seen among men
Nobles, princes, mighty men, archers,
Lions who train their cubs in the jungle
From curved bows they shot arrows
Stout as the poles of the howdah
Bringing the victim a speedy death.
You sent lions against black dogs,
Their fugitives are scattered all over the earth.
So drink your fill, wearing your crown,
On Ghumdān's top reclining in a house you have chosen.
Drink your fill, for they are dead,
And walk proudly today in your flowing robes.
Such are noble deeds not two pails of milk mingled with water
Which afterwards become urine (52).

45 'Adiy b. Zayd al-Hīrī, one of B. Tamīm, said

What is there after Ṣan'ā' in which once lived
Rulers of a kingdom whose gifts were lavish?
Its builder raised it to the flying clouds,
Its lofty chambers gave forth musk
Protected by mountains against the attacks of enemies,
Its lofty heights unscalable.

[illegible] make to mean a resurrection. The Cairo editors prefer to find a reference to God.

Pleasant was the voice of the night owl there,
Answered at eve by a flute player.
Fate brought to it the Persian army
With their knights in their train
They travelled on mules laden with death,
While the asses' foals ran beside them
Until the princes saw from the top of the fortress
Their squadrons shining with steel,
The day that they called to the barbarians and al-Yakūm
'Cursed be he who runs away!'
Thus a day of which the story remains,
But a people of long established[1] dignity came to an end,
Persians[2] replaced the native born,
The days were dark[3] and mysterious.
After noble sons of Tubba
Persian generals were firmly settled there (54).

[T] When Wahriz had conquered the Yaman and driven out the Abyssinians he wrote to Chosroes telling him of what had been done and sending him captured treasure. In his reply the king told him to appoint Sayf king of the Yaman. He also gave Sayf instructions to collect taxes every year and to remit them to him. He summoned Wahriz to his presence and Sayf became king, he being the son of Dhū Yazan of the Kings of the Yaman. This is what Ibn Humayd told me from Salama on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq.)[4] T 940

(When Wahriz had gone to Chosroes and made Sayf king of the Yaman, the latter began to attack the Abyssinians, killing them and slaying the women with child until he exterminated all but an insignificant number of miserable creatures whom he employed as slaves and runners to go before him with their lances. Before very long he was out with these armed slaves when suddenly they surrounded him and stabbed him to death. One of them established himself as leader and they went through the Yaman slaying and laying waste the country. When the Persian king heard of this he sent Wahriz with 4,000 Persians and ordered him to kill every Abyssinian or child of an Abyssinian and an Arab woman, great or small, and not leave alive a single man with crisp curly hair. Wahriz arrived and in due course carried out these instructions and wrote to tell the king that he had done so. The king then gave him viceregal authority and he ruled under Chosroes until his death.) T 957

[1] Reading [illegible] for C. [illegible] [illegible].
[2] *Fuyūj*, the reading of C. (against W. *afyāj*) is a Persian word for a crowd of men. LK has [illegible].
[3] A variant is [illegible], 'treacherous'.
[4] In this chapter T's version is much more vivid and detailed and reads much more like the lively style of Ibn Isḥāq. No doubt Ibn Hishām cut down this to his unimportant chapter as much as he could.

46 THE END OF THE PERSIAN AUTHORITY IN THE YAMAN

Wahriz and the Persians dwelt in the Yaman, and the Abnā' who are in the Yaman today are descended from the survivors of that Persian army. The period of Abyssinian domination from the entry of Aryāṭ to the death of Masrūq ibn Abraha at the hands of the Persians and the expulsion of the Abyssinians was seventy-two years. The successive princes were four, Aryāṭ, Abraha, Yaksūm, and Masrūq (55).

47 It is said that on a rock in the Yaman there was an inscription dating from olden times:

To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimār
To Himyar the righteous.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimār
To the evil Abyssinians.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimār?
To the free Persians.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimār
To Quraysh the merchants (56).

Dhimār means the Yaman or San'ā'.

Al-A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said when the words of Saṭīḥ and his companion were fulfilled:

No woman has ever seen, as she saw, the truth like the truth of al-Dhi'b when he persuaded.[1] The Arabs called him al-Dhi'b because he was the son of Rab. a b. Mas'ud b. Mazin b. Dhi'b (57).

48 THE DESCENDANTS OF NIZĀR B. MA'ADD

Nizār b. Ma'add begat three sons: Mudar, Rabī'a, and Anmār (58).

Anmār was the father of Khath'am and Bajīla. Jarīr b. 'Abdullāh al-Bajalī who was chief of the Bajīla (of whom someone said: 'But for Jarīr, Bajīla would have perished. A fine man and a poor tribe') said when he was appealing against al-Fortifan al-Kalbī to al-Aqra' b. Hābis al-Tamīmī b. 'Iqāl b. Mujāshi' b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Hanzala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt

59 O Aqra' b. Hābis, O Aqra',
If thy brother is overthrown thou will be overthrown.

and said:

Ye two sons of Nizār help your brother.
My father I wot is your father
A brother who is your ally will not be wronged that day

Legend says that the woman in question was able to see people a three days' journey distant.

They went to the Yaman and remained there (59).

Mudar b. Nizār begat two sons: Ilyās and Aylān (60). Ilyās begat three sons: Mudrika, Ṭābikha, and Qam'a. Their mother was Khindif, a Yamanite woman (61).[1] The name of Mudrika was 'Āmir and the name of Ṭābikha was 'Amr. There is a story that when they were pasturing their camels they hunted some game and sat down to cook it, when some raiders swooped upon their camels. 'Āmir said to 'Amr: 'Will you go after the camels or will you cook this game?' 'Amr replied that he would go on cooking, so 'Āmir went after the camels and brought them back. When they returned and told their father he said to 'Āmir: 'You are Mudrika (the one who overtakes), and to 'Amr he said: 'You are Ṭābikha (the cook). When their mother heard the news she came hurriedly from her tent and he said: 'You are trotting!' (*Khandafa*)[2] and so she was called Khindif.

As to Qam'a the genealogists of Mudar assert that Khuzā'a was one of the sons of 'Amr b. Luḥayy b. Qam'a b. Ilyās.

THE STORY OF 'AMR B. LUḤAYY AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE IDOLS OF THE ARABS

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm on the authority of his father told me as follows: I was told that the apostle of God said: 'I saw 'Amr b. Luḥayy dragging his intestines in hell, and when I asked him about those who had lived between his time and mine he said that they had perished.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī told me that Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān told him that he heard Abū Hurayra (62) say: 'I heard the apostle of God saying to Akthem b. al-Jawn al-Khuzā'ī, 'O Akthem I saw 'Amr b. Luḥayy b. Qam'a b. Khindif dragging his intestines in hell, and never did I see two men so much alike as you and he!' 'Will this resemblance injure me?' asked Akthem. 'No,' said the apostle, 'for you are a believer and he is an infidel. He was the first to change the religion of Ishmael, to set up idols, and institute the custom of the baḥīra, sā'iba, waṣīla, and ḥāmī (63).

They say that the beginning of stone worship among the sons of Ishmael was when Mecca became too small for them and they wanted more room in the country. Everyone who left the town took with him a stone from the sacred area to do honour to it. Wherever they settled they set it up and walked round it as they went round the Ka'ba. This led them to worship what stones they pleased and those which made an impression on them. Thus as generations passed they forgot their primitive faith and adopted

[illegible] Tabari.

[illegible] Ahmad al-Muqaddasī: [illegible] a quick ambling, half-[illegible] [illegible] al-Qādir [illegible]

[illegible] Zakī Pasha, [illegible] 1934, p. [illegible] [illegible] printed in the text [illegible]

another religion for that of Abraham and Ishmael. They worshipped idols

[illegible]

cry at the great and little pilgrimage, while introducing elements which

[illegible]

and what he owns. They used to acknowledge his unity in their cry at

then include their idols with God, putting the ownership of them in His

hand. God said to Muhammad: "Most of them do not believe in God

without associating others with Him," i.e. they do not acknowledge My

oneness with knowledge of My reality, but they associate with Me one of

My creatures.

The people of Noah had images to which they were devoted. God told His apostle about them when He said: "And they said, "Forsake not your gods, forsake not Wadd nor Suwa', and Yaghuth and Ya'uq and Nasr." And they had led many astray."

Among those who had chosen those idols and used their names as compounds[1] when they forsook the religion of Ishmael—both Ishmaelites and others—was Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Mudar. They adopted Suwa' and they had him in Rohat; and Sa'd b. Waba' of Qaqa' a tribe adopted Wadd in Dumatu'l-Jandal.

Ka'b b. Hubaish al-Antaki said:

> We forsook al-Lat and al-'Uzza and Wadd,
> We stripped off their necklaces and earrings (62).

An [illegible] Tayyi' and the people of Jurash of Madhhij adopted Yaghuth in Jurash.[2] (63).

Khaywan,[3] a clan of Hamdan, adopted Ya'uq on the head of Hamdan in the Yamen (64).

Dhu'l-Kala' of Himyar adopted Nasr in the Himyar country.

Kinana had an idol called 'Aswad' in the Khulasa country. Accord-

[illegible]

ing to their own accounts they used to divide their crops and cattle between God and Allah. If any of Allah's portion, which they had earmarked for him, came into Anasbaha's portion they left it to him, but if any of Anasbaha's portion was in Allah's portion they returned it to him. They had a class of Khuzaa called al-Adim. Some say that it was concerning them that God revealed: "They assign to Allah of the [illegible] and cattle he has created a portion, and they say this is Allah's—on their assertion—and this is for our partners. Thus what is for their partners does not reach Allah and what is for Allah goes to their partners. Evil is their judgment! (6)"

The B. Hilan b. Amir b. Khasasa b. Muadhir b. Ilyas b. Mudar had an image called Sa'd, a lofty rock in a desert place in their country. They have a story that one of their tribesmen took some of his stock camels to the rock to stand by it in order to acquire its virtue.[4] When the camels, which were grazing, camels that were not ridden, saw the rock and smelt the blood which had been shed on it they shied from it and fled in all directions. This so angered the Milkanite that he seized a stone and threw it at the idol saying, "God curse you. You have scared away my camels!" He went in search of them, and when he had collected them together once more he said:

> We came to Sa'd to improve our fortunes
> But Sa'd disappointed them.[4] We have nothing to do with Sa'd.
> Sa'd is nothing but a rock on a bare height
> It cannot put one right or cause one wrong.

Thus had an idol belonging to Amr b. Humama al-Dawsi (65). 14

Quraysh had an idol by a well in the middle of the Ka'ba called Hubal (66). And they adopted [illegible] (or Asaf) and Na'ila by the place of Zamzam, sacrificing beside them. They were a man and a woman of Jurhum—Isaf b. Bagha and Na'ila d. Dik—who were guilty of sexual relations in the Ka'ba, so God transformed them into two stones.

'Abdallah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. Amr b. Hazm on the authority

[illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

of 'Amru b. Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Sa'd b. Zurāra that she said, "I heard 'Ā'isha say, "We always heard that Isāf and Nā'ila were a man and a woman of Jurhum who copulated in the Ka'ba so God transformed them into two stones." But God alone knows if this is the truth.

Abū Tālib said

> Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel
> Where the women flee from Isāf and Nā'ila.[1]

Every household had an idol in their house which they used to worship. When a man was about to set out on a journey he would rub himself against it as he was about to ride off, indeed that was the last thing he used to do before his journey, and when he returned from his journey the first thing he did was to rub himself against it before he went in to his family. When God sent Muhammad with the message of monotheism Quraysh said, "Would he make the gods into one God? That is indeed a strange proceeding!"

Now along with the Ka'ba the Arabs had adopted Tawāghit, which were temples which they venerated in there venerated the Ka'ba. They had their guardians and servants and they used to make offerings to them as they did to the Ka'ba and to circumambulate them and sacrifice at them. Yet they recognized the superiority of the Ka'ba because it was the temple and mosque of Abraham the friend (of God).

Quraysh and the B. Kināna had al-'Uzzā at Nakhla, its guardians and servants were the B. Sharīda of Sulaym, allies of the B. Hashim (76).

An Arab poet said

> Ausaf was given as a dowry the head of a little red cow
> Which a man of the Banū Ghanm had sacrificed.
> He saw a blemish in her eye when he led her away
> To al-'Uzzā's slaughter-place[2] and divided her into ritually portions.

Their practice when they sacrificed was to divide the victims among the worshippers present. Ghabghab was the slaughter-place where the blood was poured out (77).

[Ibn Ishāq: Aus b. Lu'ayy put al-'Uzzā at Nakhla, and when they had finished their hajj and the circumambulation at the Ka'ba they continued to be under taboo until they came to al-'Uzzā and had gone round it; there they abandoned the pilgrim taboo and stayed a day beside it. It belonged to Ghatafān. Al-Quraysh and B. Kināna used to venerate al-'Uzzā along with Khuzā'a, and al-Muzdalifa. Her shrine was used to ground (hajab) her were B. Sharīda of B. Sulaym, allies of B. Hāshim. [T I P 'Ajaj.]

Al-Lāt belonged to Thaqīf in Ṭā'if, her servants and guardians being B. Mu'attib of Thaqīf.

Manāt was worshipped by al-Aus and al-Khazraj and such of the people

[1] This poem in which the two women are to be found in the ... p. 6

[2] Ghabghab

[3] Al-Kalbī says the B. Nāfi b. Nāfi

[illegible]

Tayyi' Salma and Ajā' (78).

Himyar and the Yamanites had a temple in Sana' called Ri'ām (79).

Rudā' was a temple of B. Rabī'a b. Ka'b [illegible] b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. Al-Muntaghir b. Rabī'a b. Ka'b b. Sa'd where he destroyed it in the year of Jātān (80)

> I smashed Rudā' so completely that
> I left it a black ruin in a hollow (81)

[Dhū'l-Ka'ābāt belonged to Bakr and Taghlib the two sons of Wā'il and Jadīs in Sindād.[3] Of it Ā'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said

> Between al-Khawarnaq[1] and al-Sadīr and Bāriq
> And the temple Dhū'l-Ka'ābāt[2] of Sindād (82).

[1] Qadayd — the Red Sea between Tarābulus — through the religious route from Syria to Mecca, and Mashallal is a mountain overlooking it

[2] Ahmad wrote (again) journey [illegible]

[3] The Sindād district of the world of Kufa north of Najaf

[illegible] Al-Ḥasan al-Basrī said, "Kufa and Hira in ruins inside the Najaf

[4] On the four-square temple

THE BAHIRA, SA'IBA, WASILA, AND HAMI

The Bahira is the fifth of the Sa'iba. The Sa'iba is she the camel which gives birth to ten fillies without an intervening male. She is set free, is never ridden, her hair is not shorn, and only a guest is allowed to drink her milk. If she gives birth to a filly after that its ear is split and it is allowed to go its way with its mother, not ridden, hair unshorn, and only a guest may drink her milk as in the case of her mother. Such is the Bahira, the fifth of the Sa'iba. The Wasila is an ewe which has ten twin ewes in successive birthing without a male lamb intervening. She is made a Wasila. They say the expression meant: Any ewes which she gives birth to after that belong to the males, except that if one of them dies all share in eating it, both males and females (84).

The Hami is a stallion which at the end of ten successive fillies without an intervening colt. His back is taboo and he is not ridden, his hair is not shorn, and he is left to run among the camels to mount them. Beyond these no use is made of him (85).

When God sent his apostle Muhammad he revealed to him: 'God has not made Bahira, or Sa'iba or Wasila or Hami, but those who disbelieve invent a lie against God, though most of them do not know it.' And again: 'They say, What is in the wombs of these sheep is reserved for our males and prohibited to our wives; but if it is (born) dead they share in it. He will repay them for such division, verily He is knowing and wise.' Again: 'Say, have you considered what provision God has sent down to you and you have made some of it taboo and some of it permitted? Say, has God given you permission, or do you invent lies against God?' And again: 'Of the sheep two out of the goats two. Say, has He prohibited the two males or the two females, or what the wombs of the two females contain? Inform me with knowledge, if you speak the truth. And of the camels two and of the cattle two. Say, has He prohibited to you the two males or the two females, or that which the wombs of the two females contain, or were you witnesses when God enjoined this upon you? Who is more sinful than those who invent a lie against God to make men err without knowledge? Verily God will not guide the wrong-doing people' (86).[1]

CONTINUATION OF THE GENEALOGIES[1]

Khazi'a say: We are the sons of Amr b. 'Āmir from the Yemen (87).

Mudrika b. al-Ya's had two sons, Khuzayma and Judhayma, their mother being a woman of Qudā'a. Khuzayma had four sons: Kināna, Asad, Asada, and al-Hūn. Kināna's mother was 'Ukkāma d. Sa'd b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Mudar (88).

Kināna had four sons: al-Nadr, Mālik, 'Abdu Manāt, and Milkān. Nadr's mother was Barra d. Murr b. Udd b. Tābikha b. al-Ya's b. Mudar; the other sons were by another woman (89).

It is said that Quraysh got their name from their gathering together after they had been separated, for gathering together may be expressed by tajarruh.[1]

Al-Nadr b. Kināna had two sons, Mālik and Yakhlud. Mālik's mother was Atika d. Adwān b. Amr b. Qays b. Aylān, but I do not know whether she was Yakhlud's mother or not (90).

Mālik b. al-Nadr begat Fihr b. Mālik, his mother being Jandala d. al-Hārith b. Mudād al-Jurhumī (91). (There was war between Fihr and Hassān b. Abdu Kulāl b. Marthad Dhū Hurayb al-Himyarī who had [illegible] the stones of the Ka'ba so as to divert the pilgrimage to the Yemen. He [illegible] to enter Mecca. When Quraysh, Kināna, Khuzayma, Asad, and Judhām and other unknown elements of Mudar perceived this they marched against [illegible] in which Himyar were defeated and Hassān was taken prisoner by Fihr's son al-Hārith. Among those killed in battle was his grandson Qays b. Ghālib b. Fihr. Hassān remained a prisoner for two years until he paid his ransom. He was then released and died on the way to the Yemen.)

Fihr begat four sons: Ghālib, Muhārib, al-Hārith, and Asad, their mother being Layla d. Sa'd b. Hudhayl b. Mudrika (92).

Ghālib b. Fihr had two sons, Luayy and Taym, their mother being Salma d. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī. Taym were called the Banū'l-Adram (93).

Luayy b. Ghālib had four sons: Ka'b, Āmir, Sāma, and 'Auf; the mother of the first three was Mārriya d. Ka'b b. al-Qayn b. Jasr of Qudā'a (94).

THE STORY OF SAMA

Sama b. Luayy went forth to Tihāma and remained there. It is said that 'Āmir b. Luayy drove him out because there was a quarrel between them and Sama knocked out 'Āmir's eye. In fear of 'Āmir he went to 'Umān. The story goes that while Sama was young an ass shouted at him, saying: [illegible]

her head to grope and a snake seized her by the lip and forced her downwards until she fell on her side. Then the snake bit Sīma so that he died. The story goes that when Sīma felt death upon him, he said:

> Eye, weep for Sīma b. Lu'ayy.
> The clinging snake has clung to Sīma's leg.[1]
> Never have I seen such a victim of a camel
> As Sīma b. Lu'ayy when they came upon him.
> Send word to 'Āmir and Ka'b,
> That my soul yearneth for them.
>
> Though my home be in 'Umān
> I am a Ghālibī, I came forth not driven by poverty.
> Many a cup hast thou spilt, O b. Lu'ayy.
> For fear of death, which otherwise would not have been spilt
> Thou didst wish to avoid death, O b. Lu'ayy,
> But none has power to avoid death,
> Many a camel silent on night journeys didst thou leave prostrate[2]
> After its prodigious exertion (89).

THE MIGRATION OF 'AUF B. LU'AYY

It is alleged that 'Auf b. Lu'ayy went out with a caravan of Quraysh as far as the district of Ghaṭafān b. Sa'd b. Qays b. 'Aylān when he was left behind and his tribesmen went on without him. Tha'laba b. Sa'd (the
84 being his brother according to the kindred reckoning of B. Dhubyān, Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān b. Baghīd b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān and 'Auf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān b. Baghīd b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān) came to him, bound him to himself, gave him a wife, and took him into his tribe as a blood-brother. His relationship became well known among B. Dhubyān. It was Tha'laba, they say, who said to 'Auf when he lagged behind and his tribe abandoned [illegible]:

> Tether your camel by me, O Ibn Lu'ayy
> Your tribe has left you and you have no home.[3]

Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, or it may have been Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdullāh b. Ḥusayn, told me that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: 'If I were to claim to belong to any tribe of the Arabs or to want to attach them to us I would claim to belong to B. Murra b. 'Auf. We know that among them there are men like ourselves. We know, too, where that man went,' meaning 'Auf b. Lu'ayy. In the genealogy of Ghaṭafān he is

[1] So C. following al-Aghānī.
'The deer, plodding here that winds on through the night without uttering a sound.'
Reading *sawā'* with Tab. and MS. D in W.'s numeration. This is the best MS. used by W. and it is strange that he should have abandoned it for the reading *sawāt*, 'eight not to be left of the majority of inferior asses.' However, the latter is supported by *Mufaḍḍal*, p. 100.

Murra b. 'Auf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān b. Baghīd b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān. If this genealogy is mentioned to them they themselves say: 'We do not deny or contest it; it is our most proved genealogy.'

Al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim b. Jadhīma b. Farbā'—one of B. Murra b. 'Auf—when he fled from al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir and clave to Quraysh said:

> My tribe is not Tha'laba b. Sa'd
> Nor Fazāra the long-haired.
> My tribe if you must ask is the Banū Lu'ayy
> In Mecca they taught Mudar to fight.
> We were foolish in following the Banū Baghīd
> And leaving our next-of-kin and family.
> 'Twas the folly of the water-seeker who, his fill drunk,
> Throws away the water and goes after a mirage.
> 'Od's life if I had my way I should be with them
> And not be found seeking pasture from place to place.
> Rawḥa the Qurayshite mounted me on his camel
> And sought no reward for it (90).

Al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām al-Murrī, one of B. Sahm b. Murra, said, by refuting al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim and claiming to belong to Ghaṭafān:

> Lo, you are not of us and we have naught to do with you.
> We repudiate relationship with Lu'ayy b. Ghālib.
> We dwell on the proud heights of al-Ḥijāz while you
> Are in the verdant plain between the two mountains,

meaning Quraysh. Afterwards al-Ḥuṣayn repented of what he had said and recognized the truth of the words of al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim. He claimed to belong to Quraysh and, accusing himself of falsehood, he said:

> I repent of what I said before
> I realize that it was the speech of a liar.
> Would that my tongue were in two,
> Half of it dumb and the other half singing your praise.[2]
> Our father a Kindī, in Mecca is his grave,
> In the verdant[3] plain of al-Baṭḥā' between the mountains.
> We own a fourth of the sanctuary as an inheritance
> And a fourth of the plains by the house of Ibn Ḥārib,

meaning that the B. Lu'ayy were four: Ka'b, 'Āmir, Sīma, and 'Auf.

A person whom I cannot suspect told me that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to men of B. Murra: 'If you wish to return to your kindred do so.'[4]

The tribe were nobles among Ghaṭafān; they were their chiefs and

[2] Or 'contented'. Lit. 'in the course of the stars'.
[3] The importance of the genealogical tables is bound up with the control of pay and pensions. It was 'Umar who ordered that registers should be compiled. See Sprenger, *Das Leben d. Mohammed*, 177 sqq. ff.

leaders. Of them were Harim b. Sinan b. Abū Hāritha b. Murra b. Nubsha, Khārija b. Sinān b. Abū Hāritha, al-Hārith b. Auf, al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām, and Hishām b. Ḥarmala of whom someone has said

> Hishām b. Ḥarmala revived his father[1]
> On the day of al-Habā'ir and the day of al-Ta'mah
> You could see the kings slain beside him
> As he slew the guilty and the innocent (90).[2]

They were a people of a lively reputation among Ghaṭafān and Qays, and they retained their relationship with them. Among them the practice of *Baṣ* obtained.[3]

66 According to reports *Baṣ* is the name given to eight months of the year which the Arabs unreservedly regard as sacred. During those months they may go wherever they like without fear of violence. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā said with reference to B. Murra (91),

> Thank! If they are not in al-Marūrāt in their dwellings
> Then they will be in Nakhl.[4]
> A place where I have enjoyed their fellowship
> If they are in neither then they will be at large during the *Baṣ*.

He means that they will be travelling during the holy period.

al-A'lāt of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said:[5]

> Is your woman guest to be shoo to me
> While my woman guest and her husband are open to you?

67 Ka'b b. Lu'ayy had three sons: Murra, Adiy, and Ḥuṣayṣ, their mother being Wahbiyya d. Shaybān b. Muḥārib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. Nadr.

Murra b. Ka'b had three sons: Kilāb, Taym, and Yaqaẓa. Kilāb's mother was Hind d. Surayr b. Tha'laba b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Nadr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma; Yaqaẓa's mother was al-Bāriqiyya, a woman of Bāriq of the Azd of Yaman. Some say she was the mother of Taym, others say Taym's mother was Hind d. Surayr the mother of Kilāb (93).

Kilāb b. Murra had two sons: Quṣayy and Zuhra, their mother being Fāṭima d. Sa'd b. Sayal one of B. Jadara of Juthāma of al-Azd of Yaman allies of B. Dil b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kināna (94).

68 Of Sa'd b. Sayal the poet says

> Never among men whom we know have we seen
> A man like Sa'd b. Sayal.

[1] He brought him to life as he were by taking revenge on his slayers.
[2] Two famous battles. [3] i.e. he was not afraid of incurring a blood feud.
[4] I have removed the chapter heading 'The *Baṣ*' because it is a mere paragraph interpolated in the genealogy which has no heading to indicate where it is resumed.
[5] Either a place in Najd, belonging to Ghaṭafān, or a place two days' journey from Mecca. Shaykh Dīdān Zubayr, Cairo, 1944, [illegible]
[6] al-Geyer p. 33, [illegible]

> Weapon in either hand full of vigour he rode
> Dismounting to fight the dismounted on foot.
> Charging he carried the enemy's horsemen with him
> As the swooping hawk carries the partridge in its claws (95).

Quṣayy b. Kilāb had four sons and two daughters: 'Abdu Manāf, 'Abdu'l-Dār, 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā, and 'Abdu Quṣayy; and Takhmur and Barra. Their mother was Ḥubbā d. Ḥulayl b. Ḥabashiyya b. Salūl b. Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī (96).

'Abdu Manāf whose name was al-Mughīra b. Quṣayy had four sons: Hāshim, 'Abdu Shams, al-Muṭṭalib, their mother being 'Ātika d. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba b. Buhtha b. Sulaym b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrima and Ṣakhr al, whose mother was Wāqida d. Amr al-Mizniyya, i.e. Mazin b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrima (97).

THE DIGGING OF THE WELL ZAMZAM 71

While 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib was sleeping in the sacred enclosure he had a vision in which he was ordered to dig Zamzam which is a depression between the two idols of Quraysh, Isāf and Na'ila, at the slaughter-place of Quraysh. Jurhum had filled it in at the time they left Mecca. It is the well of Ishmael the son of Abraham where God gave him water when he was thirsty as a little child. His mother went to seek water for him and could not find it, so she went up to al-Ṣafā praying to God and imploring aid for Ishmael, then she went to al-Marwa and did the same. God sent Gabriel, who hollowed out a place in the earth with his heel where water appeared. His mother heard the cries of wild beasts which terrified her on his account, and she came hurrying towards him and found him scrabbling with his hand at the water beneath his cheek the while he drank, and she made him a small hole.[1]

JURHUM AND THE FILLING IN OF THE WELL ZAMZAM

The story of Jurhum, of their filling in Zamzam, of their leaving Mecca, and of those who ruled Mecca after them until 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib dug Zamzam, according to what Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakkā'ī told me on the authority of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Muṭṭalibī is that when Ishmael the son of Abraham died his son Nābit was in charge of the temple so long as God willed, then it was in charge of Mudād b. Amr al-Jurhumī (98). The sons of Ishmael and the sons of Nābit were with their grandfather Mudād b. Amr and their maternal uncles of Jurhum—Jurhum and Qaṭūrā' who were cousins being at that time the people of Mecca. They had come from the Yaman and travelled together and Mudād was over Jurhum and

The narrative is continued on p. 49

[illegible] Sawqah[1] one of these sons, over Qatūrā[2]. When they left the Yemen they refused to go unless they had a king to order their affairs. When they came to Mecca they saw a town furnished with water and trees and, delighted with it, they settled there. Mudād b. Amr with the sons of Jurhum settled in the upper part of Mecca in Qa'ayqi'ān and went no further. Sawqah[1] with Jurhum settled in the lower part of Mecca in Ajyād, the lower part of Mecca, and went no further. Mudād was a king of the sons of Ishmael. Mecca from above, while Sawqah did the same to those who entered Mecca from below. Each kept his own people, neither encroaching on the other's territory.

Then Jurhum [illegible] Qatūrā quarrelled and contended for the supremacy in Mecca [illegible] Mudād had sent from the sons of Ishmael and Nabāt, [illegible] he had the overweight of his numbers on his opponent Sawqah. The sons of Qatūrā [illegible] to fight with Sawqah. [illegible] people [illegible] Sawqah, expelling with spears, [illegible] plundered and [illegible] putting in their hamsters. It is said that [illegible] in vain to appeal for their rescue. Sawqah [illegible] with Nasr and Isāf and it is said Asafat [illegible] Sawqah [illegible] 'The two parties met in Fidlik, and after a severe battle Sawqah was killed and Qatūrā humiliated. It is said that the name Fidlik was given for this [illegible] 'Then the people [illegible] peace and went on until they [illegible] al-Mu'ahhab [illegible] Mecca [illegible] have they made peace [illegible] Mecca [illegible] 'When he [illegible] power and held [illegible] the people and gave them [illegible] The people carried and stir and that is why the place is called Maghlib. Some learned people allege that [illegible] was given because [illegible] ploughed there and grew the land [illegible] The dispute between Mudād and Sawqah was the first open wrong committed in Mecca, at least so some allege.

[illegible] the offspring of Ishmael in Mecca and those women from Jurhum were rulers of the temple and judges in Mecca. The sons of Ishmael did not dispute their authority because of their rise of kindred and their respect for the sanctuary but there should be quarrelling or fighting therein. When Mecca became too confined for the sons of Ishmael they spread abroad in the land, and wherever they had to fight a people God gave them victory, brought them [illegible] and [illegible] things.

THE TRIBES OF Ṭ'AMA AND KHUZĀ'A GET POSSESSION OF THE TEMPLE AND EXPEL JURHUM

Afterwards Jurhum behaved high-handedly in Mecca and made lawful that which was taboo. Those who entered the sanct who were not of their tribe then committed wrongs and they appropriated gifts which had been made

[illegible] The Cairo editors rightly reject this etymology: ṣ̄ad is the plural of ṣ̄ad, such

to the Ka'ba so that their authority weakened. When B. Bakr b. Abdu Manāt b. Kināna and Ghubshān of Khuzā'a perceived that they [illegible] war against Jurhum and drove them out of Mecca. War was declared and in the fighting B. Bakr and Ghubshān got the upper hand and expelled them from Mecca. Now in the time of paganism Mecca did not tolerate injustice and wrong within the borders and it greatly did wrong within it regarded it as [illegible] therefore it was called the Scourcher [illegible] and any doing wrong came to profane its sanctity died on the spot. It is said that it was called Bakka because it used to break the necks of tyrants which they committed transgressions therein (99).

[illegible] Mudād al-'Ashamī brought out the two gazelles of the Ka'ba and the sword-stone and buried them in the well Zamzam, going away with the sons of Jurhum to the Yemen. They were latterly given to being the kingsmen of Mecca, and the above-named Amr said

Many a woman crying bitterly,
Her eyes swollen with weeping, said
'Tis as though between al-Hajūn[3] and al-Safā there was
No friend and none to beguile the night a long hours in Mecca.
I said to her, while my heart within me palpitated
As though a shot flowed between my ribs
'Of a surety we were its people,
And precious moments have brought us to naught
We were the lords of the temple after Nabat,
We used to go round the temple
Our prosperity plain to see
We were in charge of the temple above Nihat in glory
And the sons of plenty did we exceed with us,
We reigned in power, how great was our rule!
No other tribe there could boast
That was not merry a daughter to the best man I know[4]
His sons are men, we being brothers by marriage.'
If the world turned against us
The world ever brings parted [illegible]
Good' drove us out to [illegible] things, [illegible]
Dum destiny pursue its way
I say when the [illegible] sleep and I do not sleep
'[illegible] the throne, let not [illegible] and Ajrad perish'
I was forced to look upon them I do not like
The tribes of Hawwar and Nahdān
We became a legend after having been in prosperity
Then as what the passing years did to us.

[1] al-Nasr
[2] A mountain above Mecca
[3] al-Safā presumably refers to the divine King
[4] i.e. Ishmael

The tears flow, weeping for a town
Wherein is a sure sanctuary and the sacred places.
Weeping for a temple where doves unharmed,
Dwell safely there, with flocks of sparrows.
What ceremonies there are none, unhurried,
But leaving its sanctuary are hunted freely (100).

Amr b. al-Hārith, remembering Bakr and Ghubshān and the women of Mecca whom they had left behind there, said also:

Journey forth, O men, the time will come
When one day you will see be able to leave.
Hasten your hearts and loosen their reins,
Before death comes; and do what you must do.
We were men like you; fate changed us
And you will be as we once were (101).

75 THE DEPOSITION OF KHUZĀ'A IN THEIR CUSTODY OF THE TEMPLE

Then Ghubshān of Khuzā'a controlled the temple instead of B. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt, the man who was controlling it being 'Amr b. al-Hārith al-Ghubshānī. Quraysh at that time were in scattered settlements, and were dispersed among their peoples, B. Kināna, So Khuzā'a possessed the temple, passing it on from son to son until the last of them, Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Salūl b. Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī (102).

THE MARRIAGE OF QUṢAYY B. KILĀB WITH ḤUBBĀ DAUGHTER OF ḤULAYL

Quṣayy b. Kilāb asked Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya for his daughter Ḥubbā. Ḥulayl agreed and gave her to him and she bare him 'Abd al-Dār, 'Abd Manāf, 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā, and 'Abd. By the time that the children of Quṣayy had spread abroad and increased in wealth and reputation Ḥulayl died. Now Quṣayy thought that he had a better claim than Khuzā'a and B. Bakr to control the Ka'ba and Mecca, and that Quraysh were the noblest offspring of Ishmael b. Abraham, and the purest descendants of his sons. He spoke to Quraysh and B. Kināna asking them to drive out Khuzā'a and B. Bakr from Mecca and they agreed to do so.

Now Rabī'a b. Ḥarām of 'Udhra b. Sa'd b. Zayd had come to Mecca after the death of Kilāb and had married Fāṭima d. Sa'd b. Sayal. (Zuhra

at that time was a grown man and stayed behind, while Quṣayy had just been weaned.) Rabī'a took Fāṭima away to his land and she carried Quṣayy with her, and subsequently gave birth to Rizāḥ. When Quṣayy reached man's estate he came to Mecca and dwelt there.

Thus it was that when his people asked him to join them in the war he wrote to his brother Rizāḥ, who shared the same mother, asking him to come and support him. Thereupon Rizāḥ set out accompanied by his half-brothers Jūnm, Maḥmūd, and Julhuma, all sons of Rabī'a but not by Fāṭima, together with a number of Qudā'a among the Arab pilgrims, having 76
agreed to support Quṣayy.

Khuzā'a allege that Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya had enjoined this on Quṣayy when he saw how his daughter's children had multiplied, saying 'You have a better right to the Ka'ba and to rule in Mecca than Khuzā'a', so that this was the reason why Quṣayy acted as he did. But this is a story which we have not heard from any other source, and only God knows the truth. (T When the people had assembled in Mecca and gone to the *mawqif* completed the *ḥajj* and come down to Minā, Quṣayy assembled his paternal sons and his followers from his own tribe of Quraysh, the B. Kināna, and such of the Qudā'a as were with him, there only remained the ceremony of dismissal.)[1]

AL-GHAUTH'S AUTHORITY OVER MEN ON PILGRIMAGE

Al-Ghauth b. Murr b. Udd b. al-Ya'ṣ b. Muḍar used to give permission[2] to men on pilgrimage to leave 'Arafa, and this function descended to his children after him. He and his sons used to be called Ṣūfa.[3] Al-Ghauth used to exercise this function because his mother was a woman of Jurhum who had been barren and vowed to Allāh that if she bore son she would give him to the Ka'ba as a slave to serve it and to look after it. In course of time she gave birth to al-Ghauth and he used to look after the Ka'ba in early times with his Jurhum uncles and presided over the order of departure from 'Arafa because of the office which he held in the Ka'ba. His sons carried on the practice until they were cut off.

[1] T 1095, 13–14. The narrative goes on with the words: 'Ṣūfa used to send the people away'. W 96 [illegible]

[2] [illegible] permission [illegible] the view of [illegible] that [illegible] was originally the permission [illegible] upon the slaughtered [illegible] to the Meccan pilgrims the [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] was the signal for a [illegible] the neighbouring sanctuary of Muzdalifa where the [illegible] [illegible] permission to leave 'Arafa to [illegible] Qurayb [illegible] Muzdalifa. Also Ifāḍa, which may mean 'dispersion' or 'distribution'. [illegible] well [illegible] the torrent. [illegible] 'Arafa is not only ground but rather the point of [illegible] marriage [illegible] which the [illegible] began and the station at 'Arafa is only the preparation for the rite at Muzdalifa. In the other hand [illegible] meaning 'dismission' the Ṣūfa [illegible] to the rank of Kilāb. Scattered [illegible] remarks on the subject. N.B. [illegible] Wellhausen, Gesammelte Schriften, 200

[3] The meaning of the name is doubtful.

Muṭṭ b. Udd, referring to the fulfilment of the mother's oath, said

> O Lord, I have made one of my sons
> A devotee in Mecca the exalted.
> So bless me for the vow fulfilled,
> And make him the best of creatures to my credit.

Al-Ghauth, as they allege, used to say when he sent the people away

> O God, I am following the example of others.
> If that is wrong the fault is Qudā'a's.

Yaḥyā b. Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbād said: Ṣūfa used to send the people away from 'Arafa and give them permission to depart when they left Minā. When the day of departure arrived they used to come to throw pebbles, and a man of Ṣūfa used to throw for the men, never throwing until he had thrown. Those who had urgent business 77 used to come and say to him: Get up and throw so that we may throw with you, and he would say: No, by God, not until the sun goes down; and those who wanted to leave quickly used to throw stones at him to hurry him, saying, 'Confound you, get up and throw!' But he refused until the sun were down and then he would get up and throw while the men threw stones with him.

When they had finished the stoning and wanted to leave Minā, Ṣūfa held both sides of the hill and kept the men back. They said: Give the order to depart, Ṣūfa. No one left until they had gone first. When Ṣūfa left and had passed on, men were left to go their own way and followed them. This was the practice until they were cut off. After them the men of his inheritance[1] there were of B. Sa'd in the family of Ṣafwān b. al-Ḥārith b. Shuna (109). It was Ṣafwān who gave permission to the pilgrims to depart from 'Arafa, and this right was maintained by them up to Islam, the last being Karib b. Ṣafwān.

Aus b. Tamīm b. Maghrā' al-Sa'dī said

> The pilgrims do not quit their halting-place at 'Arafa
> Until it is said, Give permission O family of Ṣafwān.

'ADWĀN AND THE DEPARTURE CEREMONY AT MUZDALIFA

Hurthān b. Aus the Adwānite who was called Dhū'l-Isba' because he had a finger missing said

> Bring an excuse for the tribe of 'Adwān,
> They were the serpents of the earth,[2]

[1] i.e. 'for when they kept them for me in the other'. They were run by evil war. See Caussin de Perceval, Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes, ii. 180.
[2] i.e. 'venomous and treacherous'.

> Some acted unlawfully against others
> And some spared not others.
> Some of them were princes
> Who faithfully met their obligations.
> Some used to give men the parting signal
> By custom and divine command
> Of them was a judge who gave decisions
> And his verdict was never annulled.

Since the permission to depart from Muzdalifa was with 'Adwān, as 78
Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakkā'ī said on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, they used to pass it on from father to son until the last of them when Islam came, Abū Sayyāra 'Umayla b. al-A'zal, about whom a certain poet said

> We have defended Abū Sayyāra
> And his clients the Banū Fazāra
> Until he made his camel pass through safety
> As he faced Mecca praying to its Guardian.

Abū Sayyāra used to send away the people while sitting upon a she-ass of his; that is why he says 'making his ass pass safely'.

'AMIR B. ẒARIB B. 'AMR B. 'ITĀB B. NASHKUR B. 'ADWĀN

His words 'a judge who gave decisions' refers to the above-named. The Arabs used to refer every serious and difficult case to him for decision and would accept his verdict. Once it happened that a case in dispute in reference to a hermaphrodite was brought to him. They said: Are we to treat it as a man or a woman? They had never brought him such a difficult matter before, so he said: Wait awhile until I have looked into the matter for by Allāh you have never brought me a question like this before. So they agreed to wait, and he passed a sleepless night turning the matter over and looking at it from all sides without any result. Now he had a slave-girl Sukhayla who used to pasture his flock. It was his habit to send her when she went out in the morning by saying occasionally: You are early this morning, Sukhayla; and when she returned at night he would say: You are late to-night, Sukhayla, because she had gone out late in the morning and came back late in the evening after the others. Now when this girl saw that he could not sleep and tossed about on his bed she asked what his trouble was. 'Get out and leave me alone, for it is none of your business,' he retorted. However, she was so persistent that he said to himself that it might be that she would provide him with some solution of his problem, so he said: Well then, I was asked to adjudicate on the inheritance of a

[1] [illegible]

[illegible] know what to do and I see no way out.' He said, 'Good God, merely [illegible] the course of the military process. Be as late as you please henceforth, Sabbay'a, you have solved my problem, and be. Then in the morning [illegible] concerned.

HOW QUṢAYY B. KILAB GAINED POWER IN MECCA

[illegible]

QUḌĀ'A GAVE HIM

[illegible] when they were in authority. Quṣayy came to them with his tribesmen from Quraysh and Kināna and Quḍā'a at al-'Aqaba saying, 'We [illegible] right to this authority from you.' (T) They disputed and [illegible] battle took place in the valley of Mecca and both parties suffered heavily [illegible] Ka'b b. Ḥubb b. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kināna. He verdict [illegible] Khuzā'a and that all blood shed by Quṣayy was to be cancelled and com[illegible] [illegible] of Quraysh, Kināna, and Quḍā'a whom they had killed and [illegible] claim to bloodwit and received it (104).

[illegible] the valley and the people of Mecca, and so they made this thing [illegible] [illegible]

B. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy to monopolize kingship and to be obeyed by his people as king. He held the keys of the temple, the right to water the pilgrims from the well of Zamzam, to feed the pilgrims, to preside at assemblies, and to hand out the war banners. In his hands lay all the dignities of Mecca: he [illegible] Quraysh into their houses in Mecca which they held.

People assert that the Quraysh were afraid to cut down the [illegible] of the sanctuary in their quarrel, but Quṣayy cut them down with his own hand or through his assistants. Quraysh called him the 'unifier' because he had brought them together and they drew a happy omen from his rule. So far as Quraysh were concerned no woman was given in marriage, no man married, no discussion about public affairs was held, and no banner [illegible] to his house to put on her shift. The shift was split over her head so his [illegible] her which could not be infringed. He chose for himself the house of [illegible] ing and made a door which led to the mosque of the Ka'ba so it the Quraysh used to settle their affairs (105).

[illegible] Wā'ila b. Khalīfa, author of *al-Maqāṣir*, reporting that he heard a man [illegible] he united Quraysh and expelled Khuzā'a and B. Bakr from Mecca, and [illegible] changed because he deemed it a religious reform. The fifth concerned, [illegible]

When Quṣayy's war was over his brother Rizāḥ b. Rabī'a went away in his own land with his countrymen. Concerning his response to Quṣayy he composed the following verse:

> When a messenger came from Quṣayy
> And said 'Respond to your friend's request,
> We sprang to him and leading our horses,
> Coming from as the half-learned and shun-seeing,
> We rode all night until the dawn
> Hiding ourselves by day lest we should be attacked
> Our camels were swift as geese hurrying to water
> Bringing our answer to the call of Quṣayy

We collected tribesmen from Sirr and the two Ashmadha'
From every tribe a clan.
What a fine force of cavalry that night,
More than a thousand, swift, smooth-paced
When they passed by al-'Asjad
And took the easy road from Mustanfikh
And passed by the edge of Wanqān
And passed by al-Arj, a tribe encamped there,
They passed by the thornbushes without cropping them,[2]
Running hard the livelong night from Marr
We brought the colts near their mothers
That their neighing might be gentle.
And when we came to Mecca we
Subdued the men tribe by tribe.
We smote them there with the edge of the sword
And with every stroke we deprived them of their wits
We trod them down with our horses' hooves
As the strong tread down the weak and helpless
We killed Khuzā'a in their homeland
And Bakr we killed group by group.
We drove them from God's land.
We would not let them possess a fertile country
We kept them bound in iron fetters.[3]
On every tribe we quenched our rancorous.

8a Tha'laba b. 'Abdullāh b. Dhubyān b. al-Hārith b. Sa'd Hudhaym al-Qudā'ī said concerning Quṣayy's invitation and their response

We urged on our slender high-stepping horses
From the sandhills, the sandhills of al-Jināb
To the lowlands of Tihāma, and we met our foe
In a barren depression of a desert.
As for Ṣufa the effeminate,
They forsook their dwellings in fear of the sword.
But the sons of 'Ali when they saw us
Leaped to their swords like camels that yearn for home.

Quṣayy b. Kilāb said

I am the son of the protector, the B. Lu'ayy,
In Mecca is my home where I grew up.

It is disputed whether there are two miles or one mountain between Muzdalifa and Kharybu.

The reading is uncertain; 'they passed by water without tasting it', as some MSS. propose, is improbable.

[3] It seems improbable that such a rare and valuable metal would be used for such a purpose at this date.

Mine is the valley as Ma'add knows,
Its Marwa I delight in.
I should not have conquered had not
The sons of Qaydhar and Nabit settled there.
Rizāh was my helper and through him I am great,
I fear no injustice as long as I live.

When Rizāh was established in his country God increased him and Hunn in numbers. (They are the two tribes of 'Udhra today.) Now when he came to his country there had been a matter in dispute between Rizāh on the one hand and Nahd b. Zayd and Hauṣala b. Asḥam on the other, they being two clans of Quḍā'a. He put them in fear so that they clave to the Yaman and left the Quḍā'a country and remain in the Yaman to this day. Now Quṣayy was well disposed to Quḍā'a and wanted them to increase and be united in their land because of his kinship with Rizāh and because of their goodwill to him when they responded to his appeal for help. He disliked what Rizāh had done to them and said:

Who will tell Rizāh from me
That I blame him on two accounts,
I blame you for the Banū Nahd b. Zayd
Because you drove a wedge between them and me,
And for Hauṣala b. Asḥam; of a truth
He who treats them badly has badly treated me (106). 8a

When Quṣayy grew old and feeble, he spoke to 'Abdu'l-Dār. He was his first born but (if they say he was weak) 'Abdu Manāf had become famous during his father's lifetime and done all that had to be done along with 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā and 'Abd. He said: 'By God, my son I will put you on a par with the others: though they have a greater reputation than yours, none of them shall enter the Ka'ba until you open it for them; none shall give the Quraysh the war banner but you with your own hand; none shall drink in Mecca except you allow it; and no pilgrim shall eat food unless you provide it; and Quraysh shall not decide any matter except in your house.' He gave him his house, it being the only place where Quraysh could settle their affairs, and he gave him the formal rights mentioned above.

The *Rifāda* was a tax which Quraysh used to pay from their property to Quṣayy at every festival. With it he used to provide food for the pilgrims who were unable to afford their own provisions. Quṣayy had laid this as a duty upon Quraysh, saying: 'You are God's neighbours, the people of his temple and sanctuary. The pilgrims are God's guests and the visitors to His temple and have the highest claim on your generosity: so provide food and drink for them during the pilgrimage until they depart out of your territory.' Accordingly they used to pay him every year a tax on their flocks and he used to provide food for the people therefrom, while they

Reading مكوا with Ant. 1, 60 for ملا in 1, 1.

were in Mina, and his people carried out this order of his during the time of ignorance and Islam [illegible] To this very day it is the least which the nation provides every year in Mina until the pilgrimage is over.

My father Ishaq b. Yasir from al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib [illegible] concerning the transfer of his power to him in these words, 'I heard him saying this to a man of B. 'Abdi'l-Dar called Nubaih b. Wahb b. 'Amir b. [illegible] b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Hakim b. 'Abdu Manaf b. 'Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy al-Hasan said: 'Qusayy gave him all the authority that he had over his people. Qusayy was never contradicted nor was any expense of his ever thrown.'

THE RIFT IN QURAYSH AFTER QUSAYY AND THE CONSPIRACY OF THE SCENTED ONES

After the death of Qusayy his sons assumed his authority over the people and marked out Mecca in quarters, after he had allotted space there for his own tribe. They allotted quarters among their people and among other allies, and sold them. Quraysh took part in this with them without any [illegible] Hashim and al-Muttalib and Nawfal—agreed to seize the rights that the sons of 'Abdu'l-Dar possessed which Qusayy had given to 'Abdu'l-Dar himself, namely those mentioned above. They considered that they had a better right to them because of their superiority and their position among [illegible] with B. 'Abdu Manaf, and the other with B. 'Abdu'l-Dar. The former held that the new claimants had a better right, the latter that rights which Qusayy had given to one branch should not be taken away from them.

The leader of B. 'Abdu Manaf was 'Abdu Shams, because he was the eldest son of his father, and the leader of B. 'Abdu'l-Dar was 'Amir b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf b. 'Abdu'l-Dar. The B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Qusayy and B. Zuhra b. Kilab and B. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b and B. al-Harith b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr were with B. 'Abdu Manaf, while with B. 'Abdu'l-Dar were B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza b. Murra, and B. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Hussays b. Ka'b and B. Jumah b. 'Amr b. Hussays b. Ka'b and B. 'Adiyy b. Ka'b. The men who remained neutral were 'Amir b. Lu'ayy and Muhârib b. Fihr.

They all made a first agreement that they would not abandon one another and would not betray one another so long as the sea wetted seaweed [illegible] that some of the women of the tribe brought it out to them, and they put it for their allies in the mosque beside the Ka'ba; then they dipped their hands into it and they and their allies took a solemn oath. Then they

rubbed their hands on the Ka'ba strengthening the solemnity of the oath. For this reason they were called the Scented Ones.

The other side took a similar oath at the Ka'ba and they were called the Confederates. Thus the tribes formed groups and linked up one with another. The B. 'Abdu Manaf were ranged against B. Sahm, B. Asad against B. 'Abdu'l-Dar, Zuhra against B. Jumah, B. Taym against B. Makhzum, and B. al-Harith against 'Adiyy b. Ka'b. They ordained that such tribal alliance should determine the opposing sides.

When the people had thus decided on war, suddenly they demanded peace on the condition that B. 'Abdu Manaf should be given the rights of watering the pilgrims and collecting the tax, and the access to the Ka'ba, the standard of war, and the assembly house, which belong to the 'Abdu'l-Dar as before. The arrangement commended itself to both sides and was carried out, and so war was prevented. This was the name of allies and Lord brought honour, when the apostle of God came. Whatever alliance there was in the days of ignorance Islam strengthens it.

THE CONFEDERACY OF THE FUDUL

Zayd b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman al-Bakri related to me the following as from Ibn Ishaq. The tribes of Quraysh decided to make a covenant and alliance for their purpose in the house of 'Abdu'l-Lah b. Jud'an b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy because of his seniority and the high reputation he received. Those parties to the agreement with him were B. Hashim, B. al-Muttalib, Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza, Zuhra b. Kilab, and Taym b. Murra. They bound themselves by a solemn agreement that if they found that anyone, either a native of Mecca or an outsider had been wronged they would take his part against the aggressor until one had the stolen property restored to him. Quraysh called that confederacy 'The Confederacy of the Fudul.'

Muhammad b. Zayd b. al-Muhajir b. Qunfuth al-Taymi told me that he heard 'Ali b. 'Abdu'l-Lah b. Aus al-Zafari say: 'The apostle of God said, "I witnessed in the house of 'Abdu'l-Lah b. Jud'an a covenant which I would not exchange for any number of red camels; if I were invited to take part in it during Islam I should do so."'

Yusuf b. 'Abdu'l-Lah b. [illegible] b. al-Hadi al-Laythi told me that Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told him that there was a dispute between al-Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib and al-Walid b. 'Utba b. Abi Sufyan about some property they held in Dhu'l-Marwa. At that time al-Walid was governor of Medina, his uncle Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan having given him the appointment. Al-Walid had defrauded al-Husayn of his [illegible]

[illegible] apostle's mosque and invoke the confederacy of the Fudul? Abdullah b. al-Zubayr who was with al-Walid at the time said: 'And I swear by God [illegible] person, or we will die together.' When the news reached al-Miswar b. [illegible] shifah al-Taymi they said the same. As soon as he realized what was happening al-Walid gave al-Hussayn satisfaction.

This same Yazid, on the same authority, told me that Muhammad b. [illegible] he had failed him al-Zubayr and the people had gathered against 'Abdu'l-Malik. When he went to see him he said: 'O Abu Sa'id, were not we and [illegible] B. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf and B. Naufal b. Abdu [illegible] work of the matter.' He answered: 'No, by God, you and we hope out of that?' 'You're right,' said 'Abdu'l-Malik.

[illegible] pilgrims because 'Abdu Shams was a great traveller who was accident to be found in Mecca, moreover he was a poor man with a large family, while Hashim was a well-to-do man. It is alleged that when the pilgrims were [illegible] and the people of His temple. At this feast there came to you God's visitors and pilgrims to His temple. They are God's guests, and His guests have [illegible] for the time they have to stay here. If my own means were sufficient I [illegible] pilgrims until they left Mecca.

It is alleged that Hashim was the first to institute the two seasons journey [illegible] he was called Hashim because he broke up bread in this way for his people in Mecca. A Quraysh poet, or one of the Arabs, composed this poem:

> 'Amr who made bread-and-broth for his people,
> A people in Mecca who suffered lean years.
> He it was who started the two journeys,
> The winter's moderate and the summer's brain (ice)

[illegible] Wahb died in Ghazza of the land of Bilq while

The *rifada* further by means of a levy on Quraysh, has been explained above (p. 39) [illegible]

[illegible] called him al-Fayd on account of his liberality and high character.

[illegible]

To Hashim she bore 'Abdu'l-Muttalib and called his name [illegible] 'This is my nephew whom I have brought from Medina.'

[illegible] and addressed him in the following lines:

> Thirsty are the pilgrims now al-Muttalib is gone,
> No more bowls with overflowing brims.
> Now that he is gone would that Quraysh were in torment!

Shurahbil b. Ka'b al-Khuzi'i wrote this elegy over al-Muttalib and all the [illegible]

> O night! most miserable night,
> Disturbing all other nights
> With thoughts of what I suffer
> From sorrow and the blows of fate.
> When I remember my brother Nawfal,
> He reminds me of days gone by.
> He reminds me of the red water-carbuncle
> The fine new yellow robes.
> There were four of them, everyone a prince.
> Sons and grandsons of princes
> One dead in Radwan, one in Suhaym
> A third lies near Ghazza,

A fourth lies in a grave by the Ka'ba
To the east of the sacred buildings
Abdu Manāf brought them up virtuously
Safe from the reproof of all men.
Yes there are none like Mughira's children
Among the living or the dead.

Abdu Manāf's name was al-Mughira. Hāshim was the first of his sons to die at Ghazza in Syria, followed by Abdu Shams in Mecca, then al-Muttalib in Radhwā in the Yaman, and lastly Nawfal in Salmān in Iraq.

It was said to Marthad—at least they assert so—'Your lines are very good, but if you had done more justice to the theme they would have been still better.' He let me a night or two, he replied, and after a few days he produced the following

O eye, weep copiously, pour down thy tears,
Weep over Mughira's sons, that noble seed of Ka'b.
O eye, cease not to weep thy gathering tears,
Bewail my heartfelt sorrow in life's misfortunes.
Weep over all those generous trustworthy men,
Lavish in gifts, munificent, bounteous,
Pure in soul, of high intent,
Firm in disposition, resolute in grave affairs,
Strong in emergency, no cheats, not relying on others,
Quick to decide, lavish in generosity
If Ka'b's line is reckoned, a hawk
The very heart and summit of their glory
Weep for generosity and Muttalib the generous,
Release the fountain of thy tears.
Gone from us in Radwān today as a foreigner
My heart grieves for him among the dead.
Woe to you, weep if you can weep,
For Abdu Shams on the east of the Ka'ba,
90 For Hāshim in the grave in the midst of the desert
Where the wind of Ghazza blows o'er his bones.
Above all for my friend Nawfal
Who found in Salmān a desert grave.
Never have I known their like, Arab or foreigner
When their white camels bore them along
Now the camps know them no more
Who used to be the glory of our troops.
His time annihilated them or were their swords blunt,
Or is every living thing food for the Fates?
Since their death I have come to be satisfied
With mere smiles and friendly greetings
Weep for the father of the women with dishevelled hair

Who weep for him with faces unveiled as camels doomed to die.
They mourn the noblest man who ever walked,
Bewailing him with floods of tears.
They mourn a man generous and liberal,
Repeating upright, who settled the greatest matters.
They weep for 'Amr al-'Ulā[1] when his time came,
Benign was his nature as he smiled at the night's guests
They weep prostrated by sorrow,
How long was the lamentation and woe!
They mourned him when time exiled them from him.
Their lives pale like camels denied water,
With their loins girded because of fate's hard blows.
I passed the night in pain watching the stars
I wept and my little daughters wept to share my grief
No prince is their equal or peer.
Among those left behind none are like their offspring.
Their sons are the best of sons,
And they are the best of men in the face of disaster.
How many a smooth running fast horse have they given,
How many a captive mare have they bestowed,
How many a fine mettled Indian sword,
How many a lance as long as a well rope,
How many slaves did they give for the asking,
Lavishing their gifts far and wide.
Were I to count and others count with me
I could not exhaust their generous acts;
They are the foremost in pure descent
Wherever men boast of their forbears,
The ornament of the horses which they left
So that they have become solitary and forsaken,
I say while my eye ceases not to weep,
May God spare the unfortunate (family) (105)

By the 'father of the women with dishevelled hair' the poet means Hāshim b. Abdu Manāf.

Following his uncle al-Muttalib, Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hāshim took over the duties of watering and feeding the pilgrims and carried on the practices of his forefathers with his people. He attained such eminence as none of his forefathers enjoyed; his people loved him and his reputation was great among them.

[1] 'The noble' camels doomed to die' refer to the sacrificial which used to be tethered by the grave where dead matter could die of hunger and thirst. The heathen Arabs believed he would ride her in the next world.

[2] 'The lofty one.'

THE DIGGING OF ZAMZAM

While Abdu'l-Muttalib was sleeping in the hijr he was ordered in a vision to dig Zamzam. Yunus b. Abu Ishaq al-Musayyabi from Muhammad b. Abdu'l-rahman al-Yasari from Abdullah b. Zurayr al-Ghafiqi told me that he heard Ali b. Abi Talib [illegible] the story of Zamzam. He said that Abdu'l-Muttalib said, "I was sleeping in the hijr when a supernatural visitor came and said, 'Dig Tibn.' I said, 'And what is Tibn?' then he left me. I went to bed again the next day and slept, and he came to me and said, 'Dig Barra,' where I asked what Barra was he left me. The next day he came and said, 'Dig al-Madnuna,' where I asked what that was he went away again. The next day he came while I was sleeping and said, 'Dig Zamzam.' I said, 'What is Zamzam?' He said

> 'Twill never fail nor ever run dry,
> 'Twill water the pilgrim company,
> It has 'twixt the dung and the flesh bloody,'
> By the nest where the white-winged ravens fly,
> By the nest where the ants in and fro do ply.'

When the exact spot had been indicated to him and he knew that it corresponded with the facts, he took a pick-axe and went with his son al-Harith (for he had no other son at that time—and began to dig. When the top of the well appeared he cried 'Allah akbar!' Thus Quraysh knew that he had obtained his object and they came to him and said, "This is the well of our father Ishmael, and we have a right to it, so give us a share in it." 'I will not,' he answered, 'I was specially told of it and not you, and I was the one to be given it.' They said 'Do us justice, for we shall not leave you [illegible] anyone you like as umpire between us.' He agreed to accept a woman [illegible]

'Abdu'l-Muttalib accompanied by some of his relatives and a representative [illegible] from all the tribes of Quraysh, rode away. They went on through [illegible] the ground that if they gave them their water they too would die of thirst. In his desperation 'Abdu'l-Muttalib consulted his companions as to what [illegible] one can thrust him into the hole and bury him until the last man, for [illegible] accepted his advice and every man began to dig a hole for himself. Then they sat down until they should die of thirst. After a time 'Abdu'l-Muttalib said to his companions, 'By God, to abandon ourselves to death in this [illegible] perhaps God will give us water somewhere. To your saddles!' So they got their beasts ready while the Quraysh were busy down at work. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib went to his beast and mounted her and when she got up from her [illegible] a flow of fresh water broke out from beneath her foot. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib and his companions cried 'Allah akbar!' exclaimed and drank and filled their water-skins. Then they invited the Quraysh to come to the water which God had given them to drink. After they had done so and filled their water-skins they said: 'By God, the judgement has been given in your favour 'Abdu'l-Muttalib. We will never dispute your claim to Zamzam. He who has given you water in this wilderness is He who has given you Zamzam. Return to your office of watering the pilgrims in peace.' So they all went back without going to the diviner.

This is the story which I heard as from Ali b. Abu Talib about Zamzam and I have heard one report on 'Abdu'l-Muttalib's authority that when he was ordered to dig Zamzam it was said to him

> Then pray for much water as crystal clear
> To water God's pilgrims at the sites they revere
> As long as it lasts you've nothing to fear

On hearing these words he went to the Quraysh and said, 'You know that I have been ordered to dig Zamzam for you [illegible] but have you been told where it is?' When he replied that he had not they told him to go back to his bed where he had the vision and if it really came from God it would be made plain to him. [illegible] would not return to him. So 'Abdu'l-Muttalib went back to his bed and slept and received the following message

> Dig Zamzam, 'twill not to your hopes give lie,
> 'Tis piped from your father eternally

'Twill never fail or ever run dry
'Twill water the pilgrim company
Like an ostrich flock a fraternity,
Their voice God hears most graciously
A part most sure from days gone by
Nought like it once then descry,
It lies 'twixt the dung and the flesh bloody (?).

It is alleged [illegible] Zamzam [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] with, [illegible] al-Hārith, who at that time was his only son, went and [illegible] deeply before the stone top of the well appeared and he gave thanks [illegible] Jurhum. He said that he would make two arrows for the Ka'ba, two for them, and two for himself. The two arrows which came out from the spring [illegible] belonged. The two arrows and [illegible] for himself, and two white ones for Quraysh. They were then given to the [illegible] of the spring [illegible] and the guardianship of the spring [illegible] and he cried 'Arim Hubal', i.e. Make your religion victorious! [illegible] The two black ones allowed the swords and seats of mail to 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, and the two arrows of Quraysh remained behind. 'Abdu'l-[illegible] the guardianship of the Ka'ba [illegible] the supply of Zamzam water to the pilgrims.

Before the digging of Zamzam Quraysh had already dug wells in Mecca according to what Zayād b. Abdullah al-Bakkā'ī told me from Muhammad b. Isḥāq. He said that 'Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manāf dug al-Ṭawīy wh[illegible] well in the upper part of Mecca near al-Bayḍā' the house of Muhan[illegible]

Hishām b. Abdu Manāf dug Badhdhar which is near al-Mustandhar a spur of Mount al-Khandama at the mouth of the pass of Abū Ṭālib. They allege that when he had dug it he said: 'I will make it a means of subsis[illegible]

Umayya b. Abdu Shams dug al-Ḥafr for himself. The B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā dug Suqayya[1] which belongs to them. The B. 'Abdu'l-Dār dug Umm Ahrād. The B. Jumaḥ dug al-Sunbula which belongs to Khalaf b. Wahb. The B. Sahm dug al-Ghamr which belongs to them.

There were some old wells outside Mecca dating from the time of Murra b. Ka'b and Kilāb b. Murra from which the first princes of Quraysh used to draw water, namely Rūmm and Khumm. Rūmm was dug by Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy and Khumm by B. Kilāb b. Murra, and so was al-Ḥafr.[1] There is an old poem of Hudhayfa b. Ghānim, brother of B. Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy (112), which runs:

In the good old days we were long satisfied
To get our water from Khumm or al-Ḥafr

Zamzam already surpassed the other wells from which the pilgrims used to get their water, and people went to it because it was in the sacred enclosure [illegible] was the well of Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm. Because of it B. 'Abdu Manāf behaved beneficially towards Quraysh and all other Arabs.

Here are some lines of Mughīra b. Abū 'Amr b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf boasting over Quraysh that they have the right of watering and feeding the pilgrims, and that they discovered Zamzam, and that B.

[1] The whole has been unduly long. Commentators point out that Khumm and Rūmm dig [illegible]

Abdu Manāf were one family in which the honour and merit of old belonged to all

> Glory came to us from our fathers.
> We have carried it to greater heights
> Do not we give the pilgrims water
> And sacrifice the fat rubbly camels?
> When death is at hand we are found
> Brave and generous.
> Though we perish (for none can live for ever)
> A stranger shall not rule our hut.
> Zamzam belongs to our tribe.
> We will pluck out the eyes of those who look enviously at us.

Kuthayyir b. Ghālib [mentioned above] said

> (Weep for him) who watered the pilgrims, son of him who broke 'bread'
> And Abdu Manāf that Fihr lord,
> He had bare Zamzam by the Maqām,
> His control of the water was a provider beyond that any man's (118).

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'ABDU'L-MUTTALIB'S VOW TO SACRIFICE HIS SON

It is alleged, and God only knows the truth, that when Abdu'l-Muttalib encountered the opposition of Quraysh when he was digging Zamzam, he vowed that if he should have ten sons to grow up and protect him, he would sacrifice one of them to God at the Ka'ba. Afterwards when he had ten sons who could protect him he gathered them together and told them about his vow and called on them to keep faith with God. They agreed to obey him and asked what they were to do. He said that each one of them must get an arrow, write his name on it, and bring it to him; this they did, and he took them before Hubal in the middle of the Ka'ba. (The statue of) Hubal[1] stood by a well there. It was that well in which gifts made to the Ka'ba were stored.

Now beside Hubal there were seven arrows, each of them containing some words. One was marked 'bloodwit'. When they disputed about who should pay the bloodwit they cast lots with the seven arrows and he on whom the lot fell had to pay the money. Another was marked 'yes' and another 'no', and they acted accordingly on the matter on which the oracle had been invoked. Another was marked 'of you', another 'alien,' another 'not of you', and the last was marked 'water'. If they wanted to dig for water they cast lots containing this arrow and whenever it came forth they

[1] I read Abdu with most MSS

[2] Cf. p. 109. I read 'Hubal being the greatest god, most reverent of the idols of Quraysh in Mecca'

[3] Not a member of the tribe

to work. If they wanted to circumcise a boy, or make a marriage, or bury a body, or doubted someone's genealogy, they took him to Hubal with a hundred dirhams and a slaughter camel and gave them to the man who cast lots. Then they brought near the man with whom they were concerned saying, 'O our god, this is A the son of B with whom we intend to do so and so; so show the right course concerning him.' Then they would say to the man who cast the arrows 'Cast!' and if there came out 'of you' then he was a true member of their tribe, and if there came out 'not of you' he was an 98

if there came out 'alien' he had no blood relations in them and was not an ally. Where 'yes' came out in other matters, they acted accordingly, and if the answer was 'no' they deferred the matter for a year until they could bring it up again. They used to conduct their affairs according to the decision of the arrows.

Abdu'l-Muttalib said to the man with the arrows, 'Cast the lots for my sons with these arrows,' and he told him of the vow which he had made. Each man gave him the arrow on which his name was written. Now Abdullāh was his father's youngest son, he and al-Zubayr sons of Abū Ṭālib were born to Fātima d. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Abd b. Imrān b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr (1 39). It is alleged that 'Abdullāh was 'Abdu'l-Muttalib's favourite son, and his father thought that if the arrow raised him he would be spared. (He was the father of the apostle of God.) When the man took the arrows to cast lots with them 'Abdu'l-Muttalib stood by Hubal praying to Allāh. Then the man cast lots and 'Abdullāh's arrow came out. His father led him by the hand and took a large knife, then he brought him up to Isāf and Nā'ila (T two idols of Quraysh at which they slaughtered their sacrifices) to sacrifice him. But Quraysh came out of their assemblies and asked what he was intending to do. When he said that he was going to sacrifice him they and his sons said 'By God, you shall never sacrifice him until you offer the greatest expiatory sacrifice for him. If you do a thing like this there will be no stopping men from coming to sacrifice their sons, and what will become of the people then?' Then said al-Mughīra b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa, 'Abdullāh's mother being from his tribe, 'By God, you shall never sacrifice him until you offer the greatest expiatory sacrifice for him. Though his ransom be all our property we will redeem [illegible] Quraysh and his sons said that he must not do it but take him to the Ḥijāz for there there was a soothsayer who had a familiar spirit, and he must [illegible] sult her. Then he would have liberty of action. If she told him to sacrifice him, he would be no worse off, and if she gave him a favourable response, he could accept it. So they went off as far as Medina and found that she 99 was in Khaybar, so they allege. So they rode on until they got to her, and when 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib acquainted her with the facts she told them to go away until her familiar spirit visited her and she could ask him. When they had left her 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib prayed to Allāh, and when they visited her

[illegible]

the next day she said, 'Word has come to me. How much is the blood money going to?' They told her that it was ten camels, as indeed it was. She told them to go back to their country and take the young male and ten camels. There can be no claim for them, for some of the lot falls against your man, and ten camels (and your lord is satisfied). If the lot falls against the camels then another ten will be added, for your lord will be satisfied and your client escape death. So they returned to Mecca, and when they had agreed to carry out their instructions, 'Abdu'l-Muttalib was praying to Allah. Then they brought some Arabs (?) and ten camels while 'Abdu'l-Muttalib stood by Hubal praying to Allah. Then they cast lots and the arrow fell against Abdullah. There added ten more camels and the lot fell against Abdullah, and so they went on adding ten at a time, until there were ten hundred camels, when finally the lot fell against them. Quraysh and those who were present said, 'At last your lord is satisfied, 'Abdu'l-Muttalib.' 'No, by God,' he answered (in their eyes), 'not until I cast lots three times.' Then they did and each time the arrow fell against the camels. They were duly slaughtered and left there and no man was kept back or hindered (from eating them) (114).

OF THE WOMAN WHO OFFERED HERSELF IN MARRIAGE TO ABDULLAH B. 'ABDU'L-MUTTALIB

Taking Abdullah by the hand 'Abdu'l-Muttalib went away and they passed [illegible] a woman of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzá b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghálib b. Fihr who was the sister of Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzá, who was at the Ka'ba. When she looked at him she asked, 'Where are you going Abdullah?' He replied, 'With my father.' She said, 'If you will take me you can have as many camels as were sacrificed in your stead.' 'I am with my father and I cannot act against his wishes and leave him,' he replied.

'Abdu'l-Muttalib brought him to Wahb b. 'Abdu Manáf b. Zuhra b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghálib b. Fihr who was the leading man of B. Zuhra in birth and honour, and he married him to his daughter Amina, she being the most excellent woman among the Quraysh in birth and position at that time. Her mother was Barra d. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzá b. 'Uthmán b. 'Abdu'l-Dár b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghálib b. Fihr. Barra's mother was Umm Habib d. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzá b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghálib b. Fihr. Umm Habib's mother was Barra d. 'Auf b. 'Uhayb b. 'Uwayj b. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghálib b. Fihr.

It is alleged that 'Abdullah consummated his marriage immediately and his wife conceived the apostle of God.[1] Then he left her presence and met the woman who had proposed to him. He asked her why she did not

[1] T: Muhammad.

make the proposal that she made to him the day before; to which she replied that the light that was with him the day before had left him and she no longer had need of him. She had heard from her kinsman Waraqa b. Nawfal, who had been a Christian and studied the scriptures, that a prophet of this people [illegible] among them.

His father, 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, told him he was told that 'Abdullah went on to a woman that he had beside Amina d. Wahb when he had been working in clay and the marks of the clay were on him. She put him off when he made a suggestion to her because of the clay that was on him. He then left her and washed himself, and as he made his way to Amina he passed her and she invited him to come to her. He refused and went to Amina who conceived Muhammad. When he passed the woman again she asked her if she wanted anything and she said, 'No. When you passed me there was a white blaze between your eyes and when I invited you you refused me and went to Amina, and she has taken it away.'

[illegible] his grandfather, he used to say that when he passed by her between his eyes there was a blaze like the blaze of a horse. She said, 'I invited him hoping that that would be in me, but he refused me and went to Amina and she conceived the apostle of God.' So the apostle of God was the noblest in his people in birth and the greatest in honour both on his father's and his mother's side. God bless and preserve him.

WHAT WAS SAID TO ÂMINA WHEN SHE HAD CONCEIVED THE APOSTLE

It is alleged in popular stories (and only God knows the truth) that Amina d. Wahb, the mother of God's apostle, used to say when she was pregnant with God's apostle that a voice said to her, 'You are pregnant with the lord of this people and when he is born say, "I put him in the care of the One from the evil of every envier; then call him Muhammad."' As she was pregnant with him she saw a light issue from her by which she could see the castles of Bosrá in Syria. Shortly afterwards Abdullah, the apostle's father died while his mother was still pregnant.

THE BIRTH OF THE APOSTLE AND HIS UPBRINGING

The apostle was born on Monday, 12th Rabi'u'l-awwal, in the year of the elephant. Al-Muqtafi b. 'Abdullah, who had it from his grandfather Qusayy b. Mu'ayqib and [illegible] and the apostle were born at the same time in the year of the elephant.' (T: It is said that he was born in the house known as T: and B. Yusuf's; and it is said that the apostle gave it to 'Aqil b. Abu Talib who kept it until he died. He sold it to Muhammad b. Yusuf, the brother

[illegible] separated it therefrom and made it into a mosque.)'

[illegible] 'Abdu'l-Rahmân b. Sa'd b. Zurara al-Anṣârî said that his informants said that Ḥassân b. Thâbit said: I was a well-grown boy of seven or eight, [illegible] his voice from the top of a fort in Yathrib "O company of Jews" until they all came together and called out "Confound you, what is the matter?" He [illegible]

109 I asked Sa'îd b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmân b. Ḥassân b. Thâbit how old Ḥassân was when the apostle came to Medina and he said he was six when the apostle came to Medina [illegible]

When his birth his mother went to tell his grandfather 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib that she had given birth to a boy and asked him to come and look at him. When he came she told him what she had seen when she conceived him [illegible]

T 999 [illegible] 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib took him [illegible] Thâbit [illegible] to find foster-mothers for him (115).

Halîma d. Abû Dhu'ayb of B. Sa'd b. Bakr was asked to suckle him [illegible] Nâjiya b. Qurayya b. Nuqr b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawâzin b. Manṣûr b. 'Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays b. [illegible]

[illegible] Abû Ṭâlib b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib [illegible] The mother was called al-Shaymâ' [illegible] 'Abdullâh b. al-Ḥârith. It is reported that al-Shaymâ' used to carry him in her arms to help her mother.

[illegible] 'Abdu'l-'Azîz b. Muḥammad on the authority of 'Abdullâh b. Ja'far b. Abû Ṭâlib or from one who told him or from him, informed me that Ḥalîma the apostle's foster-mother used to say that she went forth from her country with her husband and little son [illegible]

[illegible] weeping of her hungry child. She had no milk to give him, nor could those [illegible]

[illegible] relief. 'I rode upon my donkey which had kept back the other riders through its weakness and emaciation so that it was a nuisance to them. [illegible] of God was offered to everyone of us, and each woman refused him when [illegible] Quraysh? [illegible] Ḥalîma?", and we apprised him because of this. Every woman who [illegible] I said to my husband [illegible] friends without a meaning, I will go and take that orphan. [illegible] Do as you please: perhaps God wi[illegible] you [illegible] him back to my baggage and as soon as I put him in my bosom, my breasts overflowed with milk which he drank until he was satisfied, as also did his foster-brother. Then both of them slept whereas before this we could not sleep with him. My husband got up and went to the old she-camel and lo! her udders were full; he milked it and he and I drank of her milk until we were completely satisfied, and we passed a happy night. In the morning my husband said: "Do you know, Ḥalîma, you have taken a blessed creature?" I said, "By God, I hope so." Then we set out and I was riding my she-ass and carrying him with me, and she went at such a pace that the other donkeys could not keep up so that my companions said to me, "Confound you! stop and wait for us. Isn't this the donkey on which you started?" "Certainly it is," I said. They replied, "By God, something [illegible]

Sa'd country and I do not know a country more barren than that.

When we had him with us my flock used to yield milk in abundance. We milked them and drank while other people had not a drop, nor could they find anything in their animals' udders, so that our people were saying to their shepherds, "Woe to you! send your flock to graze where the daughter of Abu Dhuayb's shepherd goes." Even so, their flocks came back hungry

not to recognize this bounty as coming from God for a period of two years, when I weaned him. He was growing up as none of the other children grew and by the time he was two he was a well-made child. We brought him to his mother [illegible] I showed him [illegible] I am afraid on his account of the pest in Mecca." We persisted until she sent him back with us.

Some months after our return he and his brother were with our family behind the tents when his brother came running and said to us, "Two men [illegible]

[illegible] Sa'd 'O sons!' implying that Ḥalîma was not his mother. A strange reading.

clothed in white have seized that Qurayshī brother of mine and thrown him down and opened up his belly, and are stirring it up.' We ran towards him and found him standing up with a livid face. We took hold of him and asked him what was the matter. He said, "Two men in white raiment came and threw me down and opened up my belly and searched therein for I know not what." So we took him back to our tent.

His father said to me, "I am afraid that this child has had a stroke, so take him back to his family before the result appears." So we picked him up and took him to his mother who asked why we had brought him when I had been anxious for his welfare and desirous of keeping him with me. I said to her, "God has let my son live so far and I have done my duty. I am afraid that ill will befall him, so I have brought him back to you as you wished." She asked me what happened and gave me no peace until I told her. When she asked if I feared a demon possessed him, I replied that I did. She answered that no demon had any power over her son who had a great future before him, and then she told how when she was pregnant with him a light went out from her which illumined the castles of Buṣrā in Syria, and that she had borne him with the least difficulty imaginable. When she bore him he put his hands on the ground lifting his head towards the heavens. "Leave him then and go in peace," she said.

Thaur b. Yazīd from a learned person who I think was Khālid b. Ma'dān al-Kalā'ī told me that some of the apostle's companions asked him to tell them about himself. He said: "I am what Abraham my father prayed for and the good news of (T. my brother) Jesus. When my mother was carrying me she saw a light proceeding from her which showed her the castles of Syria. I was suckled among the B. Sa'd b. Bakr, and while I was with a brother of mine behind our tents shepherding the lambs, two men in white raiment came to me with a gold basin full of snow. Then they seized me and opened up my belly, extracted my heart and split it; then they extracted a black drop from it and threw it away; then they washed my heart and my belly with that snow until they had thoroughly cleaned them. Then one said to the other, weigh him against ten of his people; they did so and I outweighed them. Then they weighed me against a hundred and then a thousand, and I outweighed them. He said, 'Leave him alone, for by God, if you weighed him against all his people he would outweigh them.'"

The apostle of God used to say, There is no prophet but has shepherded a flock. When they said, 'You, too, apostle of God?' he said 'Yes.'

The apostle of God used to say to his companions, 'I am the most Arab of you all. I am of Quraysh, and I was suckled among the B. Sa'd b. Bakr.' It is alleged by some, but God knows the truth, that when his foster-mother brought him to Mecca he escaped her among the crowd while she was taking him to his people. She sought him and could not find him, so she went to 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and said: 'I brought Muhammad tonight and when I was in the upper part of Mecca he escaped me and I don't know where he is.' So 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib went to the Ka'ba praying to God to restore him. They assert that Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad and another man of Quraysh found him and brought him to 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib saying, 'We have found this son of yours in the upper part of Mecca.' 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib took him and put him on his shoulder as he went round the Ka'ba confiding him to God's protection and praying for him; then he sent him to his mother Āmina.

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[1] Sūra 61. 6.

A learned person told me that what urged his foster-mother to return him to his mother, apart from what she told his mother, was that a number of Abyssinian Christians saw him with her when she brought him back after he had been weaned. They looked at him, asked questions about him, and studied him carefully, then they said to her, 'Let us take this boy, and bring him to our king and our country; for he will have a great future. We know all about him.' The person who told me this alleged that she could hardly get him away from them.

ĀMINA DIES AND THE APOSTLE LIVES WITH HIS GRANDFATHER

The apostle lived with his mother Āmina d. Wahb and his grandfather 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib in God's care and keeping like a fine plant, God wishing to honour him. When he was six years old his mother Āmina died.

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm told me that the apostle's mother died in Abwā' between Mecca and Medina on her return from a visit with him to his maternal uncles of B. 'Adiy b. al-Najjār when he was six years old (107). Thus the apostle was left to his grandfather for whom they used to put a rug in the shade of the Ka'ba. His sons used to sit round the bed until he came out to it, but none of them sat upon it out of respect for him. The apostle, still a little boy, used to come and sit on it and his uncles would drive him away. When 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib saw this he said: 'Let my son alone, for by Allah he has a great future.' Then he would make him sit beside him on his bed and would stroke his back with his hand. It used to please him to see what he did.

THE DEATH OF 'ABDU'L-MUṬṬALIB AND THE ELEGIES THEREON

When the apostle was eight years of age, eight years after the 'year of the elephant', his grandfather died. This date was given me by al-'Abbās b. 'Abdullah b. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās from one of his family.

Muhammad b. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib told me that when 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib knew that death was at hand he summoned his six daughters Ṣafiya, Barra, 'Ātika, Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍā', Umayma, and Arwā, and said to

them. 'Compose elegies over me so that I may hear what you are going to say before I die.' (218)

Safiya d. Abdu'l-Muttalib and in mourning her father

I could not sleep for the voices of the keening women,
Bewailing a man on the crown of life's road
It caused the tears to flow
Down my cheeks like falling pearls
For a noble man, no wretched weakling,
Whose virtue was plain to all
The generous Shayba, full of merits,
Thy good father inheritor of all virtue.
Truthful at home, no weakling,
Standing firm and self-reliant,
Powerful, fear-inspiring, massive,
Praised and obeyed by his people
Of lofty lineage, emulous, virtuous,
A very rain when camels had no milk
Noble was his grandfather without spot of shame
Surpassing all men, bond or free,
Exceeding mild, of noble stock
Who were generous, strong as lions,
Could men be immortal through ancient glory
(Alas immortality is unobtainable!)
He would make his last night endure for ever
Through his surpassing glory and long descent

His daughter Barra said

Be generous, O eyes, with your pearly tears,
For the generous nature who never repelled a beggar
Of glorious race, successful in undertaking,
Of handsome face, of great nobility,
Shayba, the laudable, the noble,
The glorious, the mighty, the renowned
The clement, decisive in misfortunes,
Full of generosity, lavish in gifts,
Excelling his people in glory,
A light shining like the moon in its splendour
Death came to him and spared him not.
Change and fortune and fate overtook him.

His daughter Atika said

Be generous, O eyes, and not niggardly
With your tears when others sleep,
Weep copiously, O eyes, with your tears,
While you beat your faces in weeping.

Weep, O eyes, long and freely
For one, no doubt weakling,
The strong, generous in time of need,
Noble in purpose, faithful to his word,
Shayba the laudable, successful in undertaking,
The reliable and the steady,
A sharp sword in war
Destroying his enemies in battle,
Easy natured, open handed,
Loyal, stout, pure, good,
His house proudly rooted in high honour
Mounted to glory unobtainable by others

His daughter Umm Hakim al-Bayda' said

Weep, O eye, generously, hide not thy tears,
Weep for the liberal and generous one,
Fie upon thee O eye, help me
With far falling tears!
Weep for the best man who ever rode a beast,
Thy good father, a fountain of sweet water
Shayba the generous, the virtuous,
Liberal in nature, praised for his gifts
Lavish to his family, handsome,
Welcome as rain in years of drought,
A lion when the spears engage,
His womenfolk took on him proudly,
Chief of Kinana on whom their hopes rest,
When evil days brought calamity,
Their refuge when war broke out,
In trouble and dire distress
Weep for him, refrain not from grief
Make woman weep for him as long as you live.

His daughter Umayma said

Alas, has the shepherd of his people, the generous one, perished,
Who gave the pilgrims their water, the defender of our fame,
Who used to gather the wandering guest into his tents,
When the heavens begrudged their rain,
You have the nobler sons a man could have
And have never ceased to grow in fame, O Shayba!
Abd'l Hirth, the bountiful, has left his place,
Go not far for every living thing must go far
I shall weep for him and suffer as long as I live.
His memory deserves that I suffer.
May the Lord of men water thy grave with rain

I shall weep for him though he lies in the grave.
He was the pride of all his people.
And was praised wherever praise was due.

His daughter Arwā said

My eye wept and well it did
For the generous modest father,
111 The pleasant natured man of Mecca's vale.
Noble in mind, lofty in aim,
The bountiful Shayba full of virtues,
Thy good father who has no peer
Long armed, elegant, tall,
'Twas as though his forehead shone with light,
Lean waisted, handsome, full of virtues,
Glory, rank, and dignity were his,
Resenting wrong, smiling, able
His ancestral name could not be hid,
The refuge of Mālik, the spring of Fihr
When judgement was sought he spoke the last word
He was a hero, generous, liberal,
And bold when blood was to be shed,
When armed men were afraid of death
So that the hearts of most of them were as air
Forward he went with gleaming sword,
The cynosure of all eyes.

Muhammad b. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib told me[2] that 'Abdu'l-Muttalib made a sign to the effect that he was satisfied with the elegies, for he could not speak (111).

Hudhayfa b. Ghānim, brother of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy, mentioned his superiority and that of Quṣayy and his sons over the Quraysh, because he had been seized for a debt of 4,000 dirhams in Mecca and Abū Lahab Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Abdu'l-Muttalib passed by and redeemed him:

O eyes, let the generous tears flow down the breast,
Weary not, may you be washed with falling rain,
Be generous with your tears, every morn
Weeping for a man whom fate did not spare.
Weep floods of tears while life does last,
Over Quraysh's modest hero who concealed his good deeds,
A powerful zealous defender of his dignity,
Handsome of face, no wrangler, and no braggart,
The famous prince, generous and liberal,
Spring rain of Lu'ayy in drought and dearth,
112 Best of all the sons of Ma'add,

[1] Cf. Sūra 14, 44 and their houses were air

[2] *Ta'amma b.*

Noble in action, in nature and in race,
Their best in root and branch and ancestry.
Most famous in nobility and reputation,
First in glory, kindness and sagacity,
And in virtue when the lean years exact their toll.
Weep over Shayba the praiseworthy, whose face
Illumined the darkest night, like the moon at the full,
Who watered the pilgrims, son of him who broke bread,[1]
And 'Abdu Manāf chief Fihr's lord,
Who uncovered Zamzam by the Sanctuary.
Whose control of the water was a prouder boast than any man's
Let every captive in his misery weep for him
And the family of Quṣayy, poor and rich alike.
Noble are his sons, both young and old,
They have sprung from the eggs of a hawk,
Quṣayy who opposed Kināna all of them,
And guarded the temple in weal and woe.
Though fate and its changes bore him away,
He lived happy in successful achievement,
He left behind well armed men
Bold in attack like very spears.
Abū 'Utba who gave me his gift,
White blood camels of the purest white.
Hamza like the moon at the full rejoicing to give,
Chaste and free from treachery.
And 'Abdu Manāf the glorious, defender of his honour.
Kind to his kindred, gentle to his relatives.
Their men are the best of men,
Their young men like the offspring of kings who neither perish nor diminish.
Wherever you meet one of their scions
You will find him going in the path of his forefathers.
They filled the vale with fame and glory
When rivalry and good works had long been practised,[2]
Among them are great builders and buildings,
'Abdu Manāf their grandfather being the repairer of their fortunes,
When he married 'Auf to his daughter to give us protection
From our enemies when the Banū Fihr betrayed us,
We went through the land high and low under his protection,
Until our camels could plunge into the sea. 113
They lived as townsmen while some were nomads

[1] Cf. p. 66. Or, then for the good Hāshim (Ibn Hisham for Shāshim)

[2] Cf. Sūra [illegible] 42. 'We will give increase to good works' and cf. [illegible] for this use of the verb [illegible].

None but the sheikhs of Banū 'Amr[1] were there
They built many houses and dug wells
Whose waters flowed as though from the great sea
That pilgrims and others might drink of them,
When they hastened to them on the morrow of the sacrifice.
Three days their camels lay
Quietly between the mountains and the hajr
Of old we had lived in plenty.
Drawing our water from Khumm or al-Hajr
They forgot wrongs normally avenged,
And overlooked foolish slander,
They collected all the allied tribesmen,
And turned from us the evil of the Banū Bakr.
O Khārijah,[2] when I die cease not to thank them
Until you are laid in the grave.
And forget not Ibn Lubnā's kindness,
A kindness that merits thy gratitude.
And thou Ibn Lubnā art from Qusayy when genealogies are sought
Where man's highest hope is attained,
Thyself has gained the height of glory
And joined it to its root in valour.
Surpassing and exceeding thy people in generosity
As a boy thou wast superior to every liberal chief.
Thy mother will be a pure pearl of Khuzā'a.
When experienced genealogists one day compile a roll
To the heroes of Sheba she can be traced and belongs.
How noble her ancestry in the summit of splendour!
Abū Shamir is of them and 'Amr b. Mālik
And Dhū Jadan and Abū'l-Jabr are of her people, and
As ad who led the people for twenty years
Assuring victory in those lands (220).

Majrūd b. Ka'b the Khuzā'ite bewailing Abdu'l-Muttalib and the sons of Abdu Manāf said

O wanderer ever changing thy direction,
Why hast thou not asked of the family of Abdu Manāf?
Good God, if you had lived in their homeland
They would have saved you from injury and unworthy marriages
Their rich mingle with their poor
So that their poor are as their wealthy.
Munificent when times were bad,
Who travel with the caravans of Quraysh
Who feed men when the winds are stormy
Until the sun sinks into the sea.

[1] The sons of Hāshim are meant: his sons were Amr. So Cairo edition.
[2] i.e. Khārijah b. Hudhāfah

Since you have perished, O man of great deeds,
Never has the necklace of a woman drooped over your like
Save your father alone, that generous man, and
The beautiful Muttalib, father of his guests.

When Abdu'l-Muttalib died his son al-Abbās took charge of Zamzam and the watering of the pilgrims, although he was the youngest of his father's sons. When Islam came it was still in his hands and the apostle confirmed his right to it and so it remains with the family of al-Abbās to this day.

ABŪ TĀLIB BECOMES GUARDIAN OF THE APOSTLE

After the death of Abdu'l-Muttalib the apostle lived with his uncle Abū Tālib, for (so they allege) the former had confided him to his care because he and Abdullāh, the apostle's father, were brothers by the same mother Fātima d. Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Abd b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm (221). It was Abū Tālib who used to look after the apostle after the death of his grandfather and he became one of his family.

Yahyā b. Abbād b. Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr told me that his father told him that there was a seer of Lahb (222) who was a seer. Whenever he came to Mecca the Quraysh used to bring their boys to him so that he could look at them and tell their fortunes. So Abū Tālib brought him along with the others while he was still a boy. The seer looked at him and then something claimed his attention. That disposed of he cried, 'Bring me that boy.' When Abū Tālib saw his eagerness he bid him and the seer began to say 'Woe to you, bring me that boy I saw just now, for by Allāh he has a great future.' But Abū Tālib went away. 115

THE STORY OF BAHĪRĀ

Abū Tālib had planned to go in a merchant caravan to Syria, and when all preparations had been made for the journey, the apostle of God, so they allege, attached himself closely to him so that he took pity on him and said that he would take him with him, and that the two of them should never part; or words to that effect. When the caravan reached Busrā in Syria, there was a monk there in his cell by the name of Bahīrā, who was well versed in the knowledge of Christians. A monk had always occupied that cell. There he gained his knowledge from a book that was in the cell, so they allege, handed on from generation to generation. They had often

(221) 'never has your equal been born'. The figure is that of a woman hanging a baby whose her necklace falls over the child in her bosom. The correct reading would seem to be *ṣafā* for *ṣafā*. *Ṣafā* *ṣafā* means 'possessor of pendant earrings', i.e. a woman. Dr. Arafat suggests that *ṣafā* 'girdle' should be read and the line would then run 'Never has the knot of a woman's girdle run over your like'. The general sense would be the same but the particular reference would be to a pregnant woman.

[illegible] of a tree near the monk. He looked at the cloud when it over-shadowed the tree, and its branches were bending and drooping over the [illegible]

and small, bond and free. One of them said to him, By God, Bahira! [illegible] answered, You are right in what you say, but you are guests and I wish to [illegible]

the people he did not see the mark which he knew and found in his books, [illegible] They told him that no one who ought to come had remained behind except a boy who was the youngest of them and had stayed with their baggage. Thereupon he told them to invite him to come to the meal with them. One of the men of Quraysh said, By al-Lat and al-'Uzza, we are to blame for leaving behind the son of Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib. Then he got up and embraced him and made him sit with the people.* When Bahira saw him he started [illegible] al-'Uzza to [illegible] my questions. Now Bahira said this only because he had heard his people swearing by these gods. They allege that the apostle of God said to him, 'Do not ask me by al-Lat and al-'Uzza, for by [illegible] 'Then by Allah, tell me what I ask,' he replied, 'Ask me what you like.' [illegible] he began to ask him about what happened to him (T. waking and in his) [illegible] told him coincided with what Bahira knew of his description. Then he looked at his back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders in the very place described in his book (1123).† When he had finished he [illegible] to his uncle Abu Talib and asked him what relation this boy was to him, and when he told him he was his son, he said that he was not, for it could not be that the father of this boy was alive. 'He is my nephew,' he

said, 'Take your nephew back to his country and guard him carefully against the Jews, [illegible] and Darb, who were people of the scriptures, had noticed in [illegible] find in the sacred books, and that if they tried to get at [illegible] because he wished to honour him with apostleship, until he grew up to be [illegible] so that he was known among his people as 'The trustworthy' because of the good qualities which God had implanted in him. The apostle [illegible] period of heathenism, saying, 'I found myself among the boys of Quraysh carrying stones such as boys play with; we had all uncovered ourselves, [illegible]

THE SACRILEGIOUS WAR (124)

Then we broke out when the apostle was twenty years of age. It was so called because [illegible] fighting in the sacred month. The chief of Quraysh and Kinana was Harb b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams. At the beginning of the day Qays got the upper hand but by sudden victory went to Kinana (125).

THE APOSTLE OF GOD MARRIES KHADIJA (126)

Khadija was a noble lady of dignity and wealth. She used to hire men to trade with her capital on a profit sharing basis, and Quraysh were a people given to commerce. [illegible] she heard about the apostle's trustworthiness, truthfulness, and honourable character she sent for him and proposed that he should take her goods to Syria and trade with them, while she would pay him more than she paid others. He was to take a lad of hers called Maysara. The apostle of God accepted the proposal, and the [illegible] with them to Syria.

The apostle stopped in the shade of a tree near a monk's cell when the monk came up to Maysara and asked him the man who was resting beneath the tree. He said that he was of Quraysh. The monk said that only a prophet was resting under that tree. The apostle then went into the sanctuary; and the monk mentioned: 'Hence has a prophet since sat beneath this tree.

Then the [illegible] sold the goods he had brought and bought what he wanted to buy and began the return journey to Mecca. The story goes that at the height at noon when the heat was intense as he rode his beast Maysara saw two angels shading the apostle from the sun. When he brought Khadija her property she sold it and it multiplied on double or thereabouts. Maysara then told her about the monk's words and about the two angels who shaded him and of the monk's words. Now Khadija was a determined, [illegible] woman possessing the properties which she [illegible] and wished to marry him. So when Maysara told her these things she sent to the apostle of God saying [illegible] you because of our relationship and your high reputation among your people, your trustworthiness and good character and your speech. Then she proposed marriage. Now Khadija at that time was the best born woman of Quraysh in the greatest dignity and with the richest. All her people were eager to get possession of her wealth if it were possible.

It is said that the daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Qusayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr. Her mother was Fātima d. Za'ida b. al-Asamm b. Rawāha b. Hajar b. 'Abd b. Ma'īṣ b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr. Her mother was Hāla d. [illegible] Suhayb b. Sinān b. Namir b. Qāsiṭ b. Hinb b. Afṣā b. Du'mī b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Nazār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān. Her mother was Nutayla d. Asad b. Hārithā b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr.

The apostle of God told his uncles of Khadija's proposal, and his uncle [illegible] Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib went to her house and agreed that he should marry her to the apostle.

She was the mother of all the apostle's children except Ibrāhīm, named after [illegible] Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm, and Fātima (128).

Al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, and al-Ṭāhir died in paganism. All his daughters lived into Islam, embraced it, and migrated with him to Medina (129).

Khadija had told Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā, who was her cousin and a Christian who had studied the scriptures and was a scholar who had learnt from the Hanifs, what her slave had told her about the monk and how he had seen the two angels shading him. He said, 'If this is true, Khadija, verily Muhammad is the prophet of this people. I know that a prophet of this people was to be expected. His time has come,' or words to that effect. Waraqa was feeling the time of waiting worthwhile and used to say 'How long?' Some lines of his on the theme are

> I persevered and was persistent in remembering
> An anxiety which often evoked tears. And
> Confirmatory evidence kept coming from Khadija.
> Long have I had to wait, O Khadija,
> In the vale of Mecca in spite of my [illegible]
> [illegible]
> I could not hear that the words of the monk
> You told me of should prove false
> That Muhammad should rule over us
> Overcoming those who would oppose him.
> And that a glorious light should appear in the land
> To preserve men from disorder.
> His enemies shall never destroy
> And his friends shall be victorious.
> Would that I might be there alive to see,
> For I should be the first of his supporters,
> Joining in that which Quraysh hate
> However loud they shout in that Mecca of theirs.
> I hope to succeed through him where they all shining
> To the Lord of the Throne though they are cast down
> Is it folly not to disbelieve in Him
> Who shows him Who raised the story heights?
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> And if I die, he has the love of comrade
> To suffer death and disaster.

[illegible]

THE REBUILDING OF THE KA'BA WHEN THE APOSTLE ACTED AS UMPIRE

Quraysh decided to rebuild the Ka'ba when the apostle was thirty-five years of age (T. fifteen years after the sacrilegious war). They were planning to roof it and feared to demolish it, for it was made of loose stones above a man's height, and they wanted to raise it and roof it because men had stolen part of the treasure of the Ka'ba which used to be in a well in the middle of it. The treasure was found with Duwayk a freedman of B. Mulayḥ b. 'Amr of Khuzā'a (130). Quraysh cut his hand off; they say that the people who stole the treasure deposited it with Duwayk.

T. 1135 (T. Among those suspected were al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Naufal, and Abū Ihāb b. 'Azīz b. Qays b. Suwayd al-Tamīmī who shared the same mother, and Abū Lahab b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. Quraysh alleged that it was they who took the Ka'ba's treasure and deposited it with Duwayk, a freedman of B. Mulayḥ, and when Quraysh suspected them they informed against Duwayk and so his hand was cut off. It was said that they had left it with him, and people say that when Quraysh felt certain that the treasure had been with al-Ḥārith they took him to an Arab sorceress and in her rhymed utterance she decreed that he should not enter Mecca for ten years because he had [illegible] the sanctity of the Ka'ba. They allege that he was [illegible] and lived in the surrounding country for ten years.)

Now a ship belonging to a Greek merchant had been cast ashore at Jidda and became a total wreck. They took its timbers and got them ready to roof the Ka'ba. It happened that in Mecca there was a Copt who was a carpenter, so everything they needed was ready to hand. Now a snake used to come out of the well in which the sacred offerings were thrown and sun itself every day on the wall of the Ka'ba. It was an object of terror because whenever anyone came near it it raised its head and made a rustling noise and opened its mouth, so that they were terrified of it. While it was sunning itself one day, God sent a bird which seized it and flew off [illegible] with what we propose to do. We have a friendly craftsman, we have got the wood and God has rid us of the snake.' When they had decided to pull it down and rebuild it Abū Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Abd b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm (131) got up and took a stone from the Ka'ba and it leapt out of his hand so that it returned to its place. He said, 'O Quraysh, do not bring into this building ill-gotten gains, the hire of a harlot, nor money taken in usury, nor anything resulting from wrong and violence.' People ascribe this saying to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm.

'Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ al-Makkī told me that he was told on the authority of 'Abdullah b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumaḥ b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy that he saw a son of Ja'da b. Hubayra b. Abū Wahb b. 'Amr circumambulating the temple, and when

he inquired about him he was told who he was. 'Abdullah b. Ṣafwān said, 'It was the grandfather of this man, namely Abū Wahb, who took the stone from the Ka'ba when Quraysh decided to demolish it and it sprang from his hand and returned to its place, and it was he who said the words which have just been quoted.'

Abū Wahb was the maternal uncle of the apostle's father. He was a noble of whom an Arab poet said:

If you made your camel kneel at Abū Wahb's door
It would start the morrow's journey with well filled saddle-bags;
He was the noblest of the two branches of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib,
When any noble lineage is reckoned.
Refusing to accept injustice, delighting in giving,
His ancestors were of the noblest stock.
A great pile of ashes lie beneath his cooking-pot,
He fills his dishes with bread topped by luscious meat.

Then Quraysh divided the work among them; the section near the door was assigned to B. 'Abdu Manāf and Zuhra. The space between the black stone and the southern corner, to B. Makhzūm and the Qurayshite tribes which were attached to them. The back of the Ka'ba to B. Jumaḥ and Sahm, the two sons of 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy. The side of the ḥijr to B. 'Abdu'l-Dār b. Quṣayy and to B. Asad b. al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy, and to B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy which is the Ḥaṭīm.

The people were afraid to demolish the temple, and withdrew in awe from it. Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra said, 'I will begin the demolition.' So he took a pick-axe, went up to it saying the while, 'O God, do not be afraid' 125 O God, we intend only what is best.' Then he demolished the part [illegible] [illegible] will restore it as it was; but if nothing happens to him then God is pleased with what we are doing and we will demolish it.' In the morning al-Walīd returned to the work of demolition and the people worked with him, until they got down to the foundation of Abraham.[1] They came on green stones like camels' humps joined one to another.

A certain traditionist told me that a man of Quraysh inserted a crowbar between two stones in order to get one of them out; and when he moved the stone the whole of Mecca shuddered so they left the foundation alone. (T. so they had reached the foundation.)

I was told that Quraysh found in the corner a writing in Syriac. They could not understand it until a Jew read it for them. It was as follows: 'I am Allah the Lord of Bakka, I created it on the day that I created heaven

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[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

and earth and formed the sun and moon, and I surrounded it with seven
[illegible] angels. It will stand while [illegible] a blessing to its
people with milk and water [illegible] God's holy house, the [illegible] from three
directions; let its people not be the first to profane it.

[illegible] Abu Salama alleged that they found a stone in the Ka'ba forty
years before the prophet's mission, in which there was a book containing the
short prayer: He that sowth good shall reap joy; he that sowth evil shall
reap sorrow; [illegible] shall be rewarded with good. Nor is grapes
[illegible] gathered from thorns.

The tribes of Quraysh gathered stones for the building, each tribe
collecting them and building to such [illegible] the building was finished up to
the black stone, where controversy arose, each tribe wanting to lift it to its
place, [illegible] there several days, harvest [illegible] and got ready
for battle. The B. Abdu'l-Dar brought a bowl full of blood, then they
and the B. Adiy b. Ka'b [illegible] pledged themselves [illegible] and
dipped their hands into the blood. For this reason they were called the
blood-lickers. Such was the state of affairs for four or five nights, and then
Quraysh gathered in the mosque and took counsel and were equally
divided in the question.

A trustworthy alleged that Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b.
'Umar b. Makhzum who was at that time the oldest man of Quraysh, urged
them to make the first man to enter the gate of the mosque umpire in the
matter in dispute. They did so and he first to come in was the apostle of
God. When they saw him they said, 'This is the trustworthy one. We are
satisfied. This is Muhammad.' When he came to them and they informed
him of the matter he said, 'Give me a cloak,' and when it was brought he
took the black stone and put it inside it and then each tribe
should take hold of an end of the cloak and they should lift it together.
They did this so that when they got it into position he placed it with his
own hand, and then building went on above it.

Quraysh used to call the apostle of God before revelation came to him,
'the trustworthy one,' and when they had finished the building, according
to their dreams, al-Zubayr the son of Abdu'l-Muttalib said about the snake
which made the Quraysh dread rebuilding the Ka'ba.

> I was grieved that the angle were straight
> To the snake when it was removed.
> It used to rustle ominously
> And sometimes it would dart forth.
> When we planned to rebuild the Ka'ba
> It terrified us for a year furnace,
> When we feared its attack, down came the angle,
> Deadly straight in its sweep,

[illegible]

> It bore it away, thus leaving us free
> To work without further hindrance.
> We attached the building together,
> We laid its foundations[1] and the earth
> On the manner we raised the foundation,
> None of our workers were clothed.
> Though it did God honour the sons of Lu'ayy
> Its foundation was ever associated with them,
> Banu 'Adiy and Murra had gathered there,
> Kilab having preceded them
> For thus the King settled us there in power,
> For reward is to be sought from God (133)

THE HUNT

I do not know whether it was before or after the year of the elephant that
Quraysh invented the rites of Hums and put it into practice. I have said,
'We are the sons of Abraham, the people of the holy territory, the guardians
of the temple and the citizens of Mecca. No other Arabs have rights like
mine or a position like ours. The Arabs recognize none as they recognize
us, nor do not attach the same importance to the outside country as you do
to the sanctuary, for it was the Arabs and despite your labors and toil
you have given no same importance to the outside land as to the
sacred territory. So then gave up the half of Arafa and the departure from it, while they recognized that these were ancestors of the prophet
and the people of God to them. They remembered that other Arabs should
not share and depart from the place: but they said, 'We are the people of
the sanctuary, so it is not fitting that we should go out from the sacred
territory and honour other places as we, the Hums, honour them, for the
Hums are the people of the sanctuary.' Then they proceeded to deal in the
same way with Arabs who were born within and without the sacred territory. Kinana and Khuzaa a second with both of the [illegible]

The Hums were [illegible] for which they had no
warrant. They thought it wrong that they should eat cheese made of sour
milk or dried leather while they were in a state of ihram. They would not
enter tents of camel-hair or seek shelter from the sun except in leather tents
while they were in ihram state. They went further and ordered to allow
those outside the limits to bring food in such tents when they came on the
ground of the prophet. Now so they circumambulate the house except
in the garments of the Hums. If they had no such garments they had to go
round naked. I am [illegible] but perhaps when they had no such
garments, then they could go round in their ordinary clothes. But they had

Qusayy perhaps — brought

[illegible] afterwards to this number they [illegible] she could [illegible]

The Arabs called these clothes 'the cast-off'. They supposed all these [illegible] from it, and circumambulated the house naked. The men at least wore [illegible] back or front. An Arab woman who was going round the house then said

> Today some or all of it can be seen,
> But what can be seen I do not make common property

There were those [illegible] and would not get again and yet wanted, said

> It's grief enough that I should return to her
> As though she were a tabooed cast-off in front of the pilgrims

i.e. she could not be touched.

I too state of affairs lasted until God sent Muhammad and revealed to him [illegible] pilgrimage: 'Then hasten onward from the place whence men hasten onwards, and ask pardon of God, for God is forgiving, merciful.' [illegible] and sin pardon of God, for God is forgiving, merciful.' [illegible] throw and to hasten thence.

In reference to their prohibition of food and clothes at the temple such as had been brought from outside the sacred territory and consumed in [illegible] which He has provided? Say, They on the day of resurrection will be only for those who in this life believed. [illegible] the signs for people who have knowledge. [illegible] the [illegible] of the Hums and the [illegible] of Quraysh against man's [illegible] which He made the [illegible] people.

[illegible] b. Abd Rabb b. Muhammad b. Amr b. Hazm from 'Urwa b. [illegible] b. [illegible] What [illegible] God's [illegible] belong to him and he was taking on his beast in Arafat with men in the market of his tribe would he omitted it with them—a special grace from God [illegible]

[illegible] Muhammad b. [illegible] Kinana, Khuzaima, al-Aus and al-Khazraj, Jusham, B. Rabi'a b. 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a, Asad, Shanb'a, Judham, Zubayd, B. Dhawwab of B. Sulaim, 'Amr al-Lat, Thaqif, Ghanim, Ghawth, 'Adwan, 'Abd, and Qudi'a. When Quraysh let an Arab marry one of their women they [illegible] Al-Adham Taym b. Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr b. Kinana married [illegible] ing that his children from her should follow the name of Quraysh. It is in reference to her that Labid b. Rabi'a b. Ja'far al-Kilabi said

> My people renewed the name of Majd and I
> [illegible] and the name of Hud

Thawr b. Thawr b. Khunaib b. Qusayy b. [illegible] b. Ali b. Ya'qub b. Sa'd b. Qays b. 'Aylan and she bore to him Hawwa. [illegible] him a Huma, and when he renewed she fulfilled her vow. The Humas [illegible] their clothes. If one of them before and at the beginning of Islam was in a state of taboo if he happened to be one of the homeworkers, i.e. living in houses or villages, he would dig a hole at the back of his house and go in and out by it and not enter by the door. The Humas used to say, 'Do not eat anything produced [illegible] being in the profane area, and would not halt at it or go forth from it [illegible] al-Muzdalifa. When the sun turbaned the tops of the mountains they set [illegible]

The year of Hudaybiya the prophet entered his house. One of the Ansar [illegible] apostle did

Outsiders used to circumambulate the temple naked, both men and women. The [illegible] the sacred territory [illegible] and the [illegible] in [illegible]

[illegible]

REPORTS OF ARAB SOOTHSAYERS, JEWISH RABBIS [illegible]

[illegible] rabbis and monks, it was about his description and the description of his [illegible] they could not occupy the seats in which they used to sit and send the heavenly tidings for [illegible] that was due to an order which God had commanded concerning mankind [illegible] to me that a number of the jinn listened and said 'We have heard a wonder- [illegible] increased them in revolt' ending with the words: 'We used to sit on places therein to listen, but whoever listens now finds a flame waiting for him. We do [illegible] in when the proof came and doubt was removed, so they believed and acknowledged the truth. Then 'They returned to their people warning [illegible] upright path.'[illegible]

[illegible] might from the evil that is therein' (135).

Ya'qub b. 'Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that he was informed that the first Arabs to be afraid of falling stars when they were pelted with them were this clan of Thaqif, and that they came to one of their tribesmen called 'Amr b. Umayya, one of B. 'Illij who was a most astute and shrewd man, and asked him if he had noticed this pelting with stars. He said 'Yes, but wait, for if they are the well-known stars which guide travellers by land and sea, by which the seasons of summer and winter are known to help men in their daily life, which are being thrown, then by God it means the end of the world and the destruction of all that is in it. But if they remain constant and other stars are being thrown, then it is for some purpose which God intends towards mankind.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri on the authority of 'Ali b. al-Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abu Talib from 'Abdullah b. al-'Abbas from a number of the Ansar mentioned that the apostle of God said to them, 'What were you saying about this shooting star?' They replied, 'We were saying [illegible] have proved, and this goes on until the point descends to the lowest [illegible] that it is because those above them have done so and they say, "Why don't you ask those above you the reason?", and so it goes on until [illegible] convey it to the soothsayers and tell them of it, sometimes being wrong and sometimes right, and so the soothsayers are sometimes right and sometimes wrong. Then God shot off the stars by these stars with [illegible]

'Amr b. Abu Ja'far from Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abu Labiba [illegible]

A learned person told me that a woman of B. Salim called al-Ghaytala [illegible] spirit was right. He chanted beneath her,[illegible] then he said,

I know what I know.
The day of wounding and slaughter

When the Quraysh heard of this they asked what he meant. The spirit came to her another night and cleaved beneath her saying,

> Death, what is death?
> In a house we threw here and there.

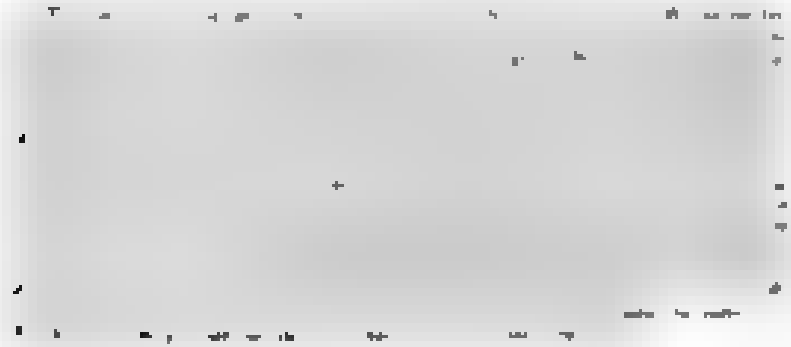
When Quraysh heard of this they could not understand it and decided to wait until the Seventy should arrive on pilgrimage. When the battle of Badr and Uhud took place as a given, they knew that this was the meaning of this spirit's message (136).

121 Abu Nu'aym al-'Ayshi told me that Jundab a man from the Yemen, had a soothsayer in the time of ignorance, and when the news of the apostle of God was blazed abroad among the Arabs he said to him: 'Look into the matter of this man for me', and they gathered at the bottom of the mountain where he lived. He came down to them when the sun rose and stood looking at his face. He stared for hard upward towards for a long time and began to sing them and say

> O man, God has honoured and chosen Muhammad,
> Purified his heart and tongue,
> His stay among you, O men, will be short.

Then he turned and climbed up the mountain whence he had come.

A person beyond suspicion told me on the authority of 'Abdallah b. Ka'b a freedman of 'Uthman b. 'Affan that he was told they when 'Umar b. al-Khattab was sitting with the people in the apostle's mosque an Arab came to visit him. When 'Umar saw him he said: 'Has Islam yet said a godfather, he has not given up his old religion yet, (so, he said), he was a soothsayer in the time of ignorance.' The man greeted him and he dismissed him. I was sitting with a Muslim. He said that he was. He said, 'But were you a soothsayer in the time of ignorance?' The man replied, 'Stand aside, commander of the faithful, you have thought ill of me and have greeted me as a man who I never longed to speak to in private of your under people rather than a man greeted. [illegible] said: 'I ask God's pardon. In the



time of ignorance we did worse than that, we worshipped idols and images until God honoured us through his apostle and [illegible] Islam. The man replied, 'Yes, by God, I was a soothsayer.' 'Umar said, 'Then tell me what (i.e. was the most astonishing thing your familiar spirit communicated to you.' He said, 'He came to me a month or so before Islam and said

> Have you considered the jinn and their confusion,
> Their religion a despair and a delusion,
> Clinging to their camels' saddle cloths in profusion?' (137) 126

'Abdallah b. Ka'b said, Thereupon 'Umar said, 'I was standing by an idol with a number of the Quraysh in the time of ignorance when an Arab sacrificed a calf. We were standing for expecting to get a part of it, when I heard a voice more penetrating than I have ever heard coming out of the belly of the calf (this was a month or so before Islam), saying:

> O blood red man,
> The deed is done,
> A man will say
> Beside God none.' (138)

Such is what I have been told about soothsayers among the Arabs.

THE JEWISH WARNING ABOUT THE APOSTLE OF GOD

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that some of his relatives said: 'When Islam came to us except hearsay apart from God's mercy and guidance was what we used to hear that Jews say. We were polytheists worshipping idols, while they were people of the scriptures and knowledge which we did not possess. There was continual enmity between us and when we got the power of them slay us and their hatred [illegible]. The man of a polytheist who [illegible] we used to say to them: 'Let a prophet [illegible] Jesus prophesied.' We often used to hear them say that. When God sent His apostle we accepted him, when he called us to God and we realized what they always threatened us with before them. We believed in him but they disbelieved him. Concerning us and them God revealed the verse in the chapter of the Cow: 'And when a book from God came to them confirming what they already had (and they were formerly asking for victory over the unbelievers), when what they knew came to them, they disbelieved in it. The curse of God is on the unbelievers.'' (139)[1]

§86 b. Ibrahim b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf from Mahmud b. Lubid, brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, [illegible] 129
was present at Badr) said: 'We had a Jewish neighbour among B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal who came out to us one day from his house. [illegible] said that

[1] A similar longer account is given by B. [illegible]
[2] [illegible] Sura 2 [illegible]
[3] See in T. [illegible]

[illegible]

ved.) He spoke of the resurrection, the reckoning, the scales, paradise [illegible]

men! Do you think that such things could be that men can be raised from [illegible]

recompensed for their deeds?" "Yes," he said, "and by Him whom men swear by, he would wish that he might be in the largest oven in his house [illegible]

hand to Mecca and the Yaman, "A prophet will be sent from the direction of this land." When they asked when he would appear, he looked at me [illegible] youngest present, and said, "This boy, if he lives his natural term, will see him," and by God, a night and a day did not pass before God sent Muhammad his apostle and he was living among us. We believed in him [illegible]

[illegible] of R. Hill, brother of R. Qurayza, became Muslims. They were [illegible] when they became their masters in Islam.' When I said that I did not know, he told me that a Jew among us, 'I have never seen a better man than he who was not a Muslim [illegible]

and pray for rain. He declined to do so unless we paid him something, and when we asked how much he wanted, he said, "A bushel of dates or [illegible]

barley and prayed for rain for us and by God, hardly had he left his place when clouds passed over us and it rained. Not once nor twice did he do this. Later when he knew that he was about to die he said, "O Jews, what [illegible]

that he had come to this country expecting to see the emergence of a [illegible]

him. "His time has come," he said, "and don't let anyone get to him before [illegible]

them him."

When the apostle of God was sent and besieged R. Qurayza, those among [illegible]

[illegible] turned to him. They said, "Abu al-Qasim is not the [illegible]

asserted that he had been accurately described, so they went and became Muslims and saved their lives, their property, and their families. Such is what I have been told about the Jewish reports.

HOW SALMAN BECAME A MUSLIM

[illegible]

in his words: 'I am a Persian from Isphahan from a village called Jayy. M[illegible]

than the whole world. His love for me went to such lengths that he stuck [illegible]

what I became keeper of the sacred fire, replenishing it and not letting it go out for a moment. Now my father owned a large farm, and one day when he could not attend to his farm he told me to go to it and learn about it, giving me certain instructions. "Do not let yourself be detained," he said, [illegible]

farm, and when I passed by a Christian church I heard the voices of the [illegible]

up in his house. When I heard their voices I went to see what they were doing, their prayers pleased me and I felt drawn to their worship and leave them until sunset. So I did not go to the farm. When I asked them [illegible]

"It is better than our religion." My father was afraid of what I would do, so he bound me in fetters and imprisoned me in his house.

'I sent to the Christians and asked them if they would tell me when a [illegible]

their own country, ask them if they will take me." They did so and I went [illegible]

like to be with him and serve him in his church, to learn from him and to pray with him. He invited me to come in and I did so. Now he was a [illegible]

So C[illegible] but the beginning of the story suggests that we should read other than the [illegible]

[illegible] silver. I conceived a violent hatred for the man when I saw what he was doing. Sometime later when he died and the Christians came together to [illegible] ended them to give alms, and when they brought money put it in his [illegible] know this, so I led them to his treasure and when I showed them the place they brought six seven jars full of gold and silver. As soon as they saw them they said, "By God, we will never bury the fellow," so they crucified him and stoned him and appointed another in his place.

'I have never seen any non-Muslim whom I consider more virtuous, more ascetic, more devoted to the next life, and more constant night and day than he. I loved him as I had never loved anyone before. I stayed with him a long time until when he was about to die I told him how I loved him and asked him to whom he would confide me and what orders he would give me now that he was about to die. He said, "My dear son, I do not know anyone who is as I am. Men have died and have either altered or [illegible] any death, so join yourself to him. So when he died and was buried, I attached myself to the bishop of Mosul telling him that so-and-so had confided me to him when he died and told me that he followed the same path [illegible] with him and found him just as he had been described, but [illegible] disciple had done. He replied that he knew of only one man, in Nasibin, who *followed the same path* and he recommended me to go to him.'

'I stayed with the good man in Nasibin for some time and when he died [illegible] for some time and laboured until I possessed some cows and a small flock of sheep: then when he was about to die I asked him to recommend me to [illegible] religion of Abraham, he would come forth in Arabia and would migrate to a country between two lava belts, between which were palms. He has unmistakable marks. He will eat what is given to him but not things given [illegible] Amorium as long as God willed. Then a party of Kalbite merchants [illegible] these cows and sheep of mine. They accepted the offer and took me with [illegible]

I saw the palm-trees and I hoped that this would be the town which my [illegible] I should fall on my master, as I came down from the palm and hoped to [illegible] that [illegible]

Salmân continued. 'Then the merchants said to me, "Write an agreement." [illegible] digging out the land, and to pay forty ukes of gold. The apostle called on [illegible] another with twenty, another with fifteen, and another with ten, each helping as much as he could until the three hundred were complete. The

[illegible] had
done so he would put them in with his own hand. Helped by my companions I dug the holes and came and told him, so we all went out together, and as we brought him the palm shoots he planted them with his own hand, and by God, not one of them died. Thus I had delivered the palm-trees, but the money was still owing. Now the apostle had been given a piece of [illegible]
and told me to take it and pay my debt with it. "How far will this relieve me of my debt, O Apostle of God?" I said. "Take it," he replied, "for God will pay your debt with it." So I took it and weighed it out to them, and by God, it weighed forty okes, and so I paid my debt with it and Salmān was free. I took part with the Apostle in the battle of the Ditch as a [illegible]

Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb from a man of 'Abdu'l-Qays from Salmān told me that the latter said: When I said, "How far will this relieve me of my debt?" the apostle took it and turned it over upon his tongue, then he said, "Take it and pay them in full"; so I paid them in full, forty okes."

Ayūb b. 'Umar b. Qatāda on the authority of a trustworthy informant from 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Marwān said that he was told that Salmān the Persian told the apostle that his master in Armūriya told him to go to a certain place in Syria where there was a man who lived between two thickets. Every year as he used to go from one to the other, the sick used to stand in his way and everyone he prayed for was healed. He said, 'Ask him about this religion which you seek, for he can tell you of it.' So I went on until I came to the place I had been told of, and I found that people had gathered there with their sick until he came out to them that night passing from one thicket to the other. The people came to him with their [illegible]
who I was so he turned to me and I said, 'God have mercy on you, tell me about the Ḥanīfiya, the religion of Abraham.' He replied, 'You are asking about something men do not inquire of today; the time has come near when a prophet will be sent with this religion from the people of the Haram. Go to him, for he will bring you to it.' Then he went into the thicket. The apostle said to Salmān, 'If you have told me the truth, you met Jesus the son of Mary.'

FOUR MEN WHO BELIEVED WITH MUHAMMAD

One day when the Quraysh had assembled on a major day to venerate and circumambulate the idol to which they offered sacrifices, this being a festival

[illegible] Kuds [illegible] [illegible] This idol being roughly an image, a spindle is implied.

which they held annually, four men drew apart secretly and agreed to keep their counsel in the bonds of friendship. They were (i) Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy; (ii) 'Ubaydullāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Ṣabra b. Murra b. Kabīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma, whose mother was Umayma d. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib; (iii) 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy; and (iv) Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. 'Abdullāh b. Qurṭ b. Rizāḥ b. 'Adiyy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy. They were of the opinion that their people had corrupted the religion of their father Abraham, and that the stone they went round was of no account, it could neither hear, nor see, nor hurt, nor help. 'Find for yourselves a religion,' they said, 'for by God you have none.' So they went their several ways in the lands, seeking the Ḥanīfiya, the religion of Abraham.

Waraqa attached himself to Christianity and studied its scriptures until he had thoroughly mastered them. 'Ubaydullāh went on searching until Islam came, then he migrated with the Muslims to Abyssinia taking with him his wife who was a Muslim, Umm Ḥabība, d. Abū Sufyān. When he arrived there he adopted Christianity, parted from Islam, and died a [illegible]

Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that when he had become a Christian 'Ubaydullāh sometimes passed the prophet's companions who were there used to say: 'We see clearly, but your eyes are only half open, i.e. We see, but you are only trying to see and cannot see yet.' He used the word ta'ta' because when a puppy tries to open its eyes to see, it only half sees. The other word *faqaḥa* means to open the eyes. After his death the apostle married his widow Umm Ḥabība. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn [illegible]
forth or sent he married him to her. He gave her as a dowry, on the apostle's [illegible]
'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān fixed the maximum dowry of women at four hundred dinars because of this precedent.' The man who handed her over to the prophet was Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ.

'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith went to the Byzantine emperor and became a Christian. He was given high office there (142)
[illegible]
tianity. He abandoned the religion of his people and abstained from id[illegible]
killing of infant daughters, saying that he worshipped the God of Abraham, [illegible]
the Ka'ba and saying, 'O Quraysh, By Him in whose hand is the soul of [illegible]

Zayd, not one of you follows the religion of Abraham but I. Then he said
145 'O God, if I knew how you wished to be worshipped I would so worship
you, but I do not know.' Then he prostrated himself on the palms of his
hands.

I was told that his son, Sa'īd b. Zayd, and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who
was his nephew, said to the apostle, 'Ought we to ask God's pardon for
Zayd b. 'Amr?' He replied, 'Yes, for he will be raised from the dead as the
sole representative of a whole people.'

Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl composed the following poem about leaving his
people and the treatment he received from them:

Am I to worship one lord or a thousand?
If there are as many as you claim,
I renounce al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā both of them
As any strong-minded person would.
I will not worship al-'Uzzā and her two daughters,
Nor will I visit the two images of the Band 'Amr.
I will not worship Hubal[1] though he was our lord
In the days when I had little sense.
I wondered (for in the night much is strange
Which in daylight is plain to the discerning),
That God had annihilated many men
Whose deeds were thoroughly evil
And spared others through the piety of a people
So that a little child could grow to manhood.
A man may languish for a time and then recover
As the branch of a tree revives after rain.
I serve my Lord the compassionate
That the forgiving Lord may pardon my sin.
So keep to the fear of God your Lord,
While you hold to that you will not perish.
You will see the pious living in gardens,
While for the unbelievers hell fire is burning.
Shunned in life, when they die
Their breasts will contract in anguish.

Zayd also said: (143)

146 To God I give my praise and thanksgiving,
A sure word that will not fail as long as time lasts.
To the heavenly King—there is no God beyond Him
And no lord can draw near to Him.
Beware, O men, of what follows death
You can hide nothing from God.

[1] This is the reading of al-Kalbī, but all MSS have Ghawth, a deity whose worship [illegible] Wāq. iii. 661. 8.

Beware of putting another beside God,
For the upright way has become clear.
Mercy I implore, others trust in the jinn,
But thou, my God, art our Lord and our hope.
I am satisfied with thee, O God, as a Lord.
And will not worship another God beside thee,
Thou of thy goodness and mercy
Didst send a messenger to Moses as a herald,
Thou saidst to him, Go thou and Aaron,
And summon Pharaoh the tyrant to turn to God
And say to him, 'Did you spread out this (earth) without a support
Until it stood fast as it does?'
Say to him 'Did you raise this (heaven) without support?
What a fine builder then you were!'
Say to him, 'Did you set the moon in the middle thereof
As a light to guide when night covered it?'
Say to him, 'Who sent forth the sun by day
So that the earth it touched reflected its splendour?'
Say to him, 'Who planted seeds in the dust
That herbage might grow and wax great?
And brought forth its seeds in the head of the plant?'
Therein are signs for the understanding.
Thou in thy kindness did deliver Jonah
Who spent nights in the belly of the fish.
Though I glorify thy name, I often repeat
'O Lord forgive my sins.'[1]
O Lord of creatures, bestow thy gifts and mercy upon me
And bless my sons and property.

Zayd b. 'Amr is reproaching his wife Ṣafiyya, d. al-Ḥaḍramī (144) said:[2]

Now Zayd had determined to leave Mecca to travel about in search of 147
the Ḥanīfiya, the religion of Abraham, and whenever Ṣafiyya saw that he
had got ready to travel she told al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl, who was her uncle
and his brother by the same mother.[3] He used to reproach him for
forsaking the religion of his people. He had instructed Ṣafiyya to tell him
if she saw him getting ready to depart; and then Zayd said:

Don't keep me back in humiliation,
O Ṣafiyya. It is not my way at all.

[1] Or 'I should add to my sins unless thou forgivest me'.

[2] What he said is reserved till the circumstances which gave rise to the poem have been described.

[3] This was because his mother was first married to Nufayl and gave birth to al-Khaṭṭāb; then she married her stepson 'Amr and gave birth to Zayd: thus the double relationship came into being.

When I fear humiliation
I am a brave man whose steed is submissive.
A man who persistently frequents the gates of kings
Whose camel crosses the desert,
One who wants less than others
Whose difficulties can be overcome without (the aid of) friends,
A donkey only accepts humiliation
When its cost is worn out.
It says, 'I will never give in
Because the load chafes my sides.'[1]
My brother, (my mother's son and then my uncle),
Uses words which do not please me.
When he reproaches me I say,
'I have no answer for him.'
Yet if I wished I could say things
Of which I hold the keys and door.

I was told by one of the family of Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl that when Zayd faced the Ka'ba inside the mosque he used to say, 'Labbayka in truth, in worship and in service!

I take refuge in what Abraham took refuge
When he stood and faced the *qibla*.

Then he said

A humble prisoner, O God, my face in the dust,
Whatever thy commandment do I must.
Pride I seek not, but piety's boon,
The traveller at midday is not as he who sleeps at noon (145).

And Zayd said:

I submit myself to him to whom
The earth which bears mighty rocks is subject.
He spread it out and when He saw it was settled
Upon the waters, He fixed the mountains on it.
I submit myself to Him to whom clouds which bear
Sweet water are subject.
When they are borne along to a land
They obediently pour copious rain upon it.

Now al-Khaṭṭāb had so harassed Zayd that he forced him to withdraw to the upper part of Mecca, and he stopped in the mountain of Ḥirā' facing the town. Al-Khaṭṭāb gave instructions to the young irresponsible men of Quraysh that they should not let him enter Mecca and he was able to do so

[1] Su 4 vb. 'Perhaps monkeys, neighs, quick is calm travel'
[2] Su 6 vb. 'but she would expect camels to mend, the rough road'
[3] 'Here am I a worn worthless'

in secret only. When they got to know of that they told al-Khaṭṭāb and drove him out and harassed him because of their fear that he would show their religion in its true colours and that some would join him in seceding from it. He said, making much of its sanctity against those of his people who treated it as ordinary

O God, I am of the holy land, no outsider.
My house is in the centre of the place
Hard by as-Safā.
It is no house of error.[1]

Then he went forth seeking the religion of Abraham, questioning monks and Rabbis until he had traversed al-Mawṣil and the whole of Mesopotamia. Then he went through the whole of Syria until he came to a monk in the high ground of Balqā'. This man, it is alleged, was well instructed in Christianity. He asked him about the Ḥanīfiya, the religion of Abraham, and the monk replied, 'You are seeking a religion to which no one today can guide you, but the time of a prophet who will come forth from your 149
own country which you have just left has drawn near. He will be sent with the Ḥanīfiya, the religion of Abraham, so stick to it, for he is about to be sent now and this is his time.' Now Zayd had sampled Judaism and Christianity and was not satisfied with either of them, so at these words he went away at once making for Mecca, but when he was well inside the country of Lakhm he was attacked and killed.

Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad composed this elegy over him:

You were altogether on the right path Ibn 'Amr,
You have escaped hell's burning oven
By serving the one and only God
And abandoning vain idols.
And by attaining the religion which you sought
Not being unmindful of the unity of your Lord
You have reached a noble dwelling
Wherein you will rejoice in your generous treatment
You will meet there the friend of God,[2]
Since you were not a tyrant ripe for hell,
For the mercy of God reaches men,
Though they be seventy valleys deep below the earth (146).

THE WORD APPLIED TO THE APOSTLE OF GOD IN THE GOSPEL

Among the things which have reached me about what Jesus the Son of Mary stated in the Gospel which he received from God for the followers of the Gospel, in applying a term to describe the apostle of God, is the

[1] One would expect *mīyata* for *maqāma* in view of what has been said about the Hums.
[2] The district of which 'Ammān was the capital i.e. Abraham.

following. It is extracted from what John the Apostle set down for them when he wrote the Gospel for them from his Testament of some [illegible] of Mary: He that hateth me hath hated the Lord. And if I had not done in their presence works which none other before me did, they had not had sin [illegible] But from now they are puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me and slay the Lord. But the word that is in the law must be fulfilled, "They hated me without a cause" (i.e. without reason). But when the Comforter has come whom God will send to you from the Lord's presence, and the spirit of truth which will have gone forth from the Lord's presence, he (shall bear) witness of me and ye also, because ye have been with me from the beginning. I have spoken unto you about this that ye should not be in doubt.

The Messiah-Jesus (God bless and preserve him!) in Syriac is Mushammad, as Letter for a the prophets.

THE PROPHET'S MISSION

When Muhammad the apostle of God reached the age of forty God sent him to his companions to mankind as an evangelist to all men. Now God had made a covenant with every prophet whom he had sent before him that he should believe in him, testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries, and he required of them that they should require that in everyone who believed in them, and they agreed and [illegible] that in that respect. God said to Muhammad, 'When God made a covenant with the prophets (He said) this in the scriptures and wisdom which I have given you, afterwards an apostle will come confirming what you know, that you must believe in him and help him. He said, 'Do you accept this and take up my burden, i.e. the burden of my agreement, which I have laid upon you.' They said, 'We accept it.' He answered, 'Then bear witness and I am a witness with you.'[1] Thus God made a covenant with all the prophets that they should testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries and

they represented that religious in those who believed in them among the two monotheistic religions.

(T. One whom I do not suspect told me from Sa'īd b. Abū 'Arūba from Qatāda b. Di'āma al-Sadūsī from Abdu'l-Jalīl. The Furqān came down on [illegible] proof of this they appeal to God's word. 'And what we sent down to our servant on the day of al-Furqān, the day the two companies met'[1] which was the meeting of the apostle and the polytheists at Badr, and that took place in the morning on Ramadān 17th.

[illegible] means of him, the first sign of prophethood vouchsafed to the apostle was true visions, resembling the brightness of daybreak, which were shown to him in his sleep. And Allāh, she said, made him love solitude so that he liked nothing better than to be alone.

Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Ubaydullāh b. Abū Sufyān b. al-'Ālā' b. Jāriya the Thaqafite who had a retentive memory related to me from a certain scholar that the apostle at the time when Allāh willed to bestow His grace upon him and endow him with prophethood would go forth for his affair and journey far afield until he reached the glens of Mecca and the beds of its valleys where no house was in sight, and not a stone or tree that he passed by but would say, 'Peace unto thee, O apostle of Allāh.' And the apostle would turn to his right and left and look behind him and he would see naught but trees and stones. Thus he stayed seeing and hearing so long as it pleased Allāh that he should stay. Then Gabriel came to him with the gift of God's grace whilst he was on Ḥirā' in the month of Ramadān.

Wahb b. Kaisān a client of the family of al-Zubayr told me: I heard 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr say to 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr b. Qatāda the Laythite, 'O 'Ubayd tell us how began the prophethood which was first bestowed on the apostle when Gabriel came to him.' And 'Ubayd in my presence related to 'Abdullāh and those with him as follows: The apostle would pray in seclusion on Ḥirā' every year for a month to practise *taḥannuth* as was the custom of Quraysh in heathen days. *Taḥannuth* is religious devotion. Abū Ṭālib said

> By Thee and him who made Thabīr firm in its place
> And by those going up to ascend Ḥirā' and coming down (*taḥannuth*).[1]

Wahb b. Kaisān told me that 'Ubayd said to him: Every year during that month the apostle would pray in seclusion and give food to the poor that came to him. And when he completed the month and returned from his seclusion, first of all before entering his house he would go to the Ka'ba and walk round it seven times or as often as it pleased God, then he would go back to his house until in the year when God sent him, in the month of

[illegible]

[1] [illegible] Thabīr [illegible] Mecca. The poem is given in full in [illegible] of Ibn [illegible] 198

[illegible] a cave where I used to spend my time in worship. When I had finished what I had come to do and returned home, I passed by every stone and every tree I came upon, and they all said, "Peace be with you, O Messenger of God!" I looked to my right and to my left and behind me, but I saw only stones and trees, and I continued to stand there for several days. While I was in this state I saw the angel who had visited me in the cave sitting on a chair between heaven and earth. He came to me and said, "O Muhammad, I am Gabriel and you are the prophet of this people." I stood there while he said this, looking at him, and I was unable to move from my place. I turned my face away from him, but I could see him in every direction I looked, and I remained standing there, neither advancing nor retreating, but I could still see him. I sent messengers to search for me, and they reached the high ground above Mecca and returned to her while I was still standing in the same place. Then he parted from me and I returned to my family. I came to Khadija and sat by her thigh and drew close to her. She said, "O Abu'l-Qasim, where have you been? By God, I sent my messengers in search of you and they reached the high ground above Mecca and returned to me." I said to her, "Woe is me! Perhaps I am possessed." She said, "I take refuge in God from that, Abu'l-Qasim. God would not do that to you. He knows your truthfulness, your great trustworthiness, your fine character, and your kindness. This cannot be, my dear. Perhaps

[illegible] The Prophet's "heart of hearts" of Muhammad.

you did see something." "Yes, I did," I said.) Then I told her of what I had seen, and she said, "Rejoice, O son of my uncle, and be of good heart. Verily, by Him in whose hand is Khadija's soul, I have hope that thou wilt be the prophet of this people." Then she rose and gathered her garments about her and set forth to her cousin Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-Uzzā b. Qusayy, who had become a Christian and read the scriptures and learned from those that follow the Torah and the Gospel. And when she

[illegible]

Waraqa cried, "Holy, Holy! Verily by Him in whose hand is Waraqa's soul, if thou hast spoken to me the truth, O Khadija, there hath come unto him the greatest Nāmūs (T: meaning Gabriel) who came to Moses aforetime, and lo, he is the prophet of this people. Bid him be of good heart." So Khadija returned to the apostle of God and told him what Waraqa had said. (T: and that calmed his fears somewhat.) And when the apostle of God had finished his period of seclusion and returned (to Mecca), in the first place he performed the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, as was his [illegible] While he was doing it, Waraqa met him and said, "O son of my brother, tell me what thou hast seen and heard." The apostle told him, [illegible] Waraqa said, "Surely, by Him in whose hand is Waraqa's soul, thou art the prophet of this people. There hath come unto thee the greatest Nāmūs, who came unto Moses. Thou wilt be called a liar, and they will use thee [illegible] day. I will help God in such wise as He knoweth." Then he brought his head [illegible]

(T: Waraqa's words added to his confidence and lightened his anxiety.)

Ismā'īl b. Abū Hakīm, a freedman of the family of al-Zubayr, told me on [illegible]

uncle, are you able to tell me about your visitant, when he comes to you?" He replied that he would, and she asked him to tell her when he came. [illegible] "This is Gabriel who has just come to me." "Get up, O son of my uncle," she said, and he got up and sat to her left thigh. The apostle had no sooner [illegible] [illegible] that he would, she asked him to move and sit in her lap. When he had done this she again asked if he could see him, and when he said yes, she disclosed her breast and began to uncover her head while the apostle was sitting in her lap. Then she said, "Can you see him?" And he replied, "No." She said [illegible] of God, rejoice and be of good heart, by God he is an angel and not a devil.

[illegible] Abdullāh b. Hassān also told me and he said: I heard my mother Fāriʿa, daughter of Hammām, talking about this tradition from Khadīja, but as I heard it she made the apostle of God come upon her while she [illegible] and she said to the apostle of God, "[illegible] verily is an angel and not a devil."

PART II

MUHAMMAD'S CALL AND PREACHING IN MECCA

The apostle began to receive revelations in the month of Ramaḍān. In the words of God. 'The month of Ramaḍān in which the Qurān was brought down as a guidance to men, and proofs of guidance and a decisive criterion.'[1] And again, 'Verily we have sent it down on the night of destiny, and what has shown you what the night of destiny is? The night of destiny is better than a thousand months. In it the angels and the spirit descend by their Lord's permission with every matter. It is peace until the rise of dawn.'[2] Again, 'H.M. by the perspicuous book, verily we have sent it down in a blessed night. Verily, we were warning. In it every wise matter is decided as a command from us. Verily we sent it down.'[3] And again, 'Had you believed in God and what we sent down to Our servant on the day of decision, the day on which the two parties met',[4] i.e. the meeting of the apostle with the polytheists in Badr. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn told me that the apostle of God met the polytheists in Badr on the morning of Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān.

Then revelation came fully to the apostle while he was believing in Him and in the truth of His message. He received it willingly, and took upon himself what it entailed whether of man's goodwill or anger. Prophecy is a troublesome burden—only strong, resolute messengers can bear it by God's help and grace, because of the opposition which they meet from men in conveying God's message. The apostle carried out God's orders in spite of the opposition and ill treatment which he met with.

KHADĪJA, DAUGHTER OF KHUWAYLID, ACCEPTS ISLAM

Khadīja believed in him and accepted as true what he brought from God, and helped him in his work. She was the first to believe in God and His apostle, and in the truth of his message. By her God lightened the burden of His prophet. He never met with contradiction and charges of falsehood, which saddened him, but God comforted him by her when he went home. She strengthened him, lightened his burden, proclaimed his truth, and belittled men's opposition. May God Almighty have mercy upon her! 156

Hishām b. 'Urwa told me on the authority of his father 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Abdullāh b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib that the apostle said, 'I was commanded to give Khadīja the good news of a house of *qaṣab* wherein would be no clamour and no toil' (1438).

Then revelations stopped for a time so that the apostle of God was distressed and grieved. Then Gabriel brought him the Sūra of the Morning, in which his Lord, who had so honoured him, swore that He had not for-

[1] Sūra 2 185.
[2] Sūra 97.
[3] Sūra 44. 1–4.
[4] Sūra 8 41.

[illegible] and the night when it is still, thy Lord hath not forsaken nor hated thee," meaning that He has not left you and forsaken you, nor hated you after having loved you. 'And verily, the latter end is better for you than the beginning,' i.e. What I have for you when you return to Me is better than the honour which I have given you in the world. 'And your Lord will give you and will satisfy you,' i.e. of victory in this world and reward in the next. 'Did he not find you an orphan and give you refuge, going astray and guided [illegible] that by His compassion (149)

[illegible] be a tyrant or proud or harsh or mean towards the weakest of God's creatures.

[illegible] in giving you prophecy, mention it and call men to it.

[illegible] his servants in the matter of prophecy [illegible] the people which he should treat.

[illegible] first laid on the apostle it was with two prostrations for every prayer; then God raised it to four prostrations at home while on a journey the former ordinance of two prostrations held.

A learned person told me that when prayer was laid on the apostle Gabriel came to him while he was on the heights of Mecca and dug a hole for him with his heel in the side of the valley from which a fountain gushed [illegible] him. This was in order to show him how to purify himself before prayer [illegible] it. Then Gabriel said a prayer with him while the apostle prayed with him [illegible] the virtue for her as Gabriel had done for him, and she copied him [illegible] prayer.

[illegible] the apostle [illegible] prayer when the sun declined. Then he prayed the morning prayer when

[illegible]

his shadow equalled his own length. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when he was [illegible] had disappeared. Then he prayed with him the morning prayer when the dawn came. Then he came to him and prayed the noon prayer on the morrow when his shadow equalled his height. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equalled the height of both of them. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set at the time it had the day before. Then he prayed with him the last night prayer when the first third of the night had passed. Then he prayed the dawn prayer when it was clear [illegible]

Yunus b. Bukayr said that Muhammad b. Isḥāq told him that Yakyā b. Abd'l-Ash'ath al-Kindī of the people of Kūfa said that Isrā'īl b. Jyāb b. Ā'id from his father from his grandfather said, 'When I was a merchant [illegible] together a man came out to pray and stood facing the Ka'ba, then a woman came out and stood praying with him; then a young man came out [illegible] is more than now to me." He said, "This is Muhammad b. Abdullāh who alleges that [illegible] and Gomor will be opened to him. The woman is his wife Khadīja who believes in him [illegible] Ā'id said, "Would that I could have believed that day and been a third!" [illegible]

[illegible] Salama said, Muhammad b. Isḥāq told me from Yakyā b. Abd'l-Ash'ath—Tabarī said, 'It is in another place in my book from Yakyā b. [illegible] came a man in the prime of life and performed the full rites of ablution [illegible] Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd'l-Muṭṭalib who alleged that Allāh has sent him as an apostle; the other is my brother's son 'Alī b. Abī Tālib [illegible]

Khuzayfah when she follows him in his religion. 'Alī said she had become a Muslim and she was totally established in his heart. 'Would that I had been a fourth!'[illegible]

'ALĪ B. ABŪ ṬĀLIB THE FIRST MALE TO ACCEPT ISLAM

'Alī was the first male to believe in the apostle of God, to pray with him and to believe in his divine message, when he was a boy of ten. God favoured him in that he was brought up in the care of the apostle before Islam began.

Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ on the authority of Mujāhid b. Jabr Abu'l-Ḥajjāj told me that God showed His favour and goodwill towards him when a grievous famine overtook Quraysh. Now Abū Ṭālib had a large family and the prophet approached his uncle, al-Abbās, who was one of the richest of B. Hāshim, suggesting that in view of his large family and the famine which affected everyone, they should go together and offer to relieve him of the burden of some of his family. Al-Abbās agreed, and so they went to Abū Ṭālib offering to relieve him from his responsibility of two boys until conditions improved. Abū Ṭālib said, 'Do what you like so long as you leave me 'Aqīl' (150). So the apostle took 'Alī and kept him with him and Al-Abbās took Ja'far. 'Alī continued to be with the apostle until God sent him forth as a prophet. 'Alī followed him, believed him, and declared his truth, while Ja'far remained with Al-Abbās until he became a Muslim and was independent of him.

A traditionist mentioned that when the time of prayer came the apostle used to go out to the glens of Mecca accompanied by 'Alī, who went unbeknown to his father, and his uncles and the rest of his people. There they used to pray the ritual prayers, and return at nightfall. This went on as long as God intended that it should, until one day Abū Ṭālib came upon them while they were praying, and said to the apostle, 'O nephew, what is this religion which I see you practising?' He replied, 'O uncle, this is the religion of God, His angels, His apostles, and the religion of our father Abraham. Or, as he said, 'God has sent me as an apostle to mankind, and you, my uncle, most deserve that I should teach you the truth and call you to guidance, and you are the most worthy to respond and help me,' or words to that effect. His uncle replied, 'I cannot give up the religion of my fathers which they followed, but by God you shall never meet with anything to distress you so long as I live.' They mention that he said to 'Alī, 'My boy, what is this religion of yours?' He answered, 'I believe in God and in the apostle of God, and I declare that what he has brought is true, and I pray to God with him and follow him.' They allege that he said, 'He would not call you to anything but what is good so stick to him.'

Zayd the freedman of the apostle was the first male to accept Islam after

[illegible]

'Alī (151). Then Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfah whose name was 'Atīq became a Muslim. His father's name was 'Uthmān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr. When he became a Muslim, he showed his faith openly and called others to God and his apostle. He was a man whose company was desired, well liked and of easy disposition. He knew many things about the genealogies of Quraysh than anyone else, good of their faults and merits. He was a merchant of high character and excellence. His people used to come to him to discuss many matters with him because of his wide knowledge, his experience in commerce, and his amiable nature. He began to call to God and to Islam all whom he trusted of those who came to him and sat with him. [illegible]

[illegible] The following day Al-'Ās b. Abū Wā'il came in the two of them were praying and asked, 'What is this, Muhammad?' He replied, 'It is God's religion which He has chosen for Himself and sent His apostles with it. I call you to God, the One without an associate, to worship Him and to disavow al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā.' 'Alī said, 'This is something that I have never heard of before today. I cannot decide a matter until I have talked about it with Abū Ṭālib.' Now the apostle did not want his secret to be divulged before he applied himself to the publication of his message as he used. 'If you do not accept Islam, then conceal the matter.' 'Alī stayed that night until God put Islam into his heart. Early next morning he went to the apostle and asked him what his orders were. He said, 'Bear witness that there is no god but Allāh alone without associate, and disavow al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā, and renounce rivals.' 'Alī did so and became a Muslim. He refrained from coming to him out of fear of Abū Ṭālib and concealed his Islam and did not let it be seen.

Zayd b. Ḥāritha became a Muslim and the two of them turned nearly a month (Ṭ). 'Alī kept coming to the apostle. It was a special favour to 'Alī from God that he was in the closest association with the apostle before Islam.

THE COMPANIONS WHO ACCEPTED ISLAM AT THE INVITATION OF ABŪ BAKR

Those who accepted Islam at his invitation according to what I heard were:

'Uthmān b. 'Affān b. Abu'l-'Ās b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Quṣayy [illegible] al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy [illegible] b. Lu'ayy. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. 'Auf b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. 'Abd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra [illegible] b. Lu'ayy. Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ (The latter was Mālik b. Wuhayb b. 'Abdu Manāf [illegible] b. Lu'ayy [illegible] b. Lu'ayy.

[illegible]

used to say: 'I have never invited anyone to accept Islam but he has shown signs of reluctance, suspicion, and hesitation, except Abū Bakr. When I told him of it he did not hold back or hesitate' (153).[illegible]

These were the first eight men to accept Islam and prayed and believed on the divine inspiration of the apostle.

After them came

[illegible]

whose name was 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Asad [illegible] b. Lu'ayy. Al-Arqam b.

167 Abū'l-Arqam (the honorific of Abū Jundub—b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar [illegible] b. Lu'ayy.) [illegible] b. Maẓ'ūn b. Habīb b. Wahb b. Huḥāfa [illegible] b. Lu'ayy. His two brothers Qudāma and 'Abdullāh, sons of Maẓ'ūn, 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdu Manāf [illegible] b. Lu'ayy. Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. 'Abdullāh b. Qurṭ [illegible] b. Lu'ayy, and his wife Fāṭima d. al-Khaṭṭāb. Asmā' d. Abū Bakr, together with his little daughter [illegible] Umayma, brother of Sa'īd. 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥārith b. Shamūḥ b. [illegible] Sa'īd b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Ḥamāla b. Ghāfil b. Muḥallim b. 'Ā'idha b. [illegible] 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Nasr [illegible] b. Lu'ayy. 'Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabī'a b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar [illegible] b. Lu'ayy, and his wife [illegible] b. Ghānim b. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma, and his brother Abū Aḥmad, both allies of the B. Umayya. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and his wife Asmā' d. [illegible] al-Ḥārith b. Ma'mar b. Ḥabīb b. Wahb b. Ḥuḥāfa [illegible] b. Lu'ayy, and his [illegible] b. Maẓ'ūn above. Al-Muṭṭalib b. Azhar b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. 'Abd b. al-Ḥārith [illegible] b. Lu'ayy, and his wife Ramla d. Abū 'Auf b. Ṣubra [illegible] b. Asad [illegible] b. Lu'ayy (159). 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, freedman of Abū Bakr (160). Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya [illegible] b. Lu'ayy and his wife

[illegible] Ḥumāma b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm an ally of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b [illegible] Nabīh b. Ghiyara b. Sa'd b. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kināna [illegible] 93.

THE APOSTLE'S PUBLIC PREACHING AND THE RESPONSE 166

[illegible] to Hell. Three years elapsed from the time that the apostle concealed his [illegible] religion there,'[illegible] And Say: I am the one who warns plainly' (164).

[illegible] relations came down to the apostle he called me and said, 'God has [illegible] my strength. I know that when I make this message known to them I [illegible] assembled he told me to bring in the food which I had prepared for them, [illegible] was the place where their hands had been. And as sure as I live if

[illegible]

lost has bewitched you'; as they dispersed before the apostle could [illegible] as you did yesterday.' Everything went as before and then the apostle said, [illegible] this world and the next. God has ordered me to call you to Him. So [illegible] and I, though the youngest, most the [illegible]

we men get up laughing and saying to Abū Ṭālib, 'He has ordered you to listen to your son and obey him!']

[illegible] from al-Ḥasan b. Abū'l-Ḥasan said 'When this verse came down to the apostle, he stood in the vale and said, 'O Sons of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. O Sons [illegible] of his punishment.']

[illegible] was with a number of the prophet's companions in one of the glens of [illegible] suddenly interrupted them. They blamed them for what they were doing until they came to blows, and it was on that occasion that Sa'd smote a [illegible]

[illegible] did not withdraw or turn against him [illegible] letter continuing to obey God's commands, nothing turning him back [illegible] Bakhtari whose name was al-'As b. Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad [illegible] and

al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad [illegible] and Abū Jahl (whom some say [illegible] 'O Abū Ṭālib, your nephew has cursed our gods, insulted our [illegible] must stop him or you must let us get at him, for you yourself are in the [illegible] He gave them a conciliatory reply and a soft answer and they went away [illegible] we have asked you to put a stop to [illegible] will fight the pair of you until one side perishes,' or words to that effect. Thus saying, they went off. Abū Ṭālib was deeply distressed at the [illegible] and gave him up to them.

Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas told me that he was told [illegible] nephew and told him what his people had said. 'Spare me and yourself,' he said. 'Do not put on me a burden greater than I can bear.' The apostle [illegible]

by God, if they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on [illegible] or I perish therein, I would not abandon it.' Then the apostle broke into [illegible]

[illegible] of yours, who has opposed your religion and the religion of [illegible] that we may kill him. This will be man for man.' He answered, 'By God [illegible]

son that I should feed him for you, and should I give you my son that you should kill him? By God, this shall never be.' Al-Mut'im b. 'Adiy said, 'Your people have treated you fairly and have taken pains to avoid what you dislike. I do not think that you are willing to accept anything from them.' Abū Ṭālib replied, 'They have not treated me fairly, by God, but you have agreed to betray me and help the people against me, so do what you like,' or words to that effect. So the situation worsened, the quarrel became heated and people were sharply divided, and openly showed their animosity to their opponents. Abū Ṭālib wrote the following verses, indirectly attacking Mut'im, and including those who had abandoned him from the 'Abdu Manāf, and his enemies among the tribes of Quraysh. He mentions therein what they had asked of him and his estrangement from them.

Say to 'Amr and al-Walid and Mut'im
Rather than your protection give me a young camel,
Weak, grumbling and murmuring,
Sprinkling its flanks with its urine
Lagging behind the herd, and not keeping up.
When it goes up the desert ridges, you would call it a weasel
I see our two brothers, sons of our mother and father,
When they are asked for help say 'It is not our business.'
Nay, it is their affair, but they have fallen away
As a rock falls from the top of Dhū 'Alaq,
I mean especially 'Abdu Shams and Naufal,
Who have flung us aside like a burning coal.
They have slandered their brothers among the people
Their hands are emptied of them.
They shared their fame with men of low birth,
With men whose fathers were whispered about
And Taym, and Makhzūm, and Zuhra, are of them
Who had been friends of ours when help was sought;
By God, there will always be enmity between us
As long as one of our descendants lives.
Their minds and thoughts were foolish,
They were entirely without judgement (169).[1]

Then the Quraysh incited people against the companions of the apostle who had become Muslims. Every tribe fell upon the Muslims among them, beating them and seducing them from their religion. God protected His apostle from them through his uncle, who, when he saw what Quraysh were doing, called upon B. Hāshim and B. al-Muṭṭalib to stand with him in protecting the apostle. This they agreed to do, with the exception of Abū Lahab, the accursed enemy of God.

[1] A mountain in the Banū Asad country.
[2] To say that a man's wife is demolished is to accuse him of losing all common sense.

Abū Ṭālib was delighted at the response of his tribe and their kindness, and began to praise them and to bring to men's memory their past. He mentioned the superiority of the apostle among them and his position so that he might strengthen their resolve and that they might extend their kindness to him. He said

If one day Quraysh gathered together to boast,
'Abdu Manāf would be their heart and soul
And if the nobles of 'Abdu Manāf were reckoned,
Amongst Hāshim would be their noblest and chief
If they boast one day, then Muhammad
Would be the chosen noble and honourable one
Quraysh summoned everyone against us
They were not successful and they were beside themselves.
Of old we have never tolerated injustice.
When people turned away their faces in pride we made them face us.
We protected their sanctuary whenever danger threatened
And drove the assailant from its buildings.
Through us the dry wood becomes green,
Under our protection its roots expand and grow.

AL-WALĪD B. AL-MUGHĪRA

When the fair was due, a number of the Quraysh came to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, who was a man of some standing, and he addressed them in these words: 'The time of the fair has come round again and representatives of the Arabs will come to you and they will have heard about this fellow of yours, so agree upon one opinion without dispute so that none will give the lie to the other.' They replied, 'You give us your opinion about him.' He said, 'No, you speak and I will listen.' They said, 'He is a kāhin.' He said, 'By God, he is not that, for he has not the unintelligent murmuring and rhymed speech of the kāhin.' 'Then he is possessed,' they said. 'No, he is not that,' he said, 'we have seen possessed ones, and there is no choking, spasmodic movements and whispering.' 'Then he is a poet,' they said. 'No, he is no poet, for we know poetry in all its forms and metres.' 'Then he is a sorcerer.' 'No, we have seen sorcerers and their sorcery, and there is no spitting and no knots.'[1] 'Then what are we to say, O Abū 'Abdu Shams?' they asked. He replied, 'By God, his speech is sweet, his root is a palm-tree whose branches are fruitful (170), and everything you have said would be known to be false. The nearest thing to the truth is your saying that he is a sorcerer, who has brought a message by which he separates a man from his father or from his brother or from his wife, or from his family.'

[1] Cf. Sūra 113, 4. Spitting, or perhaps blowing.

At this point they left him, and began to sit on the paths which men take when they come to the fair. They warned everyone who passed them about Muhammad's doings. God revealed concerning al-Walīd

> Leave to Me him I made,
> Giving him wealth and trade,
> While sons before him played,
> The road for him I laid,
> Then he coveted more of My aid,
> Ay, Our signs hath he gainsaid (170).[1]

170 'I shall impose on him a grievous burden' he thought and planned. may he perish how he planned. may he perish how he planned. Then he looked, then he frowned, and showed anger' (170).

Then he turned his back in pride and said, "This is nothing but ancient sorcery, this is nothing but the speech of a mortal."

Then God revealed concerning the men who were with him, composing a term to describe the apostle and the revelation he brought from God. 'As we sent down upon the dividers who had split the Qur'ān into parts, by thy Lord we will ask them all about what they used to do' (171).[2]

So these men began to spread this report about the apostle with everyone they met so that the Arabs were away from that fair knowing about the apostle, and he was talked about in the whole of Arabia. When Abū Ṭālib feared that the multitude would overwhelm him with his family he composed the [illegible] ode, in which he claimed protection in the sanctuary of Mecca and by his position therein. He showed his affection for the nobles of his people while, nevertheless, he told them and others in his poetry that he was not going to give up the apostle or surrender him on any account whatever, but he would die in his defence.

> When I saw the people had no love for me
> And had severed every tie and relationship,
> 173 And shown us enmity and ill-will,
> Obeying the orders of persecuting enemies,
> And had allied themselves with treacherous people against us,
> Biting their fingers in rage at our backs,
> I stood firm against them with my pliant spear
> And my shining sword, heirloom of princes,
> Round the temple I gathered my clan and my brothers,
> And just held of the striped red cloth[3] that covered it,
> Standing together facing its gates,
> Whom everytime who takes an oath complietas his vow,

Sura [illegible]. It is strange that after al-Walīd has made the point that Muhammad cannot be a lofty because he does [illegible] messages in say the [illegible] guardian from the Qur'ān. [illegible] the which I [illegible] have not come across [illegible] of this very form.

[1] Sura [illegible]

[2] This is the meaning which A. D. gives to itself.

> Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel,
> Where the blood flows between Iṣāf and Nā'ila,
> Camels marked on the shoulders or neck
> Turned ones, between six and nine years old.[1]
> You see amulets on them, and alabaster ornaments
> Bound on their necks like date-bearing branches.
> I take refuge with the Lord of men from every adversary
> And every lying assailant;
> From the hater with his hurtful slander
> And from him who adds to religion what we have not tried,
> By Thabīr and Hira who fixed Thabīr in his place,
> And by him who goes up and down Ḥirā';[2]
> By the true temple of the valley of Mecca;
> By God who is never unmindful,
> By the black stone, when they stroke it
> When they go round it morning and evening,
> By Abraham's footprint in the rock still fresh,
> With both feet bare, without sandals
> By the running between Marwa and Ṣafā,
> And by the statues and images [illegible]
> By every pilgrim riding to the house of God,
> And everyone [illegible] a vow and everyone on foot[3]
> By Ilā, the furthest sacred spot[4] to which they go
> Where the streamlets open out[5]
> By their halt at even above the mountains
> When they help the camels by their hands to rise;[6]
> By the night of the meeting, by the stations of Minā,
> Are any holy places and stations superior?
> By the crowd, when the home-going horses pass by quickly
> As though escaping from a storm of rain;
> By the great stone heap,[7] when they make for it 174
> Aiming at its top with stones,
> By Kinda, when they are at al-Ḥijāb at even,
> When the pilgrims of Bakr b. Wā'il pass by them
> Two allies who [illegible] the tie between them,
> And directed to it all means of unity;

[1] *Hadī*. Thābir and Thabīr were all mountains around Mecca.

[2] Iṣāf in the Arabic is said to be a strip of sand where the people halt, but the lines in Nābigha 19, sound 19, 19 show that it was the name of a sanctuary (and possibly, as Wellhausen p. 83, says, 'is the God of Kinda').

[3] The simple meaning the way in which men go a religious consul to in fact. Thus some pulled up the [illegible] with the other pulled up by the reins. Here perhaps the [illegible] [illegible] as the poet is speaking of a half [illegible] they take the harness [illegible] with the [illegible] is an [illegible] [illegible] pulling on the reins.

[4] The pilgrim of the three holy of shrines of Allāh, presumably the [illegible] in 'Arafāt. [illegible] Qur'ān [illegible] Thābir [illegible] where the pilgrims throw seven stones. The rite [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] of the Arabic text. See further Qur'ān [illegible]

By their breaking the acacias and shrubs of al-Sifāh,
And its bushes too, as they galloped like flying ostriches.
Is there any better refuge for one who seeks it?
Is there a righteous god-fearing man who will grant it?
Our aggressors get their way with us, and wish
That the gates of Turk and Kibūd[1] were blocked with our bodies.
You lie, by God's house, we will not leave Mecca, and go forth,
Until your affairs are in confusion.
You lie, by God's house, Muhammad shall not be maltreated,
Before we shoot and thrust in his defence.
We will not give him up till we lie dead around him,
And be unmindful of our wives and children
Until a people in arms rise and fight you,
As camels carrying water rise under empty water-skins,[2]
Until you see the enemy falling face down in his blood
From the spear thrust weighed down and tottering.
By God, if what I see should become serious
Our swords will mingle with the best of them
In the hands of a young warrior, like a flame,
Trustworthy, defender of the truth, hero,
For days, months, a whole year,
And after next year, yet another.
What people, confound you, would abandon a chief,
Who protects his dependants? No foul-mouthed weakling,
A noble man, for whose sake the clouds drop rain,
The support of orphans, the defence of widows.
Hāshim's family, ready to perish, resort to him,
There they find pity and kindness.
Asīd and his firstborn made us hated
And cut us up for others to devour;[3]
Neither 'Uthmān nor Qunfudh sympathized with us
But obeyed the command of those tribes.

The line is very difficult, as Caussin says. Fortunately the note of Abū Dharr is the effect that Sifāh is a place-name in Qurayš. This seems to me to provide the key to the meaning of the line. Yāqūt says that al-Sifāh lies between Ḥunayn and the vicinity of the mosque on the road leading to Mecca for the Muslims. As the battle took place on the road, Yāqūt's description seems to suit the context. In the site of Ḥunayn are Yāqūt's words. Well, under the difficulty and its strangeness, Sifāh does Subay. In al-Qāmūs is the plural of Sifāh, the side of a mountain, so perhaps in this way the passage can be construed.

The commentators say that Turk and Kibūd are two mountains, but I can find no mention of them in Yāqūt, who under 'Kibūd' quotes a line from al-A'sha which clearly refers to Turk and Kibūd as people. It looks as if the two names point to a lost forge.

follow the rudeness of the Lādin. The text accordingly means 'We will not be forcible deprived of M

[2] Or rattling, swishing water-skins. If the comparison refers to the speed of their attack, the simile which Abū Dharr favours is correct; if not, the simile refers to the noise which the armed men make.

[3] A figure for malicious slander.

They obeyed Ubayy and the son of their Abdu Yaghūth
And did not observe what others said of us
So, too, were we treated by Subay' and Nawfal, 75
And everyone who turned away from us, not treating us kindly
If they throw down their arms, or God give us the better of them.
We will pay them measure for measure
That fellow Abū 'Amir would do naught but hate us,
To send us away among shepherds and camel-drivers
He talks about us confidentially night and morning.
Talk on, Abū 'Amir, with your guile
He swears by God he won't deceive us,
But we see him openly doing nothing else
He hates us so much that the hill-tops
Between Mecca's hills and Syria's forts
Are too narrow to hold him.
Ask Abū'l-Walīd, what have you done to us with your slander
Turning away like a deceitful friend.
You were a man by whose opinion men guided their lives,
And you were kind to us, nor are you a fool.
O 'Utba, do not listen to an enemy's words against us;
Envious, lying, hating and malicious.
Abū Sufyān averted his face from me as he passed,
Sweeping along as though he were one of the great ones of the earth,
He betook himself to the high ground and its cool waters,
Pretending that he does not forget us
He tells us that he is sorry for us like a good friend.
But he hides evil designs in his heart.
O Muṭ'im! I did not desert you when you called for help,
Nor on the day of battle when mighty deeds were called for
Nor when they came against you full of enmity,
Opponents whose strength matched yours.
O Muṭ'im, the people have given you a task to do,
I too when entrusted with a task do not try to evade it.
God requite 'Abdu Shams and Nawfal for us
With evil punishment quick and not delayed,
With an exact balance, not a grain too little.
The balance its own witness that it is exact
Foolish are the minds of people who exchanged us
For Rānī Khalaf and the Ghayrā
We are the pure stock from the summit of Hāshim
And the family of Quṣayy in matters of import.
Sahm and Makhzūm stirred up against us
Every scoundrel and low-born churl.
Abdu Manāf, you are the best of your people,

[1] See page [illegible] of the Arabic text where the line is quoted and explained.

Do not make common cause with every outsider.
You have proved feeble and weak
And done a thing far from right.
You were still lately the sticks under one pot
But now you are the sticks under many pots and vessels.
Let the Banū 'Abdu Manāf get satisfaction from parting from us,
Deserting us and leaving us imprisoned in our quarters!
If we are men we shall take revenge for what you have done
And you will suffer the full effects of war
The best men among Lu'ayy b. Ghālib,
Every bold chief exiled to us
The family of Nufayl is the worst that ever trod the earth,
The most contemptible of all the sons of Ma'addi.
Tell Quṣayy that our cause will be blazed abroad,
And give Quṣayy the good news that after us there will be a falling apart (among our enemies).
Yet if calamity befall Quṣayy one night,
We should have been the first to protect them:
If they fought bravely in defence of their houses,
We should show them how to protect the mothers of children.
Yet every friend and nephew on whom we ought to count
We find lacking when put to the test
Except for certain men of Kilāb b. Murra
Who on we evenings from the plains of the deserts

[illegible]

[illegible]

These seven verses are not in W. [illegible] mention them in his usual manner. It may be [illegible] that none of the remaining [illegible] mention them. Further, there is no mention in Abu Dhar's commentary and it is difficult to believe that he would have passed over the extraordinary [illegible] which [illegible] before him. [illegible] at the end of the poem indicate that he has [illegible] more verses [illegible] though [illegible] more improbable [illegible] were among them and [illegible] the greater [illegible] it will at once be apparent that the seven lines [illegible] the sequence of thought which [illegible] to the general defence [illegible]

* *Abnā'iyya* (Greek and Syriac [illegible]) is the term Arabs [illegible] Persians and a slave girl from one of those countries is also [illegible] here. The suffix A is the Persian suffix. See A. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda, 1938, pp [illegible] and [illegible]

Undeniably fine is Zubayr, our nephew,
A sword loosed from belts
The proudest of the proudest chiefs.
Belonging to the finest stock in glory.
I'faith I am devoted to Aḥmad and his brethren,
As a constant lover
For who among men can hope to be like him
When judges assess rival claims to merit,
Clement, rightly guided, just, serious,
The friend of God, ever mindful of Him.
By God, but that I might create a precedent*
That would be brought against our shaykhs in assemblies,
We would follow him whatever fate might bring,
In deadly earnest, not in idle words.
They know that our son is not held a liar by us,
And is not concerned with foolish falsehood.
Aḥmad has struck so deep a root among us
That the attacks of the arrogant fail to affect him.
I shielded and defended him myself by every means. (173).[3]

The Ghayṭāl are of B. Saḥm b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ. Abū Sufyān is I. Ḥarb b. Umayya. Mu'ām is I. Adly b. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manāf. Zubayr is I. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm, his mother being 'Ātika d. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. Asīd and his firstborn, i.e. 'Attāb b. Asīd b. Abū'l-'Īṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf. 'Uthmān is I. 'Ubaydullāh the brother of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullāh al-Taymī. Qunfudh is I. 'Umayr b. Jud'ān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra. Abu'l-Walīd is 'Utba b. Rabī'a and Ubayy is al-Akhnas b. Sharīq al-Thaqafī ally of B. Zuhra b. Kilāb (173).[4] 173

Al-Aswad is I. 'Abdu Yaghūth b. Wahb b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb. Subay' is I. Khālid brother of B. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. Nawfal is I. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy. He was I. al-Adawīya, one of the *ashrāf* of Quraysh. He it was who roped together Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullāh when they went over to Islām. They got him

[3] May he never come to be an adornment to the people of the world
An reminder to those whom we have befriended

[illegible] W. and undoubtedly an interpolation from a pious reader.
There is much to be said for the commonest reading, that that I might bring shame
[illegible] adds

The word of mankind strengthen him with his help
And disperse a religion which [illegible] no [illegible]
Noble [illegible] not [illegible] up [illegible] religion rather
Brought them up in the best of ways
Though Rab[illegible] [illegible]
The day [illegible] when they [illegible] apart

These verses are lacking in W. [illegible] version.

[4] This and the following paragraph stands under the name of Ibn Ishāq but the context suggests that they are in part a quotation from

Among the two [illegible] who died [illegible] the battle of Badr Abū Amr ar Qurza b. Abdu 'Amr b. Nawfal b. Abdu Manāf. The 'treacherous people' are B. Bakr b. Abdu Manāt b. Kināna. These are the Ahlā[illegible] [illegible] the prophet's [illegible] [illegible] he was mentioned [illegible] knew more about the apostle when and before he was mentioned than the tribe of Aus and Khazraj. The reason for this was that they were well acquainted with the savings of Jewish rabbis and they lived side by side with them as allies. When the apostle was talked of in Medina and the [illegible] B. Wāqif composed the verses given below (175

Abū Qays was warmly attached to Quraysh since he was related to them through his wife Arnab d. Asad b. Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Qusayy and he with his wife used to stay with them for years at a time. He composed an ode in which he [illegible] dealt with them and saved them in the War of the Elephant:

O rider, when you meet Ju'ayy its Ghālib
Give him a message from me,
The tidings of a man who though far from you
Is distressed at what is between you, and and worried
I have become the commercial of cares,
Because of them I cannot do what I should.
I learn that you are divided into camps.
One party kindles the fire of war, the other provides the fuel
I pray God to protect you from your evil act,
Your wicked quarrel and the insidious attack of scorpions,
Defamatory reports and secret plots
Like pricking darts which never fail to pierce.
Remind them of God, first of all things,
And the sin of breaking the tribes an travel-worn gazelles.[1]
Say to them, (and God will give His judgement)
If you abandon war it will go far from you.
When you stir it up you raise an evil thing
'Tis a monster devouring everything near and far.
It severs kinship and destroys people,
It cuts the flesh from the brisket and the back.
You will give up the finest clothes of Yemen
For a soldier's garb and coat of mail,
Musk and camphor for dust-coloured armour
With buttons like the eyes of a locust.

[1] The killing of game within the sacred area is prohibited, and the poet seems (as if the blood of enemies there is sacrosanct), a fortiori bloodshed and war are forbidden by God.

Beware of war! Do not let it cling to you;
A stagnant pool has a bitter draught.
War is first seems fine to men
But afterwards they plainly recognize an old hag.
It scorches unsparingly the weak,
And sins death-dealing blows at the great
Know you not what happened in the war of Dāhis?
Or the war of Hātib? Take a lesson from them!
How many a noble chief it slew,
The generous host whose guest lacked naught,
A huge pile of ashes beneath his pot,
Praised by all, noble in character, his sword
Drawn only in righteous cause;
'Tis as water poured out at random,
As if winds from all quarters scattered the clouds.[1]
A truthful, knowledgeable man will tell you of its battles
(For real knowledge is the result of experience).
So sell your spears to those who love war
And remember the account you must render, for God is the best ala reckoner.
Man's Lord has chosen a religion,
So let none guard you but the Lord of heaven,
Raise up for us a Hanīf religion.
You are our object; one is guided in travel by heights,
You are a light and protection to this people.
You lead the way, not lacking virtues.
If men were valued, you would be a jewel,
The best of the vale is yours in noble pride.
You preserve noble, ancient peoples
Whose genealogy shows no foreign blood.
You see the needy come to your houses
Wave after wave of starving wights.
The people know that your leaders
Are ever the best people of the stations of Minā.[2]
Best in counsel, loftiest in custom,
Most truthful amid the assemblies.

[1] If the subject of the metaphor is war the reading *fahl* is right, and indiscriminate bloodshed is indicated. If the reader *fahl* [illegible] is adopted, the poet is [illegible] the behaviour of the generous [illegible] who bountifully entertain to the most [illegible]

[2] See Al Sīra [illegible] [illegible] Minā [illegible] the place where the Pilgrims [illegible] [illegible] Arafa [illegible] [illegible] Minā [illegible] [illegible] the meaning of the poet [illegible] is the great [illegible]

Rise and pray to your Lord and rub yourselves
Against the corners of this house between the mountains
He gave you a convincing test[1]
On the day of Abū Yakūlim, leader of the squadrons,
His cavalry was in the plains,
His infantry upon the passes of the hills.
When the help of the Lord of the throne reached you
His armies repulsed them, pelting them, and covering them with dust,
Quickly they turned tail in flight
And none but a few returned to his people from the army.
If you perish, we shall perish, and the fairs by which men live
These are the words of a truthful man (176).

183 Hakīm b. Umayya b. Ḥāritha b. al-Auqaṣ al-Sulamī, an ally of B. Umayya who had become a Muslim, composed the following verses to turn his people from their determined enmity to the apostle. He was a man of good birth and authority

Does one who says what is right stick to it,
And is there one listening who would be angry at the truth?
Does the chief whose tribe hope to profit from him
Gather friends from near and far?
I disown all but Him who controls the wind
And I abandon you for ever
I submit myself utterly to God
Though crowds threaten me with terror.

183 HOW THE APOSTLE WAS TREATED BY HIS OWN PEOPLE

When the Quraysh became distressed by the trouble caused by the enmity between them and the apostle and those of their people who accepted his teaching, they stirred up against him foolish men who called him a liar, insulted him, and accused him of being a poet, a sorcerer, a diviner, and of being possessed. However, the apostle continued to proclaim what God had ordered him to proclaim, concealing nothing, and exciting their dislike by contemning their religion, breaking their idols, and leaving them to their unbelief.

Yaḥyā b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr on the authority of his father from 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ told me that the latter was asked what was the worst way in which Quraysh showed their enmity to the apostle. He replied: I was with them one day when the notables had gathered in the [illegible] and the apostle was mentioned. They said that they had never known anything like the trouble they had endured from this fellow: he had declared their

[1] For this and the following lines, except the last, see p. 39 of the Arabic text.

made of life foolish, insulted their forefathers, reviled their religion, divided the community, and cursed their gods. What they had borne was past all bearing, or words to that effect.

While they were thus discussing him the apostle came towards them and kissed the black stone, then he passed them as he walked round the temple. As he passed they said some injurious things about him. This I could see from his expression. He went on and as he passed them the second time they attacked him similarly. This I could see from his expression. Then he passed the third time, and they did the same. He stopped and said, 'Will you listen to me O Quraysh? By him who holds my life in His hand I bring you slaughter.'[1] This word so struck the people that not one of them but stood silent and still, even one who had hitherto been most violent spoke to him in the kindest way possible, saying, 'Depart, O Abū'l-Qāsim, for by God you are not violent.' So the apostle went away, and on the morrow they assembled in the Ḥijr, I being there too, and they asked one another if they remembered what had taken place between them and the apostle so that when he openly said something unpleasant they let him alone. While they were talking thus the apostle appeared, and they leaped 184
upon him as one man and encircled him, saying, 'Are you the one who said so-and-so against our gods and our religion?' The apostle said, 'Yes, I am the one who said that.' And I saw one of them seize his robe. Then Abū Bakr interposed himself weeping and saying, 'Would you kill a man for saying Allāh is my Lord?' Then they left him. That is the worst that I ever saw Quraysh do to him.

One of the family of Umm Kulthūm, Abū Bakr's daughter, told me that she said, 'Abū Bakr returned that day with the hair of his head torn. He was a very hairy man and they had dragged him along by his beard' (177).

HAMZA ACCEPTS ISLAM

A man of Asfūn, who had a good memory, told me that Abū Jahl passed by the apostle at al-Ṣafā, insulted him and behaved most offensively, speaking spitefully of his religion and trying to bring him into disrepute. The apostle did not speak to him. Now a freedwoman, belonging to 'Abdullāh b. Jud'ān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra, was in her house listening to what went on. When he went away he betook himself to the assembly of Quraysh at the Ka'ba and sat there. Within a little while Ḥamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib arrived, with his bow hanging from his shoulder returning from the chase, for he was fond of hunting and used to go out shooting. When he came back from a hunt he never went home until he had circumambulated the Ka'ba, and that done when he passed by an 185
assembly of the Quraysh he stopped and saluted and talked with them. He was the strongest man of Quraysh, and the most unyielding. The apostle

[illegible] to his house where he gathered his clansmen, who asked him if he had heard of what Abu'l-Hakam b. Hishām had done just recently to his nephew Muhammad. [illegible] had found him acting apostatically there and abusive [illegible] and reviled him to his face, and that Muhammad had not answered a word. Hamza was filled with rage [illegible] to honour him, so he went out in a run and did not stop to greet anyone, meaning to punish Abu Jahl when he met him. When he got to the mosque he saw him sitting among the people, and went up to him until he stood [illegible] saying, 'Will you speak him when I believe his religion, and say what he says? [illegible] Abu Jahl's help, but he said, 'Let Abu 'Umara alone for, by God, I insulted his nephew [illegible] religion was [illegible] the apostle recognized [illegible] and had found a protector in Hamza, and so they abandoned some of their ways of harassing him.

WHAT THEY SAID ABOUT THE PROPHET

Yusuf b. Ya'qub from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi told me that he was told that 'Utba b. Rabi'a, who was a chief, said one day while he was sitting in the Quraysh assembly and the apostle was sitting in the mosque by himself, 'Why should I not go to Muhammad and make some proposals [illegible] and he will leave us in peace?' This happened when Hamza had accepted Islam and there was [illegible] the people [illegible] and multiplying. [illegible] thought it was a good idea, [illegible] and said, 'O my nephew, you are one of us as you know, of the noblest of the tribe and hold a worthy position in ancestry. You have come to your people with an important matter dividing their community, [illegible] and reviling their gods, and declaring that their foreefathers were unbelievers. Listen to me and I will make some suggestions, and perhaps you will be able to accept some of them. [illegible] decide anything apart from you, if you want sovereignty, we will make you king, and if there is something which you see but which you cannot get rid of, we will find a physician for you, and exhaust our [illegible] money until he can be cured of it,' or words to that effect. The apostle [illegible] and then said, 'Now listen to me. In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful, H.M., a revelation from the compassionate, the merciful, [illegible] a book whose verses are expounded as an Arabic Qur'an for a people who understand, as an announcement and warning, though

most of them turn aside so that they do not listen and say, 'Our hearts are veiled from [illegible] Then the apostle continued [illegible] Hamza had completely altered, and they asked him what had happened. He said that he had heard something [illegible] Quraysh [illegible] the words which I have heard [illegible] (military) Arabs kill him, or he will have killed your [illegible] the power of the Arabs [illegible] will be your sovereignty, the power which power and you will be prosperous [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] and have my opinion, you must do what you think fit.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE APOSTLE AND THE LEADERS OF QURAYSH AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE SURA OF THE CAVE

Islam began to spread in Makka among men and women of the tribes of Quraysh, though [illegible] and talking up matters of the Muslims in their assemblies. [illegible] from Nafi' b. Jubayr and from 'Ikrima, freedman of Abdullah b. 'Abbas, that the leading men of every clan of Quraysh—'Utba b. Rabi'a, and Shayba his brother, and Abu Sufyan b. Harb, and al-Nadr b. al-Harith, brother of the Banu Abdu'l-Dar, and Abu'l-Bakhtari b. Hishām, and al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad and Zama[illegible] and al-Walid b. al-Mughira, and [illegible] Ibrahim, and Abdullah b. Abu Umayya, and al-'As b. Wa'il, and Nubayh and Munabbih, the sons of al-Hajjaj, both of Sahm, and Umayya b. Khalaf [illegible] There also stood up Abu Jahl [illegible] they sent for him the apostle came quickly because he thought that what he had said to them had made an impression, for he was most zealous [illegible] their welfare, and their wicked way of life pained him. When he came and sat down with them, they explained that they had sent for him in order that they could talk together. No Arab had ever treated his tribe as Muhammad had treated them, and they repeated the charges [illegible] would make him the richest of them all if it was honour, he should be their prince, if it was sovereignty they would make him king, if it was a

[illegible]

not money, nor honour, nor sovereignty, but God had sent him as an [illegible]

[illegible] if you won't accept any of our propositions, you [illegible]

our forefathers, and let there be among those that are resurrected for us [illegible]

what you say is true or false. If they say you are speaking the truth, and [illegible]

apostle as you say. He replied that he had not been sent to them with such an object. He had conveyed to them God's message, and they could either accept it with advantage, or reject it and await God's judgement. They

Ask God to send an angel with him to confirm what he said and to contradict them, to make him gardens and castles, and treasures of gold and

[illegible]

be sought a livelihood as they did. If he could do this, they would recognize his merit and position with God, if he were an apostle as he claimed to be. He replied that he would not do it, and would not ask for such things, for he was not sent to do so, and he repeated what he had said before. They said, 'Then let the heavens be dropped on us in pieces,' as you assert that your Lord could do if He wished, for we will not believe you unless you do so. The apostle replied that this was a matter for God, if He wanted to do it with them, He would do it. They said, 'Did not your Lord know that we would sit with you, and ask you these questions, so that He might come

to do with us, if we did not receive your message? Information has reached us that you are taught by this fellow in al-Yamāma, called al-Rahmān, and by God we will never believe in the Rahmān. Our conscience is clear. By God, we will not leave you and our treatment of you, until either we destroy you or you destroy us. Some said, 'We worship the angels, who [illegible]

you claim to be with God and the angels as a security.'[1]

[illegible]

[1] Cf. Sūra 13, 31

[illegible]

they might believe in you and follow you, and you did nothing, then [illegible]

superiority over them and your standing with God, and you would not do [illegible]

were frightening them, and you did not do it', or words to that effect, 'and by God, I will never believe in you until you get a ladder to the sky, and mount up it until you mount to it, while I am looking on, and until four [illegible]

because of their estrangement from him. When the apostle had gone Abū [illegible]

to witness that I will wait for him tomorrow with a stone which I can hardly lift, or words to that effect, and when he prostrates himself in [illegible]

'Abdu Manāf do what they like after that.' They said that they would never betray him in any answer, and he could carry on with his project [illegible]

who believed in usual that movement. While he was in Mecca he faced Syria in prayer, and when he prayed, he prayed between the southern [illegible]

rest to pray what (prayer) are in their meeting, waiting [illegible]

his head, shoulders, and took no any stallion before, and he made as though he would [illegible]

he would have seized him.

[illegible]

have seen such people and their behaviour, and we have heard their [illegible] kinds of poetry; you said he was possessed, but he is not, for we have seen [illegible] delirium. Ye men of Quraysh, look to your affairs, for by God, a serious [illegible] Quraysh: he used to insult the apostle and show him enmity. He had been to al-Hira and learnt there the tales of the kings of Persia, the tales of [illegible] he reminded them of God, and warned his people of what had happened [illegible]

Ibn 'Abbās, according [illegible] of the Quran came down in reference to him, 'When our verses are read to him, [illegible] which 'fairy tales' are mentioned.

When Al-Nadr said that to them, they sent him and 'Uqba b. Abū [illegible] Muhammad, describe him to them and tell them what he says, for they [illegible] to the rabbis, 'You are the people of the Taurat,[2] and we have come to you so that you can tell us how to deal with this tribesman of ours.' The [illegible] he gives you the right answer then he is an authentic prophet, but if he [illegible] who reached the confines of both East and West. Ask him what the spirit [illegible] he cannot, then he is a forger and treat him as you will.' The two men returned to Quraysh at Mecca[3] and told them that they had a decisive way of dealing with Muhammad, and they told them about the three questions.

They came to the apostle and called upon him to answer these questions. [illegible] He said to them, 'I will give you your answer tomorrow,' but he did not [illegible] Gabriel came to him, so that the people of Mecca began to spread evil

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[1] Sūra [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] Mecca is some [illegible] m. from Medina. The ordinary caravan took [illegible] days. The fugitives going via al-Khabt did the journey in 5 days.

[illegible] today is the fifteenth day we have remained without an answer.' This delay caused the apostle great sorrow, until Gabriel brought him the [illegible] and the spirit.

[illegible] You have shut yourself off from me [illegible] before us, behind us, and what lies between, and thy Lord does not

[illegible]

[illegible] i.e. it is level, without any difference. 'To warn of a severe punishment [illegible] your message as true, though others have denied it, and have done [illegible] has taken a son.' He means the Quraysh when they say, 'We worship the [illegible] nor had their forefathers', who take heavily your leaving them and shunning [illegible] the angels are God's daughters [illegible] we will make that which is upon it a barren mound, i.e. the earth and what [illegible] reward them according to their deeds, so do not despair nor let what you hear and see therein grieve you. [illegible]

Then comes the story of what they asked him about the young men, and [illegible]

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[1] Sūra [illegible]

[2] Sūra [illegible]

young men took refuge in the Cave they said [illegible] and give us guidance by Your command, so We sealed up their hearing in the Cave for many years. Then We brought them to life again that We [illegible] of the two parties [illegible] how long they had been there. They said, 'We have lived a day or part of a day.' Others said, 'Your Lord knows best how long you have been here. Now send one of you with this money of ours to the city to see which food is the purest and bring back some for you to eat. Let him be careful not to let anyone know about you. If they find out about you they will stone you to death or force you back into their religion, and then you will never succeed.' [illegible] God's promise is true and there is no doubt about the Hour. When they argued among themselves about it, they said, 'Build a shrine over them.' Their Lord knew best about them. Those who won the day said, 'We will build a place of worship over them.' [illegible] guide to submit to Him, though there being no place [illegible] a clear proof. 'Who is more wicked than he who invents a lie against God? When you withdraw from them and what they worship instead of God, then take refuge in the Cave: your Lord will spread for you by His [illegible]

it sets it would go past them to the left, while they were in a cleft of the Cave (v. 84). 'That was one of the signs of God' i.e. for a proof against those of the people of the scriptures who knew their story and who ordered those men to ask you about them concerning the truth of your prophecy in giving a true account of them. 'Whom God guides is rightly guided, and for him whom He leads astray you will find no friend to direct. And you would think they were awake while they were sleeping, and we would [illegible] them over to the right and the left, while their dog was lying with its forepaws on the threshold' (18a). 'If you observed them closely you would turn your backs on them fleeing, and be afraid of them' up to the words 'those who gained their point said,' i.e. the people of power and dominion among them. 'Let us build a mosque above them' they will say, i.e. the Jewish rabbis who ordered them to ask these questions. 'Three, their dog being the fourth of them, and some say five, their sixth being the dog guessing in the dark. [illegible] they know nothing about it, and there are some who know them save a few, so do not contend with them except with an open connection,' i.e. do not be proud with them. 'And do not ask anyone information about them,' for they know nothing about it. 'And do not say of anything I will do it tomorrow unless you say, If God will. And mention your Lord if you have forgotten and say Perhaps my Lord will guide me to a nearer way of truth than this.' [illegible] God's will the condition, and remember Him when you have forgotten [illegible] Perhaps my Lord will guide me to what is better than this. [illegible] do not know what I am [illegible] about it. And they remained in their cave three hundred years and they added nine, i.e. they will say this. 'Say Your Lord knows best

how long they stayed there. The secrets of heaven and earth are with Him. How wonderfully He sees and hears. They have no friend but Him, and He allows none to share in His dominion as a partner. [illegible] making of what they ask you in hidden from Him.

[illegible]

It is said that he attained what no other mortal attained. Beside him stretched out before him until he surveyed the whole earth, east and west. He was given power over every land he had to conquer, he subdued the nations of mankind.

[illegible] Yahya b. Nuh (195).

Thaur b. Yazid from Khalid b. Ma'dan al-Kala'i, who was a man who [illegible] the apostles [illegible] Qur'an, and he said, 'He is an angel who conveyed the apostolic mission by signs.'

Ibn Ishaq said, 'I have heard a man telling [illegible] Qur'an, and he said, 'Good [illegible] the prophets [illegible] the angels. God knows the truth of the matter whether the apostle said what he said. If he said it, then what he said was true.

[illegible] 'Then will ask you about the Spirit say the Spirit is a matter for my Lord, and you have only a little knowledge about it.'

I was told on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas that he said, 'When the apostle came to Medina the Jewish rabbis said, 'Where was [illegible] and you have only a little knowledge about it' [illegible] 'Do you think that we have the Torah in which is the explanation of everything?' He replied that it contained much knowledge [illegible] they thought [illegible] they asked him about that. 'If all the trees on the world were pens and the ocean were ink, though the ocean were reinforced in the words of God [illegible] 'The Torah [illegible] dead, 'If there were a Qur'an by which mountains could be moved, or the earth split, or the dead spoken to [it would be this one], but to God belongs the affair of all things' i.e. I will not do anything of the kind [illegible]

[illegible] I choose. And He revealed to him concerning their saying, "Take for yourself", meaning that He should make for him gardens, and castles, and treasures, and should send an angel with him to confirm what he said, and to defend him. 'And they said, "What is this apostle doing, eating food, and walking in the markets? Unless an angel were sent to him to be a warner with him, or he were given a treasure or a garden from which he might eat" [illegible] and the evildoers say, "You follow only a [illegible] man bewitched. Look how they have invented proverbs of them and have gone astray and cannot find the way. Blessed is He, who if He willed, could make for thee something better than that,' i.e. than that you should walk in the marketplaces, seeking a livelihood. 'Gardens beneath which rivers run, and make for thee castles.'

And He revealed to him concerning their saying, 'What! We were mistaken before that they did not wish walk in the markets, and we made some of you a test for others, whether you would be steadfast, and your Lord is looking on,'[1] i.e. I made some of you a test for others that you might be steadfast. Had I wanted to make the world side with my apostles, so that they would not oppose them, I would have done so.

And he revealed to him concerning what 'Abdullah b. Umayya said, [illegible] 'We will not believe in thee until thou hast brought us from the earth, or you have a garden of dates and grapes, and make the streams within it burst forth copiously, or make the heavens fall upon us in fragments as you assert, or bring God and the angels as a surety, or you get a house of gold, or mounting up to heaven, we will not believe in the ascent until you bring down to us a book which we can read. Say, Glorified be our Lord, am I aught but a mortal messenger' (xvii).[2]

He revealed to him with reference to their saying, 'We have heard that a man in al-Yamama called al-Rahmân teaches you. We will never believe in him.' 'Thus did We send you to a people before whom other peoples had passed away that you might read to them that which We have revealed to thee, while they disbelieved in the Rahmân. Say, He is my Lord, there is no other God but He. In Him I trust and unto Him is the return.'[3]

And He revealed to him concerning what Abû Jahl said and intended. 'Have you seen him who prohibited a servant when he prayed? [illegible] if he fled and turned his back, does he not know that Allâh sees [illegible] If he does not desist, we will drag him by the forelock, the lying sinful forelock. [illegible] call his partners of hell. Then shalt certainly not obey him, prostrate thyself and draw near to God' (xcvi).

And God revealed something what they proposed to him in regard to their enmity. 'Say, I ask no reward of you, but in your love, my reward is God's [illegible] and He sees everything. [illegible]

[illegible] when they heard that the truth [illegible] they manufactured his wedded wife and the prophet as a prophet in bringing them things of the unseen when they asked him about it, [illegible] knowing his truth, and they became insolent against God and openly forsook his religion [illegible] and took refuge in their partisanship. [illegible] 'Do not think that [illegible] they [illegible] a [illegible] and probable you will get the better of it' i.e. treat it as nonsense and false, and treat him as a mere [illegible] you will probably get the better of him whereas if you argue or dispute with him you will be sure to get the better of you.

Abû Jahl, when he was mocking the apostle and his message, said, 'Muhammad pretends that God is a person who will consult you in hell and [illegible] [illegible] a large provision [illegible] 'Is anything [illegible] of them?' [illegible] We have made the guardians of hell angels, and We have made the number of them a trial to those who disbelieve, so that [illegible] the apostle recited the Qur'ân [illegible] they might [illegible] to listen to him. If anyone of them wanted to know what he was reciting as he listened to him, he had to listen stealthily for fear of Quraysh; and if he saw that they knew that he was listening to it, he would [illegible] for fear of punishment and he ceased to recite. If he stealthily listened he would [illegible] those who were listening thought that the [illegible] part of the night, while he thought he had something which they could not hear, he began all his attention to the words.

[illegible] 'Don't speak loudly in thy prayer and don't be silent' adopt a middle course,'[7] was revealed because of those people. He said 'Don't speak loudly in thy prayer' so that they may go away from you, and 'Don't be silent' so that he who wants to hear, of those who listen stealthily [illegible] perhaps he will get hold of some of a good people thereby.

THE FIRST ONE WHO FOUND [illegible] THE PROPHET'S

[illegible] said on the authority of [illegible] that the first man to speak the Qur'ân loudly in Mecca after the apostle was 'Abdullâh b. Mas'ûd. The prophet's companions were together one day and considered [illegible] who would make them listen to it? When 'Abdullâh said that he was [illegible] they were afraid on his behalf and they wanted only a man of good family who would protect him from the populace if they attacked him. He replied [illegible] God will protect me. So in the morning he went to the sanctuary while Quraysh were in their [illegible]

conferences, and when he arrived at the Maqam he read, 'In the name of God, the compassionate the merciful,' raising his voice as he did so, 'the compassionate who taught the Quran.' Then he turned towards them as he read so that they noticed him, and they said, 'What on earth is this son of a slave-woman saying?' And when they realized that he was reading some of what Muhammad [illegible] they got up and began to hit him on his face, but he continued to read so far as God willed that he should read. Then he went to his companions with the marks of their blows on his face. They said, 'This is just what we feared would happen to you.' He said, 'God's enemies were never more contemptible in my sight than they are now, and if you like I will go and do the same thing before them tomorrow.' They said, 'No, you have done enough, you have made them listen to what they don't want to hear.'

THE QURAYSH LISTEN TO THE PROPHET'S READING

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he was told that Abu Sufyan b. Harb and Abu Jahl b. Hisham and al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, an ally of B. Zuhra, had gone out by night to listen to the apostle as he was praying in his house. Everyone of them chose a place to sit where he could listen, and none knew where his fellow was sitting. So they passed the night listening to him, until as the dawn came, they dispersed. On the way home they met and reproached one another, and one said to the other, 'Don't do it again, for if one of the light-minded fools sees you, you will arouse suspicion in his mind.' Then they went away, until on the second night everyone of them returned again to his place, and they passed the night listening. Then as dawn the same thing happened again, and again on the third night, when on the morrow they said to one another, 'We will not go away until we take a solemn obligation that we will not return.' Thus they did and then dispersed. In the morning al-Akhnas took his stick and went to the house of Abu Sufyan and asked him to tell him his opinion of what he had heard from Muhammad. He replied, 'By God, I heard things that I know, and know what was meant by them, and I heard things whose meaning I don't know, nor what was intended by them.' Al-Akhnas replied, 'I feel precisely the same.' Then he left him and went to Abu Jahl's house and asked him the same question. He answered, 'What did I hear? We and B. Abd al-Muttalib have been rivals in honour. They have fed the poor, and so have we; they have assumed others' burdens, and so have we; they have been generous, and so have we, until we have progressed side by side, and we were like two horses of equal speed. They said, "We have a prophet to whom revelations come from heaven" and when shall we attain anything like this? By God, we will never believe in him and never hold him to be truthful.' Then al-Akhnas got up and left him.

When the apostle recited the Quran to them and called them to God, they said in mockery, 'Our hearts are veiled, we do not understand what you say. There is a load in our ears so that we cannot hear what you say, and a curtain divides us from you, so follow your own path and we will follow ours, we do not understand anything you say.' Then God revealed, 'And when you read the Quran we put between you and those who do not believe in the last day a hidden veil,' so far as the words 'and when you mention your Lord alone in the Quran they turn their backs in aversion,' that is how can they understand they asserted that God is one if I have put veils over their hearts and heaviness in their ears, and 'between you and them is a curtain as they allege?' i.e. that I have not done it. 'We know best about what they listen to when they listen to you, and when they take secret counsel the wicked say, "You are only following a man bewitched."' i.e. that is the man they order people not to listen to the message I have given you. 'See how they have made parables of you, and gone astray and cannot find the way.' i.e. they have made false proverbs about you, and cannot find the right path, and what they say is not straightforward. 'And they say, "when we are bones and dried morsels shall we be raised a new creation?"' i.e. you have come to tell us that we shall be raised after death when we are bones and dried fragments, and that is something that cannot be. 'Say, Be ye hard stones or iron, or anything that you think in your minds is harder, they will say, "Who will raise us?" Say, He who created you at the beginning,' i.e. He who created you from what you know, for to create you from dust is no more difficult than that to him.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Mujahid from Ibn Abbas told me that the latter said, 'I asked him what was meant by the word of God, "or something that you think is harder" and he said, "Death."'

THE POLYTHEISTS PERSECUTE THE MUSLIMS OF THE LOWER CLASSES

Then the Quraysh showed their enmity to all those who followed the apostle, every clan which contained Muslims persecuted them, imprisoning them, and beating them, allowing them no food or drink, and exposing them to the burning heat of Mecca, so as to seduce them from their religion. Some gave way under pressure of persecution, and others resisted them, being protected by God.

Bilal, who was afterwards freed by Abu Bakr but at that time belonged to one of B. Jumah, being slave born, was a faithful Muslim, pure of heart. His father's name was Ribah and his mother was Hamama. Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Huthaira b. Jumah used to bring him out in the heaven

[illegible] great rock put on his chest; then he would say to him, 'You will stay here [illegible]

Hishām b. 'Urwa told me on the authority of his father Waraqa b. Nawfal was passing him while he was being thus tortured and saying, 'One, one,' and he said, 'One, one, by God, Bilāl.' Then he went to Umayya and those of B. Jumah who had thus maltreated him, and said, 'I swear by God that if you kill him in this way I will make his tomb a shrine.' One day Abū Bakr passed by while they were thus ill-treating him, for his house was among this clan. He said to Umayya, 'Have you no fear of God that you treat this poor fellow like this? How long is it to go on?' He replied, 'You are the one who corrupted him, so save him from his plight that you see.' 'I will do so,' said Abū Bakr: 'I have got a black [illegible]

Before he migrated to Medina he freed six slaves in Islam, Bilāl being the seventh, namely: 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, who was present at Badr and Uhud and was killed at the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūna; and Umm 'Ubays and Zinnīra (she lost her sight when he freed her and Quraysh said, 'Al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā are the ones that have taken away her sight', but she said, 'By the house of God, you lie. Al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā can neither harm nor heal.' so God restored her sight)

And he freed al-Nahdiya and her daughter who belonged to a woman of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār; he passed by them when their mistress had sent them about some flour of hers, and she was saying, 'By God, I will never free you.' Abū Bakr said, 'Free yourself from your oath.' She said, 'It is free; you corrupted them so you free them.' They agreed upon the price, and he said, 'I will take them and they are free. Return her flour to her.' They said, 'Oughtn't we to finish the grinding and then take it back to her?' He said, 'Yes, if you like.'

He passed by a slave girl of B. Mu'ammil, a clan of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b who was a Muslim. 'Umar b. al-Khattāb was punishing her to make her give up Islam. At that time he was a polytheist. He beat her until he was tired and said, 'I have only stopped beating you because I am tired.' She said, 'May God treat you in the same way.' Abū Bakr bought her and freed her.

Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Abū 'Atīq from 'Āmir b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from one of his family told me: Abū Quhāfa said to his son Abū Bakr, 'My son, I see that you are freeing weak slaves. If you want to do what you are doing, why don't you free powerful men who could defend

and what his father said to him. As to him who gives and fears God and believes in goodness, up to the divine words, none is rewarded by God

[illegible] Muslim, [illegible] Abū Jahl b. Hishām and his father and others who were Muslims at this time of the day and exposed them to the heat of Mecca, and the Apostle pointed to them and said, 'I know [illegible] Paradise.' [illegible] morning [illegible] will be possible. They killed his mother, for she refused to abandon Islam.

[illegible] Abū Jahl, who [illegible] up the Muslims against them. When he heard that a man had become a Muslim, if he was a man of [illegible] he would say, 'Do you leave your father's religion for a worse one? We will humiliate your goods and reduce your [illegible]' If he was a merchant [illegible] people against him. [illegible] Abū Bakr. [illegible] because of the violence they had used on him, so that in the end he would die unknown there. [illegible] poor people and [illegible] the power that of a [illegible] in order to escape from the suffering he was enduring.

[illegible] Muslim, [illegible] Abū Jahl and others said to him, 'We know that you want to be a Muslim.' They had agreed to come [illegible] Muslims, [illegible] Muslim. [illegible] afraid of [illegible] religion which they regarded [illegible] shall be safe in the [illegible] 'Al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā [illegible] enough God, but because they do not kill him.' Then he began to recite

> My brother 'Uyaya shall not be killed,
> Otherwise there will be war between us for ever.'

[illegible] if this man were killed while in our hands the best of us would be killed in a man.' So they left him and withdrew, and that was how God rescued him from them.

[illegible]

[illegible]

When the apostle saw the affliction of his companions and that though he escaped it because of his standing with Allah and his uncle Abū Ṭālib, he could not protect them, he said to them: If you were to go to Abyssinia (it would be better for you), for the king will not tolerate injustice and it is a friendly country, until such time as Allah shall relieve you from your distress. Thereupon his companions went to Abyssinia, being afraid of apostasy and fleeing to God with their religion. This was the first hijra in Islam.

The first of the Muslims to go were: B. Umayya: [illegible] 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, with his wife Ruqayya, d. the apostle.

B. 'Abdu'l-Shams: Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba, with his wife Sahla d. Suhayl b. 'Amr one of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.

B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā: al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām.

B. 'Abdu'l-Dār: Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr.

B. Zuhra b. Kilāb: 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Auf.

B. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa: Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad, with his wife Umm Salama d. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra.

B. Jumaḥ b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ: 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn.

B. Adī b. Ka'b: 'Āmir b. Rabī'a, an ally of the family of al-Khaṭṭāb of 'Adī b. Ka'b (1891), with his wife Laylā d. Abū Ḥathma b. Ḥudhāfa.

B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Abū Qays b. 'Āmir. Others say it was Abū Ḥāṭib b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams of the same descent. It is said that he was the first to arrive in Abyssinia.

B. al-Ḥārith: Suhayl b. Bayḍā'. These ten were the first to go to Abyssinia according to my information (195).

Afterwards Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib went, and the Muslims followed one another until they gathered in Abyssinia; some took their families, others went alone.

B. Hashim: Ja'far, who took his wife Asmā' d. 'Umays b. al-Nu'mān. She bore him 'Abdullāh in Abyssinia.

B. Umayya: 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, with his wife Ruqayya, [illegible] 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, with his wife Fāṭima d. Safwān b. Umayya b. Muḥarriz b. Khunais b. Shaqq b. Raqāba b. Mukhdij al-Kinānī, and his brother Khālid with his wife Umayna (1921) d. Khālid of Khuzā'a. She bore him his son Sa'īd in Abyssinia, and his daughter Amīna who afterwards married al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām and bore to him 'Amr and Khālid. Of these allies of B. Asad b. Khuzayma: 'Abdullāh b. Jaḥsh, b. Asad and his brother 'Ubaydullāh with his wife Umm Ḥabība d. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Laqīṭ b. Abīdullāh, with his wife Sakhīla d. Yasār, a freedwoman of

The dots indicate that the genealogies (which in many cases have been given previously) have been cut short.

Abū Sufyān; and Ma'mar b. Abū Fākiha. These belonged to the family of Sa'd b. al-'Āṣ, seven persons in all (1921).

B. 'Abdu Shams: Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba; Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī whose name was 'Abdullāh b. Qays, an ally of the family of 'Utba. Two men.

B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manāf: 'Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir b. Wahb b. Nasīb, b. Qays b. Aylān, an ally of them. One man.

B. Asad: al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām; al-Aswad b. Naufal; Yazīd b. Zama'a; 'Amr b. Umayya b. al-Ḥārith. Four men.

B. 'Abd b. Quṣayy: Ṭulayb b. 'Umayr. One man.

B. [illegible] Qays, with his wife Umm Ḥarmala d. 'Abdu'l-Aswad, of Khuzā'a and his two sons 'Amr and Khuzayma; Abū'l-Rūm b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim [illegible]

B. Zuhra: 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Auf; 'Āmir b. Abū Waqqāṣ. Abū Waqqāṣ was Mālik b. Uhayb, [illegible] al-Muṭṭalib b. Azhar, with his wife Ramla d. Abū 'Auf b. Ḍubayra. She bore his son 'Abdullāh in Abyssinia. Their allies of Hudhayl: 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd, and his brother 'Utba. Of Bahrā': al-Miqdād b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Mālik b. Rabī'a b. Thumāma b. Muṭrīd b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Zuhayr b. Lu'ayy b. Tha'laba b. Mālik b. al-Sharīd b. Abū Ahwaz b. Abū Fā'ib b. Duraym b. al-Qayn b. Ahwaz b. Bahrā' b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'a (193). (He used to be called Miqdād b. al-Aswad b. 'Abdu Yaghūth b. Wahb b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Zuhra because he had adopted him before Islam and taken him into his tribe. [illegible]

B. Taym b. Murra: al-Ḥārith b. Khālid, with his wife Raytā d. al-Ḥārith b. Jabala. She bore his son Mūsā in Abyssinia and his daughters 'Ā'isha and Zaynab and Fāṭima. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Amr. Two men.

B. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa: Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad, with his wife Umm Salama d. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra. She bore him a daughter Zaynab in Abyssinia. (Her name was 'Abdullāh and his wife's name was Hind.) Shurāḥbīl b. 'Abdu'l-Ghawth al-Shurāḥbīl (194). Ḥabbār b. Sufyān b. 'Abdu'l-Asad, and his brother 'Abdullāh. Hishām b. Abū Ḥudhayfa b. al-Mughīra b. [illegible] Ayyāmu. Eight persons (195).

B. Jumaḥ b. 'Amr: 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn, and his son al-Sā'ib; his two brothers Qudāma and 'Abdullāh. Ḥāṭib b. al-Ḥārith, with his wife Fāṭima d. al-Mujallil, and his two sons Muḥammad and al-Ḥārith, and his brother Ḥaṭṭāb with his wife Fukayha d. Yasār. Sufyān b. Ma'mar with his [illegible] one of the Ghawth (196), 'Uthmān b. Rabī'a b. Uhbān b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa. Eleven men.

B. Sahm b. 'Amr: [illegible] Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa; 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith

b. Qays b. 'Adiy b. Sa'd b. Sahm. Hudhafa b. al-Ḥa'b b. Wā'il b. Sa'd b. Sahm [illegible] Qays b. Hudhafa. Abū Qays b. al-Ḥārith. 'Abdullāh b. [illegible] al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith. Ma'mar b. al-Ḥārith. Bishr b. al-Ḥārith. and a brother of his from a Tamīmite mother called Sa'īd b. Amr. Sa'd b. al-Ḥārith. al-Sā'ib b. al-Ḥārith. 'Umayr b. Rifā'a b. Hudhayfa b. Muhammadan. Mālik b. al-Jaḥḥāf, an ally of them from B. Zuhayd. Fourteen men.

B. 'Adiyy b. Ka'b: Ma'mar b. 'Abdullāh, [illegible] 'Urwa b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā; [illegible] 'Ādir b. Nu'ayl b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā, and his son al-Sā'ib. [illegible] an ally of the family of al-Muṭṭalib from Amr b. Wā'il with his wife Laylā. Five.

444 B. Ḥunayn b. Lu'ayy: Abū Salma b. Abd Asad, with his wife Umm Kulthūm d. Suhayl b. 'Amr; 'Abdullāh b. Makhrama b. Abdu'l-'Uzzā. 'Abdullāh b. Suhayl. Salīt b. 'Amr b. Abdu Shams, and his brother al-Sakrān with his wife Sawda d. Zam'a b. Qays b. 'Abdu Shams, [illegible] Mālik b. Zam'a b. Qays, with his wife 'Amra d. al-Sakan b. Waqdān b. 'Abdu Shams. Hāṭib b. Amr b. 'Abdu Shams, Sālim b. Khālid, an ally of them. Eight persons (9 ill).

B. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr: Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, who was 'Āmir b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Jarrāḥ. Suhayl b. Bayḍā', who was Suhayl b. Wahb b. Rabī'a b. Hilāl b. Uhayb b. Dabba. That he was always known by his mother's name, she being Da'd d. Jahdam b. Umayya b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith, and was always called Bayḍā'); Amr b. Abū Sarḥ b. Rabī'a b. Hilāl b. Zuhayr b. Abū Shaddād b. Rabī'a b. Hilāl b. Uhayb b. Dabba b. al-Ḥārith, but it is said that this is wrong and that Rabī'a was the son of Hilāl b. Mālik b. Dabba; and 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith; 'Uthmān b. 'Abdu Ghanm b. Zuhayr; and Sa'd b. 'Abdu Qays b. Lawḏ, and his brother al-Ḥārith. Eight persons.

The total number of those who migrated to Abyssinia, apart from the little children which they took with them or some born to them there, was eighty-three men if Ammār b. Yāsir was among them, but this is doubtful.

The following is an extract from the poetry which has been handed on by Abyssinians by Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Adiy b. Sa'd b. Sahm. They were safely established there and were grateful for the protection of the Negus, could serve God without fear, and the Negus had shown them every hospitality.

O rider, take a message from me
To those who hope for the demonstration of God and religion,[1]
To everyone of God's persecuted servants,
Mistreated and hard cast in Mecca's vale,
Namely, that we have found God's country spacious,
Giving security from humiliation, shame and ill-repute,
So do not live a life in humiliation

[1] The meaning is far as obscure as the last verse of this ode.

And shame or death, not safe from blame
We have followed the apostle of God, and they
Have rejected the words of the prophet, and have deceitful,'
Visit thy punishment on the people who transgress
And protect me lest they rise and lead me astray.

'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith also said, when he spoke of the Quraysh expelling them from their country and reproached some of them, [illegible]

My heart refuses to fight them
And so in my fingers; I tell you the truth,
How could I fight a people who taught you
The truth that you should not mingle with falsehood?
Just worshippers exiled them from their noble land
So that they were exceeding sorrowful;
If there were faithfulness in 'Adiy b. Sa'd
Springing from piety and knowledge,
I should have hoped that it would have been among you,
By the grace of God who is not moved by bribes
I get in exchange for the beautiful refuge of poor widows
A whelp, that dust and hatred by a hatch.

He also said

Those Quraysh who deny God's truth
Are as Ad and Madyan and the people of al-Ḥijr who denied it.
If I do not meet a storm let not the earth,
Spacious land or seven hold me
In a land wherein is Muhammad, servant of God.
I will explain what is in my heart
When exhaustive search is made.

Because of the second verse of this poem Abdullāh was called al-Mubāriz, the challenger (or challenger).

Thābit b. Ma'n, reproaching Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhāfa b. Jumaḥ, who was his cousin, and who used to ill-treat him because of his belief, made the following verses. Umayya was a leader among his people at that time.

O Umayya b. Aws, I wonder at him who seeks in enmity,
When the sun and the broad high land lay between us,[2]

[illegible]

Did you drive me out of Mecca's vale where I was safe
And make me live in a loathsome white caste.
You feather arrows, whose feathering will not help you
You sharpen arrows, whose feathers are all for you,
You fight noble strong people
And destroy those from whom you once sought help.
You will know one day, what misfortune attacks you
And strangers betray you, what you have done.

Tayn b. Amr whom 'Uthman addresses, was Juruh. His name was Tayn.

THE QURAYSH SEND TO ABYSSINIA TO GET THE EMIGRANTS RETURNED

When Quraysh saw that the prophet's companions were safely ensconced in Abyssinia and had found security there, they decided among themselves to send two determined men of their number to the Negus to get them sent back, so that they could seduce them from their religion and get them out of the home in which they were living in peace. So they sent 'Abdullah b. Abu Rabi'a and 'Amr b. al-'As b. Wa'il. They got together some presents for them to take to the Negus and his generals. When Abu Talib perceived their design he composed the following verse for the Negus to move him to treat them kindly and protect them

Would that I knew how far-away Ja'far and 'Amr fare,
(The bitterest enemies are oft the nearest in blood).
Does the Negus still treat Ja'far and his companions kindly,
Or has the mischief-maker prevented him?
Thou art noble and generous, mayst thou escape calamity,
No refugees are unhappy with thee.
Know that God has increased thy happiness
And all prosperity cleaves to thee
Thou art a river whose banks overflow with bounty
Which reaches both friend and foe

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from Abu Bakr b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham al-Makhzumi from Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira wife of the apostle said, 'When we reached Abyssinia the Negus gave us a kind reception. We safely practised our religion and we worshipped God, and suffered no wrong in word or deed. When the Quraysh got to know of that, they decided to send two determined men to the Negus and to give him presents of the choicest wares of Mecca. Leatherwork was especially prized there, so they collected a great many

Again the reading and the meaning are in question. [illegible]

skins so that they were able to give some to every one of his generals. They sent 'Abdullah and 'Amr with instructions to give each general his present before they spoke to the Negus about the refugees. Then they were to give their presents to the Negus and ask him to give the men up before he spoke to them. They carried out these instructions to the letter and said to each of the generals, 'Some foolish fellows from our people have taken refuge in the king's country. They have forsaken our religion and not adopted yours, but have brought in an invented religion which neither we nor you know anything about. Our nobles have sent us to the king to get him to return them, so when we speak to the king about them advise him to surrender them to us and not to speak to them, for their own people have the keenest insight and know most about their faults.' Thus the generals agreed to do. They took that gift to the Negus and when he had accepted them, they said to him what they had already said to the generals about the refugees. Now there was nothing which 'Abdullah and 'Amr disliked more than that the Negus should hear what the Muslims had to say. The generals about his presence said that the men had spoken truly and their own people best knew the truth about the refugees, and they recommended the king to give them up and return them to their own people. The Negus was enraged and said, 'No, by God, I will not surrender them. 219
No people who have sought my protection, settled in my country, and chosen me rather than others shall be betrayed, until I summon them and ask them about what these two men allege. If they are as they say I will give them up to them and send them back to their own people but if what they say is false, I will protect them and see that they receive proper hospitality while under my protection.'

Then he summoned the apostle's companions, and when his messenger came they gathered together, saying one to another, 'What will you say to the man, when you come to him?' They said, 'We shall say what we know and what our prophet commanded us, come what may.' When they came into the royal presence they found that the king had summoned his bishops with their sacred books exposed around him. He asked them what was the religion for which they had forsaken their people, without entering into his religion or any other. Ja'far b. Abu Talib answered, 'O King, we were an uncivilized people, worshipping idols, eating carrion, committing abominations, breaking natural ties, treating guests badly, and our strong devoured our weak. Thus we were until God sent us an apostle whose lineage, truth, trustworthiness, and chastity we know. He summoned us to acknowledge God's unity and to worship him and to renounce the stones and images which we and our fathers formerly worshipped. He commanded us to speak the truth, be faithful to our engagements, mindful of the ties of kinship and kindly hospitality, and to refrain from crimes and bloodshed. He forbade us to commit abominations and to speak lies, and to devour the property of orphans, to vilify chaste women. He commanded us to worship God alone and not to associate anything with Him, and he

[illegible] us go back to the worship of idols instead of the worship of God, and to [illegible] better of us, treated us unjustly and circumscribed our lives, and came between us and our religion, we came to your country, having chosen [illegible]

[illegible] to him, so he read him a passage from (Sūra) KHY'Ṣ.[1] The Negus wept [illegible] can they go, for by God, I will never give them up to them and they shall [illegible]

[illegible]

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[1] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] al-Awwām volunteered. Now he was the youngest man we had. We [illegible] conditions until we came to the apostle of God in Mecca.

HOW THE NEGUS BECAME KING OF ABYSSINIA

[illegible] Abyssinian royal house. The Abyssinians said among themselves, 'If [illegible] his brother king, because he has no son but this youngster, while his [illegible] state of affairs for a considerable time

[illegible]

the Abyssinians provided him great hospitality with the king were then [illegible] death because he knew that they were the murderers of his father. Accordingly there were [illegible] of them. 'You wretches, but yesterday I slew his father, and am I to kill him today? But I will put him out of your country.' So they took him to the market and sold him to a merchant for six hundred dirhams. The latter threw him into a boat and went off with him, but on that very morning [illegible] for rain beneath the mass of cloud when he was struck by lightning and killed. The Abyssinians hastened in fear to his sons, and he [illegible] he was a hoarder of food: he had not a man who was any good at all. The attention of the Abyssinians [illegible] and what they [illegible] the pressure of events they said to one another. Know, by God, that your king, the [illegible] of your sons [illegible] country go after him now. So they went out in search of him and the man to whom they had sold him, until they overtook him and took the Negus from him. They then brought him home, put the crown on his head, made him sit upon the throne, and proclaimed him king.

The merchant to whom they had sold him came and said, 'Either you give me my money or [illegible] will you do about that.' They said, 'We will not give you a penny.' He said, 'In that case by God, I will speak to him.' They said, 'Well, there he is', so he came and stood before him and said, 'O king, I bought a young slave from people in [illegible] dirhams. They gave me my slave and they took my money, yet when I had gone off with my slave they overtook me and seized my slave and stole my money.' The Negus said, 'You must either give him his money back or let the young man place his hand in his, and let him take him where he wishes.' They replied, 'No, but we will give him his money.' For this reason he said the words in question. This was the first thing that was reported about his firmness in his religion and his justice in redressment.

Yazid b. Rumain told me from [illegible] Zubayr [illegible] Urwa b. al-Zubayr [illegible] that the king [illegible] the Negus died [illegible] he saw that a light was constantly [illegible] over his grave.'

THE ABYSSINIANS REVOLT AGAINST THE NEGUS

Ja'far b. Muhammad told me on the authority of his father that the Abyssinians assembled and said to the Negus, 'You have left our religion and they revolted against him. So he sent to Ja'far and his companions and prepared ships for them, saying, 'Embark in these and be ready. If

me.' Then he took paper and wrote, 'He testifies that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His slave and [illegible] must be truthful but [illegible] which He cast into Mary.' Then he put it in his gown near the right shoulder and went out to the Abyssinians, who were drawn up in array to meet him. He said, 'O people, have I not the best claim among you?' [illegible] and asserts that Jesus is a slave. 'Then what do you say about Jesus?' 'We say that he is the Son of God.' The Negus put his hand upon his breast over his gown, (signifying). He testifies that Jesus, the Son of Mary, was no more than "this"!' By this he meant what he had written, but they were content and went away. News of this reached the prophet, and when the Negus died he prayed over him and suggested that his sins might be forgiven.

'UMAR ACCEPTS ISLAM

When 'Umar and Abdullah came to the Quraysh, not having been able to bring back the prophet's companions and having received a sharp refusal from the Negus and when 'Umar became a Muslim, he being a strong, stubborn man whose strength [illegible] the prophet's companions were so fortified by him and Hamza that they got the upper hand of Quraysh. Abdullah b. Mas'ud used to say, 'We could not pray at the Ka'ba until 'Umar became a Muslim, and then he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we prayed with him.' 'Umar became a Muslim after the prophet's companions had migrated to Abyssinia.

A Report on

Musa b. Kidam from Sa'd b. Ibrahim said that 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud said, 'Umar's (conversion to) Islam was a victory; his migration to Medina was a help and his government was a divine mercy. We could not pray at the Ka'ba until he became a Muslim, and when he did so he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we joined him.'

Abdu'l-Aziz b. Abdullah b. 'Amir b. Rabi'a from his mother Umm 'Abdullah d. Abi Hathma who said, 'We were on the point of setting out for Abyssinia, and Amir had gone out for something we needed when 'Umar came and stopped beside me while I was a prisoner in the tent, and he was very angry with me and [illegible] from him. He said, 'Are you off, O mother of Abdullah?' 'Yes,' I said, 'we are going to God's country. You have tormented us and treated us badly, and we are going to God until God makes a way for us.' He said, 'God be with you,' and I saw in him a compassion which I had never seen before. Then he went away and I noticed very plainly that our departure pained him, and when 'Amir came back with the thing

[illegible] which I left, Other [illegible] and The Makers and

he [illegible] I said to him, "O father of 'Abdullah, I wish you had seen 'Umar [illegible] When he asked me if I had hopes of his becoming a Muslim, I replied [illegible] because of his hardness and severity against Islam.

The Islam of 'Umar, as I have heard, was on this wise. His sister was [illegible] both of whom had become Muslims and concealed the fact from 'Umar. Now Nu'aym b. 'Abdullah al-Nahhám, a man of his tribe from B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b, had become a Muslim and he also concealed the fact out of fear of his [illegible] the apostle, and a number of his companions, who he had been informed [illegible] going. 'I am making for Muhammad, the apostate, who has split up the Quraysh, made mockery of their traditions, insulted their faith and their gods, to kill him.' 'You deceive yourself, 'Umar,' he answered, 'do you suppose that B. Abdu Manáf will allow you to continue walking upon the earth when you have killed Muhammad? Had not you better go back to your own family and set their affairs in order?' 'What is the matter with my family?' he said. 'Your brother-in-law, your nephew Sa'íd, and your sister Fátima, have both become Muslims and followed Muhammad in his religion, so you had better go and deal with them.' Thereupon 'Umar returned to his sister and brother-in-law at the time when Khabbáb was with them with the manuscript of Tá Há, which he was reading to them. When they heard 'Umar's voice Khabbáb hid in a small room, or a part of the house, and Fátima took the page and put it under her thigh. Now 'Umar had heard the reading of Khabbáb as he came near the house, so when he came in he said, 'What is this balderdash I heard?' 'You have not heard anything,' they answered. 'By God, I have,' he said, 'and I have been told that you have followed Muhammad in his religion;' and he seized his brother-in-law Sa'íd, and his sister Fátima rose in defence of her husband, and he hit her and wounded her. When he did that they said to him, 'Yes, we are Muslims, and we believe in God and His apostle, and

was sorry for what he had done and turned back and said to his [illegible] 'Give me this sheet which I heard you reading just now so that I may see just what it is which Muhammad has brought,' for 'Umar could [illegible] When he said that, his sister replied that she was afraid to trust him with it. 'Do not be afraid,' he said, and he swore by his gods that he would return it when he had read it. When he said that, she had hopes that he would

[illegible] polytheism and only the clean may touch it.' So 'Umar rose and washed [illegible] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭáb.' 'Come to God, come to God, O 'Umar.' At that [illegible] said, 'Lead me to Muhammad so that I may accept Islam.' Khabbáb [illegible] and his companions, and knocked on the door. When they heard his [illegible] and when he saw him girt with his sword, he went back to the apostle in fear and said, 'It is 'Umar with his sword on.' Hamza said, 'Let him in. If [illegible] and he was let in. The apostle rose and met him in the room, seized him [illegible] upon you.' 'Umar replied, 'O Apostle of God, I have come to you to [illegible] 'Umar had become a Muslim.

[illegible] **This is the story of the conversion among the people of Medina about 'Umar's Islam**

[illegible] what he said to my mother, happened thus. 'I was far from Islam. I was a worshipper in the heathen period, used to love it and rejoice in it. We used to have a meeting-place in al-Hazwara at which Quraysh used to [illegible]

was sorry for what he had done and turned back and said to his [illegible] 'Give me this sheet which I heard you reading just now so that I may see just what it is which Muhammad has brought,' for 'Umar could [illegible] When he said that, his sister replied that she was afraid to trust him with it. 'Do not be afraid,' he said, and he swore by his gods that he would return it when he had read it. When he said that, she had hopes that he would

between himself and Syria. His stance was between the black stone and the southern corner. When I saw him I thought it would be a good thing if I could listen to Muhammad so as to hear what he said. If I came

[illegible]

hijr and got underneath its coverings and began to walk gently. Meanwhile the prophet was standing in prayer reciting the Qur'ān until I stood in his *qibla* facing him, there being nothing between us but the covering of the Ka'ba. When I heard the Qur'ān my heart was softened and I wept, and Islām entered into me, but I ceased not to stand in my place until the apostle had finished his prayer. Then he went away. When he [illegible] every he used to go past the house of the son of Abū Husayn, which [illegible] on his way, so that he crossed the path where the pilgrims run. Then he [illegible] between the house of 'Abbās and Ibn Azhar b. 'Abdu 'Auf al-Zuhri then by the house of Al-Akhnas b. Sharīq until he entered his own house. His dwelling was in al-Dār al-Raqta' which was in the hands of Mu'āwiya

[illegible]

house of 'Abbās and Ibn Azhar I overtook him, and when he heard my [illegible] he recognized me and supposed that I had followed him only to distress him, so he repelled me, saying, 'What has brought you at this hour?' I replied that I had come to believe in God and His apostle and what he had brought from God. He gave thanks to God and said, "God has guided you." Then he rubbed my breast and prayed that I might be steadfast. Afterwards I left him. He went into his house.' But God knows what the truth was.

N36 freedman of 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar on the authority of Ibn 'Umar said: When my father 'Umar became a Muslim he said, 'Which of the Quraysh is best at spreading reports?' and was told that it was Jamīl b. Ma'mar al-Jumahī. So he went to him, and I followed after to see what he was doing, for although I was very young at the time I understood everything I saw. He went to Jamīl and asked him if he knew that he had become a Muslim and entered into Muhammad's religion, and, by God, hardly had he [illegible] to him when he got up dragging his cloak on the ground as 'Umar followed him and I followed my father until he stood by the door of the mosque and cried at the top of his voice while the Quraysh were in their meeting-places round the Ka'ba, "'Umar has apostatized," while 'Umar behind him shouted, 'He is a liar, but I have become a Muslim and I testify that there is no God but Allāh and Muhammad is His servant and apostle.' Then we got up to attack him and fighting went on between them until the sun stood over their heads, and he became weary and sat down while they stood over him, as he said, 'Do as you will, for I swear by God that if we were three hundred men we would have fought it out on equal terms.' At this point a sheikh of the Quraysh, in a Yemeni robe and an unbuttoned shirt, came up on us [illegible] and inquired what was the matter. When he was told that 'Umar had apostatized he said, 'Why should not a man choose a religion for himself, and what are you trying to do? Do

you think that B. 'Adī will surrender their companion to you thus? Let the man go.' By God, it was as though there was a poisonous scorpion off him.' After my father had migrated to Medina I asked him who the man was who drove away the people on the day he became a Muslim while they were fighting him and he said, 'That was 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ al-Sahmī (sic).

'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. al-Hārith from one of 'Umar's clan or one of his farmers said that 'Umar said: 'When I became a Muslim that night I thought of the man who was the most violent in enmity against the apostle so that I might come and tell him that I had become a Muslim, and Abū Jahl came to my mind.' Now 'Umar's mother was Hanatma d. Hishām b. al-Mughīra. So in the morning I knocked on his door, and he came out and said, 'The best of welcomes, nephew, what has brought you?' I answered that I had come to tell him that I believed in God and His apostle Muhammad and regarded as true what he had brought. He slammed the door in my face and said, 'God damn you, and damn what you have brought.'

[illegible]

When Quraysh perceived that the apostle's companions had settled in a land in peace and safety, and that the Negus had protected those who sought refuge with him, and that 'Umar had become a Muslim and that both he and Hamza were on the side of the apostle and his companions, [illegible] and decided among themselves to write a document in which they should put a boycott on B. Hāshim and B. Muttalib that they should not marry their women nor give women to them to marry, and that they should neither buy from them nor sell to them, and when they agreed on that they wrote it in a deed. Then they solemnly agreed on the pounds and hung the deed up in the middle of the Ka'ba to remind them of their obligations. The writer of the deed was Mansūr b. 'Ikrima b. 'Āmir b. Hāshim b. 'Abdu Manāf b. 'Abdu'l-Dār b. Quṣayy (sic) and the apostle invoked God against him and some of his fingers withered.

When Quraysh did that, the two clans of B. Hāshim and B. al-Muttalib went to Abū Ṭālib and entered with him into his alley and joined him. Abū Lahab 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā went out from B. Hāshim and helped Quraysh.

Husayn b. 'Abdullāh told me that Abū Lahab met Hind d. 'Utba when he had left his people and joined Quraysh against them, and he said, 'Haven't I helped al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā and haven't I abandoned those who have abandoned them and assisted their opponents?' She said, 'Yes, and may God reward you well, O Abū 'Utba.' And I was told that among the things that he said were, 'Muhammad promises me things which I do not see. He alleges that they will happen after my death: what has he put in my hands after that?' Then he blew on his hands and said, 'May you perish. I can see nothing in you of the things which Muhammad says.'

[illegible]

So God revealed concerning him the words, Abū Lahab and his hands God blast (202).[1]

When Quraysh had agreed on this and had done what has just been described, Abū Tālib said

Tell Lu'ayy, especially Lu'ayy of the Banū Ka'b,
News of our condition.
Did you not know that we have found Muhammad,
A prophet like Mūsā described in the oldest books,
And that love is bestowed on him (alone) of mankind
And that none is better than he whom God has singled out in love,
And that the writing you have fixed
Will be a calamity like the cry of the hamstrung camel?[2]
Awake, awake before the grave is dug
And the blameless and the guilty are as one.
Follow not the slanderers, nor never
The bonds of love and kinship between us.
Do not provoke a long-drawn-out war,
Often he who brings on war tastes its bitterness.
By the Lord of the temple we will not give up Ahmad,
To harsh misfortunes and cares troubles,
232 Before hands and necks, yours and ours,
Are cut by the gleaming blades of Qusāi:
In a close-hemmed battlefield where you see broken spears
And black-headed vultures circling round like a thirsty crowd
The galloping of the horses about the scene
And the shout of warriors are like a raging battle.
Did not our father Hāshim gird up his loins
And teach his sons the sword and spear?
We do not tire of war until it tires of us:
We do not complain of misfortune when it comes.
We keep our heads and our valour
When the bravest lose heart in terror.

They remained thus for two or three years until they were exhausted, nothing reaching them except what came from their friends unknown to Quraysh.

Abū Jahl, so they say, met Hakīm b. Hizām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad with whom was a slave carrying flour intended for his aunt Khadīja, the prophet's wife, who was with him in the alley. He hung on to him and said, 'Are you taking food to the B. Hāshim? By God, before you and your food move from here I will denounce you in Mecca.' Abū'l-Bakhtarī came to him and said, 'What is going on between you two?' When he said that Hakīm was taking food to the B. Hāshim, he said, 'It is food he has which

[1] Sūra cxi. 1. An allusion to the camel of Sālih in Sūra xc. 12.
[2] Qusāi is said to be a mountain of B. Asad concerning true lineage.

belongs to his aunt and she has sent to him about it. Are you trying to prevent him taking her own food to her? Let the man go his way!' Abū Jahl refused until they came to blows, and Abū'l-Bakhtarī took a camel's jaw and knocked him down, wounded him, and trod on him violently, while Hamza was looking on near by. They did not wish the apostle and his companions to hear this news and rejoice over their discomfiture. Meanwhile the apostle was exhorting his people night and day, secretly and publicly, openly proclaiming God's command without fear of anyone.

THE ILL-TREATMENT THE APOSTLE RECEIVED FROM HIS PEOPLE

His uncle and the rest of B. Hāshim gathered round him and protected him from the attacks of the Quraysh, who, when they saw that they could 233
not get at him, mocked and laughed at him and disputed with him. The Qur'ān began to come down concerning the wickedness of Quraysh and those who showed enmity to him, some by name and some only referred to in general. Of those named are his uncle Abū Lahab and his wife Umm Jamīl, 'the bearer of the wood'. God called her this because she, so I was told, carried thorns and cast them in the apostle's way where he would be passing. So God sent down concerning the pair of them

Abū Lahab and his hands, God blast,
His wealth and gains useless at the last,
He shall roast in flames, held fast,
With his wife, the bearer of the wood, aghast,
On her neck a rope of palm-fibre cast. (203)[1]

I was told that Umm Jamīl, the bearer of the wood, when she heard what had come down about her and about her husband in the Qur'ān, came to the apostle of God, when he was sitting in the mosque by the Ka'ba with Abū Bakr, with a stone pestle in her hand, and when she stood by the pair of them God made her unable to see the apostle so that she saw only Abū Bakr and asked him where his companion was, 'for I have been told that he is satirizing me,[2] and by God, if I had found him I would have smashed his mouth with this stone. By God, I am a poet.' Then she said,

We reject the reprobate,
His words we repudiate,
His religion we loathe and hate.[3]

[1] Sūra cxi. The rhyme of the original has been imitated.
[2] [illegible] composed a hijā' which in early times had the effect of a spell which could bring the [illegible] described on it. [illegible] see my *Prophet and Poet*, pp. 248 ff., [illegible] Umm Jamīl's [illegible] through Muhammad [illegible] which was to destroy his [illegible] speech so that she could no longer utter magical curses.
[3] This is a rough attempt to render the rough rhyme of the original, which consists of seven syllables, by a strange rhyme scheme similar to the taunt song in Judges [illegible]
'I am thinking of the castle,
Get out, you dirty maid!'

[illegible] him. He replied that she had not because God had taken her right away from him (204).

[illegible] Quraysh had called the apostle Muhammad to revile him. He said to me, Aren't you surprised at the injuries of the Quraysh which God

[illegible] whereas I am Muhammad [the laudable].

[illegible] Hubbab b. Jurnah. Whenever he saw the apostle he slandered and

[illegible] backbiter, who has gathered wealth and increased it, and thinks that his wealth will make him immortal. No, he will be thrown to the devouring fire. What will make you realize what that is? It is God's fire kindled which mounts over the hearts. It is shut in on them in wide columns (205

Khabbab b. al-Aratt, the prophet's companion, was a smith in Mecca

[illegible] God, you and your companion will be no more influential with [illegible]

given wealth and children. Hath he studied the unseen? as far as the

[illegible]

Abd Jahl met the apostle, so I have heard, and said to him, By God

[illegible] God you serve.' So God revealed concerning that, Curse not those to whom they pray other than God lest they curse God wrongfully through

their gods, and began to call them [illegible]

An-Nadr b. al-Hārith b. Alqama b. Kalada b. 'Abdu Manāf whenever

[illegible] followed him when he got up and spoke to them about Rustum the Hero and Isfandiyār and the kings of Persia, saying, 'By God, Muhammad has [illegible] as I have.' So God revealed concerning him, 'And they say

[illegible] earth has sent it down. Verily, He is merciful, forgiving.'[1]

And there came down concerning him. When Our verses are read to [illegible]

And again, 'Woe to every sinful liar who hears God's verses read before him. Then he continues in pride as though he had not heard them, as though in his ears was deafness. Tell him about a painful punishment (206).'[2]

The apostle sat one day, so I have heard, with al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra and [illegible] in the mosque, and al-Nadr b. al-Hārith came and sat with them in the [illegible] interrupted him, and the apostle spoke to him until he silenced him. Then he said to him and to the others, 'Verily ye and what ye serve other than God is the fuel of hell. You will come to it. If these had been gods they would not have come to it, but all will be in it everlastingly. There is wailing and there they will not hear' (207).[3]

Then the apostle rose and Abdullāh b. al-Zibā'ī al-Sahmī came and [illegible] that we and our gods are fuel for hell.' 'Abdullāh said, 'If I had found [illegible] worshipped besides God in Gehenna with those who worship it?' We [illegible] Jesus Son of Mary.' Al-Walīd and those with him in the assembly mur- [illegible] and they abide eternally in their heart's desire'[4] i.e. Jesus Son of Mary and [illegible] daughters of God, 'And they say the Merciful has chosen a son, (exalted) [illegible]

And He revealed concerning what he mentioned about Jesus Son o [illegible] Walīd and those who were present, at his argument and disputation, 'And

[illegible]

thereat ;' i.e. they rejected your attitude to what they [illegible]

[illegible]

of Israel. If We had wished We could have made from you angels to set [illegible]

no doubt not about it but follow Me. This is an upright [illegible]

[illegible]

about with evil tales,' so far as the word 'mania'.[illegible]

because God does not vindicate anyone's ministry, but he confirmed thereby [illegible]

An outsider whom men invite as a supernumerary
As the legs are useless additions to the waists of a pair

Al-Walid said: 'Does God send down revelations to Muhammad and [illegible]

Wali and Mecca?' So God sent down concerning him, so I am told, [illegible]

as far as the words, 'then what they amass'.

Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa and 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayt were [illegible]

Ubayy knew of that he came to him and said, 'Do I hear that you have sat with Muhammad and listened to him? I swear I will never see you or [illegible]

[illegible] a talk with the apostle,' so far as the words 'a deserter of man'

[illegible]

Then he crumbled it in his hand and blew the pieces in the apostle's face. [illegible]

you have become like this. Then God will send you to Hell. So God [illegible]

quoted, saying, who will revivify bones which are rotten? Say, He who [illegible]

all creation, who has made for you fire from the green wood, and lo, you [illegible]

There met the apostle as he was going round the Ka'ba, as I have been [illegible]

we will combine in the matter. If what you worship is better than what we worship we will take a share of it, and if what we worship is better than what you worship, you can take a share of that.' So God revealed concerning them, 'Say, O disbelievers, I do not worship what you worship and you do not worship what I worship, and I do not worship what you [illegible]

from M. b. Ka'b al-Qurazi: When the apostle saw that his people turned [illegible]

God a message that would reconcile his people to him. Because of his love for his people and his anxiety over them it would delight him if the obstacle that made his task so difficult could be removed so that he meditated on the project and longed for it and it was done to him. Then [illegible]

(*i.e.* reconciliation) to his people, put upon his tongue 'these are the exalted Gharāniq' whose intercession is approved.[1] When Quraysh heard that [illegible] what their prophet brought them from their Lord [illegible] prostrated themselves when their prophet prostrated confirming what he brought and obeying his command, and the polytheists of Quraysh and [illegible] their gods, so that everyone in the mosque believer and unbeliever pro- [illegible] do so, so he took a handful of dirt from the valley and bent over it. Then the people dispersed and Quraysh went out, delighted at what had been said about their gods, saying, Muhammad has spoken of our gods in splendid fashion. He alleged in what he read that they are the exalted Gharāniq whose intercession is approved.

The news reached the prophet's companions who were in Abyssinia, it being reported that Quraysh had accepted Islam, so some men started to return while others remained behind. Then Gabriel came to the apostle and said, What have you done, Muhammad? You have read to these people something I did not bring you from God and you have said what He did not say to you. The apostle was bitterly grieved and was greatly in fear of God. So God sent down (a revelation), for He was merciful to h [illegible] every prophet and apostle before him desired as he desired and wanted what he wanted and Satan interjected something into his desires as he had on his tongue. So God annulled what Satan had suggested and God [illegible] God sent down: 'We have not sent a prophet or apostle before you but [illegible] what Satan has suggested. Then God will establish his verses, God being knowing and wise.'[2] Thus God relieved his prophet's grief, and made him [illegible] used above about their gods by his revelation: 'Are yours the males and His [illegible] words 'to whom he pleases and accepts'[3] i.e. how can the intercession of their gods avail with Him [illegible]

[1] The word [illegible] means 'camels' which lift up a great height.
[2] [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] the text of the Hajj.
[3] Sūra 53. [illegible] This is several verses in one making subsequent to the context. [illegible] Satan suggested a [illegible] to those whose hearts are diseased and unbelieving.
[4] Sūra 53. [illegible]

signs from God. Therefore and Muhammad has repented of what he said about the position of your gods and [illegible] Allah, altered it and brought something else. Now these very words which Satan had put upon the apostle's tongue were in the mouth of every polytheist and they became more violently hostile to the Muslims and the apostle's followers. Meanwhile those of his companions who had left Abyssinia when they heard that the people of Mecca had accepted Islam [illegible] Quraysh were with the apostle heard when they approached Mecca that the report was false and none came into the town without the protection or secretly. Of those who did come into Mecca and stayed there until he migrated to [illegible] his wife Ruqayya d. of the apostle and Abū Hudhayfa b. 'Utba with his wife Sahla d. of Suhayl, and a number of others, in all thirty-three men.

Abū Jahl b. Hishām, when God mentioned the tree of al-Zaqqūm to strike terror unto them, said: 'O Quraysh, do you know what the tree of al-Zaqqūm with which Muhammad would scare you is?' When they said that they did not he said: 'It is Yathrib dates bettered. By Allāh, if we get hold of them we will gulp them down in one!' So God sent down concerning him, 'Verily the tree of al-Zaqqūm is the food of the sinner like molten brass seething in their bellies like boiling water,'[1] i.e. it is hot as he said (xliv). God revealed concerning it, 'And the tree which is cursed in the Qur'ān; and We will frighten them, but it increases them in naught save great wickedness.'[2]

Al-Walīd was having a long conversation with the apostle who greatly desired to convert him to Islam when I. Umm Maktūm, a blind man, passed by and began to ask the apostle to recite the Qur'ān. The prophet found this hard to bear and it annoyed him, because he was diverting him from al-Walīd and spoiling the chance of his conversion; and when the man became importunate he went off frowning and left him. So God revealed concerning him, 'He frowned and turned his back when the blind man came to him; as far as the words: in books honoured, exalted, and purified',[3] i.e. I sent you only to be an evangelist and a reproover. I did not specify one person to the exclusion of another, so withhold not (the message) from him who seeks it, and do not waste time over one who does not want it (xcv).

THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD FLED TO ABYSSINIA

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The apostle's companions who had gone to Abyssinia heard that the Meccans had accepted Islam and [illegible] way for the homeland. But when they got near Mecca they learned that the report was false, so that they

[1] A [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Quraysh [illegible] the [illegible] Sūra 17. [illegible]
[2] [illegible]
[3] Sūra 80.

entered the town under the protection of a citizen or by stealth. Some of those who returned to him stayed in Mecca until they migrated to Medina and were present at Badr and I had with the apostle; others were slow away from the prophet until Badr and other events were passed; and others died in Mecca. They were

From B. Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy 'Uthman b. 'Affan b. Abi'l-'As b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams and his wife, the apostle's daughter Ruqayya. Abu Hudhayfa b. 'Utba b. Rabi'a and his wife Sahla d. Suhayl b. 'Amr and one of their allies 'Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab.

From B. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manaf 'Utba b. Ghazwan, an ally of theirs from Qays b. 'Aylan.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Qusayy az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad.

From B. 'Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf, and Suwaybit b. Sa'd b. Harmala.

From B. 'Abd b. Qusayy Tulayb b. 'Umayr b. Wahb.

From B. Zuhra b. Kilab 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhra and al-Miqdad b. 'Amr an ally, and Abdullah b. Mas'ud also an ally.

From B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza Abu Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad b. Hilal b. Abdullah b. 'Umar with his wife Umm Salama d. Abi Umayya b. al-Mughira and Shammas b. 'Uthman b. al-Shari'd b. Suwayd b. Harmala b. 'Amr and Salama b. Hisham b. al-Mughira whom his uncle imprisoned in Mecca so that he did not get to Medina until after Badr and Uhud and the Trench, 'Ayyash b. Abi Rabi'a b. al-Mughira. He migrated to Medina with the prophet and his two brothers on his mother's side (although him and brought him back to Mecca and held him there until the three battles were over. These names were Abu Jahl and al-Harith, sons of Hisham. Of those going Armenia b. Ubay though it is doubtful whether he went to Abyssinia or not, and Ma'mar b. 'Auf b. 'Abd b. Khaw'a.

From B. Jumah b. 'Amr b. Hussays b. Ka'b: 'Uthman b. Maz'un b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa and his son al-Sa'ib b. 'Uthman and Qudama b. Maz'un, and Abdullah b. Maz'un.

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Hussays b. Ka'b Khunays b. Hudhafa b. Qays b. Adiy and Hubbar b. al-'As b. Wa'il who was imprisoned in Mecca after the apostle migrated to Medina until he escaped on after the three battles above mentioned.

From B. Adiy b. Ka'b: 'Amir b. Rabi'a, one of their allies, with his wife Layla d. Abu Hathma b. Hudhafa b. Ghanim.

From B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy 'Abdullah b. Makhrama b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Abu Qays 'Abdullah b. Suhayl b. 'Amr. He was held back from the apostle of God when he emigrated to Medina and when the battle of Badr was joined he deserted the polytheists and joined the bands on the side of the apostle. Also Salama b. Abu Rukha b. 'Abdu'l-Asad with his wife Umm Kulthum d. Suhayl b. 'Amr; Sakran b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams

with his wife Sauda d. Zam'a b. Qays. He died in Mecca before the apostle emigrated and the apostle married his widow Sauda. Lastly he (i.e. Khaun), one of their allies.

From B. 'l-Harith b. Fihr Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah whose name was 'Amir b. 'Abdullah; 'Amr b. al-Harith b. Zuhayr b. Abi Shaddad, and Sufayl b. Bayda' who was the son of Wahb b. Rabi'a b. Hilal and 'Amr b. Abu Sarh b. Rabi'a b. Hilal.

The total number of his companions who came to Medina from Abyssinia was thirty-three men. The names given to us of those who entered under protection are 'Uthman b. Maz'un protected by al-Walid b. al-Mughira. Abu Salama under the protection of Abu Talib who was his uncle. Abu Salama's mother being Barra d. Abdu'l-Muttalib.

'UTHMAN B. MAZ'UN RENOUNCES AL-WALID'S PROTECTION

Salih b. Ibrahim b. Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf told me from one who had got it from 'Uthman saying: When 'Uthman b. Maz'un saw the misery in which the apostle's companions were living while he lived right and they under al-Walid's protection he said, 'It is a sorry thing I can bear that I should be perfectly safe under the protection of a polytheist while my friends and my relations are affected and harassed for God's sake.' So he went to al-Walid and renounced his protection. 'Why, nephew, he asked, 'Can it be that one of my people has injured you?' 'No,' he answered, 'but I want to be under God's protection. I don't want to ask for anyone else's.' Al-Walid asked him to come in the mosque and renounce his protection publicly as he had given it publicly. When they got there al-Walid said: 'Uthman here has come to renounce my protection.' 'True,' said the latter, 'I have found him loyal and honorable in his protection, but I don't want to ask anyone but God for protection. so I give him back his promise!' He saying he went away.

(On another occasion when Labid b. Rabi'a b. Malik b. Ja'far b. Kilab was in an assembly of the Quraysh when 'Uthman was present he recited a verse

Everything but God is vain,

Then interjected 'Uthman, but when he went on

And everything lovely must inevitably cease

'Uthman cried, 'You lie. The joy of Paradise will never cease.' Labid said, 'O men of Quraysh your friends never used to be molested thus. Since when has this sort of thing happened among you?' One of the audience answered, 'This is one of those fools with Muhammad. They have abandoned our religion.' Take no notice of what he says.' 'Uthman advanced so emphatically that the matter became serious. Whereupon that man rose to his feet and hit him in the eye so that it became black. Now al-Walid

was hard by watching what happened to 'Uthmán and he said: 'O nephew your cousin could have suffered this had he been entrusted to your protection.' 'I envied someone,' [illegible] 'Yes by God we guard our cousin what happened to us follow for God's sake, and [illegible] under the protection of [illegible] who is stronger and more powerful than you, O Abú 'Abdu Shams.' Al-Walíd only said, 'Come, nephew, my protection is always open to you,' but he declined it.

HOW ABÚ SALAMA FARED WITH HIS PROTECTOR

My father Isháq b. Yasár on the authority of Salama b. 'Abdalláh b. 'Umar b. Abú Salama told me that he told him that when Abú Salama had asked Abu Tálib's protection some of the B. Makhzúm came to him and said: 'You have protected your nephew Muhammad from us, but why are you protecting [illegible] this man?' He answered: 'He asked my protection and he is my sister's son. If I did not protect my sister's son I could not protect my brother's son.' Thereupon Abú Lahab rose and said: 'O Quraysh, you have continually reviled this shaykh for giving his protection among his own people. By God, you must either stop this or we will stand up with him until he gains his object.' They said that they would not do anything to annoy him, for he had asked and shelter them against the apostle, and they wanted to keep his support.

Hearing both speak thus Abú Lahab hoped that he would support him in protecting the apostle and composed the following lines urging Abú Lahab to help them both:

> A man whose uncle is Abú 'Utayba
> Is in a garden where he is free from violence
> I say to him (and how does such a man need my advice?)
> O Abú Mu'tib stand firm upright.
> Never in your life adopt a course
> For which you will be blamed when men meet together
> Leave the path of weakness to others,
> For you were not born to remain weak.
> Fight! For war is for
> You will never see a warrior humiliated till he surrenders
> How should you when they have done you no great injury
> Nor abandoned you in the hour of victory or defeat
> God requite for us 'Abdu Shams and Naufal and Taym
> And Makhzúm for their desertion and wrong
> In parting from us after affection and amity
> So that they might get unlawful gains.
> By God's House you lie. Never will we abandon Muhammad
> Before you see a dust-raising day in the ahl'b (210).

This is the reading of Abú Dhar, which seems to me superior to that of Ibn al-Ishaq and C. Qutrub reads a third. Most of these verses are in the metre. No unanimous meaning

AND HOW HE ACCEPTS IBN AL-DUGHUNNA'S PROTECTION AND THEN ABANDONS IT

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Urwa from 'Á'isha told me that when the situation in Mecca became serious and the apostle and his companions suffered ill treatment from the Quraysh, Abú Bakr asked the apostle's permission to emigrate, and he agreed. So Abú Bakr set forth and when he had gone a day or two's journey from Mecca he fell in with Ibn al-Dughunna, the brother of the B. Harith b. 'Abdu Manáf b. Kinána, who was at that time head of the Ahábish. (They were the B. al-Harith and al-Harith b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika and the B. al-Muntaliq of Khuzá'a.) (211.)

Replying to Ibn al-Dughunna's enquiries Abú Bakr told him that his own people had driven him out and ill-treated him. 'But why,' he exclaimed, 'when you are an ornament of the tribe, a sandhill in misfortune, always kindly in supplying the wants of others? Come back with me under my protection.' So he came back with him and Ibn al-Dughunna publicly proclaimed that he had taken him under his protection and men must treat him other than well.

He continued: Abú Bakr had a mosque by the door of his house adjoining the B. Jumah where he used to pray. He was a tender-hearted man and when he read the Qur'án he was moved to tears. Youths, slaves, and women used to stand by him astonished at his demeanour. Some men of Quraysh went to Ibn al-Dughunna saying, 'Have you given him fellow protection so that he can injure us? Yes, he prays and reads what Muhammad has produced and his heart becomes soft and he weeps. And he has a strong appearance so that we fear he may seduce our youths and women and weak ones. Go to him and tell him to go to his own house and do what he likes there.' So Ibn al-Dughunna went to him and said: 'I did not give you protection so that you might injure your people. They dislike the place you have chosen and suffer hurt therefrom, so go into your house and do what you like there.' Abú Bakr asked him if he wanted him to renounce his protection and when he said that he did he gave him back his guarantee. Ibn al-Dughunna got up and told the Quraysh that Abú Bakr was no longer under his protection and that they could do what they liked with him.

Abdu'l-Rahmán b. al-Qásim told me from his father al-Qásim b. Muhammad that as Abú Bakr was going to the Ka'ba one of the foolish followers of Quraysh met him and threw dust on his head. Al-Walíd b. al-Mughira, or it may have been al-'Ás b. Wá'il, passed him and he said,

[illegible]

247 Do you see what this man has done to us?' He replied, 'You have done it to yourselves. Muhammad he was saying these words. O Lord have mercy suffering Thou art!'

THE ANNULLING OF THE BOYCOTT

The B. Hāshim and the B. al-Muṭṭalib were in the quarters which Quraysh had agreed upon in the document they wrote, when a number of Quraysh took steps to annul the boycott against them. None took more trouble in this than Hishām b. Amr [illegible] for the reason that he was the son of a brother to Nadla b. Hāshim b. Abdu Manaf by his mother and was [illegible]

I have heard that when these two clans were in their quarter he used to [illegible] mouth of the alley he took off its halter, gave it a whack on the side, and sent it into the alley to them. He would do the same thing another time, bringing clothes for them.

He went to Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra whose mother was Ātika d. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and said, 'Are you content to eat food and wear [illegible] uncles? They cannot buy or sell, marry, nor give in marriage. By God I swear that if they were the uncles of Abū'l-Ḥakam b. Hishām and you asked him to do what he has asked you to do he would never agree to it.' He said, 'Confound you, Hishām, what can I do? I am only one man. By
248 God if I had another man to back me I would soon annul it.' He said, 'I have found a man. Myself.' 'Find another,' said he. So Hishām went to al-Muṭ'im b. Adiy and said, 'Are you content that two clans of the B. [illegible] You will find that they will soon do the same with you.' He made the same reply as Zuhayr and demanded a fourth man, so Hishām went to Abū'l-Bakhtarī b. Hishām who asked for a fifth man, and then to Zama'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad and reminded him of their kinship and duties. He asked whether others were willing to co-operate in this [illegible] night on the nearest point of al-Ḥajūn above Mecca, and there they bound themselves to take up the question of the document until they had secured its annulment. Zuhayr claimed the right to act and speak first. So on the morrow when the people met together Zuhayr clad in a long robe [illegible] round the Ka'ba seven times, then he came forward and said, 'O people of Mecca, are we to eat and clothe ourselves while the B. Hāshim perish, unable to buy or sell? By God I will not sit down until this evil boycotting document is torn up!' Abū Jahl, who was at the side of the mosque, exclaimed, 'You lie by Allāh. It shall not be torn up.' Zama'a said, 'You are a greater liar [illegible] were not concerned with the document when it was written.' Abū'l-Bakhtarī said, 'Zama'a is right. We are not consulted with

what is written and we don't hold with it.' Al-Muṭ'im said, 'You are both right and anyone who says otherwise is a liar. We take Allāh to witness that we disassociate ourselves from the whole affair and what is written in the document.' Hishām spoke in the same sense. Abū Jahl said, 'This is a matter which has been decided overnight. It has been discussed somewhere else.' Now Abū Ṭālib was sitting at the side of the mosque. When al-Muṭ'im went up to the document he was [illegible] had already eaten it except the words 'In the name of Allāh.' This was the customary formula with which Quraysh began their writing. The worm ate the deed up. Mansūr b. Ikrima. It is alleged that his hand shrivelled in it.

When the deed was torn up and ruin of none effect Abū Ṭālib composed the following verses in praise of those who had taken part in the [illegible]

Has not our Lord's doing come to the ears of them
Far distant across the sea' (for Allāh is very kind to men),
Telling them that the deed was torn up
And all that was against God's wish had been destroyed?
Lies and sorcery were continued in it,
But sorcery never gets the upper hand
'Those who assembled in it are assembled together for it in a remote place'
While its lord of ill omen hovered without its head.
It was such a heinous offence that it would be fitting
Then because of it hands and necks should be covered
And that the people of Mecca should go forth and flee,
Their hearts quaking for fear of evil
And the ploughman be left in doubt what to do—
Whether to go down to the lowland or up to the hills—
And an army come up between Mecca's hills
Equipped with bows, arrows, and spears.
He of Mecca's cousins whose power rises
(Let him know) that our glory in Mecca's vale is clear
We grew up there when men were few
And have ever waxed great in honour and reputation.
We feed our guests till they have a dish remained
When the hands of the mirror players [illegible] to crumble
God reward the people in al-Ḥajūn who never disgrace

To a chief who leads with decision and wisdom.
Sitting by the side of al-Ḥajūn as though princes,
Nay they are even more noble and glorious
Every bold man helped therein
Clad in mail so long that it slowed his stride
Running to portentous deeds
Like a flame burning in the torchbearer's hands
The children of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib a line
When they are wronged their faces show their anger
[illegible] his sword hall his shaft were
For his sake the heavens gave rain and blessing
Proud son of prince of princely hospitality
Gathering and urging food on his guests
Building and preparing safety for the tribesmen
When we walk through the land.
Every blameless man kept this peace
A great leader there was he present
He accomplished the work in a night
While others slept in the morning they took their ease
They sent back Suhl b. Bayḍā' well pleased
And Abū Bakr and Muḥammad repose behind
Where have others joined in our great exploits
From of old have we shown each other affection
Never yet we approved injustice
We got what we wanted without violence
O men of Quṣayy, was it you consider
Do you want what will befall you tomorrow?
For you and I are as the words of the saying
'You have the explanation if you could only speak, O Aswad.'[1]

Mourning al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adiy and mentioning his stand in getting the deed annulled, Ḥassān b. Thābit composed the following:[2]

251 Weep O eye the people's leader, be generous with thy tears.
If they run dry then pour out blood.
Mourn the leader of both the pilgrim sites[3]
To whom men owe gratitude as long as they can speak.
If glory could immortalize anyone

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

His glory would have kept Mut'im alive today
You protected God's apostle from them and they became
Thy slaves so long as men cry *labbayka* and don the pilgrim garb.
If Ma'add and Qaḥṭān and all the rest
Of Jurhum were asked about him
They would say he faithfully performs his duty to protect
And if he makes a covenant he fulfils it
The bright sun above them does not shine
On a greater and nobler than he
More resolute in refusing yet most lenient in nature,
Sleeping soundly on the darkest night though responsible for his guest (251).

Ḥassān also said in praise of Hishām b. 'Amr for his part in the matter of the deed:

Is the protection of the Banū Umayya a bond
As trustworthy a guarantee as that of Hishām?
Such as do not betray their protegés
Of the line of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubayyib b. Sukhbān,
When the Banū Hāsl grant protection
They keep their word and their protegé lives securely

AL-ṬUFAYL B. 'AMR AL-DAWSĪ ACCEPTS ISLAM 252

In spite of his people's behaviour the apostle was continually giving them good counsel and preaching salvation from their evil state. When God protected him from them they began to warn all new-comers against him.

Al-Ṭufayl used to say that he came to Mecca when the apostle was there and some of the Quraysh immediately came up to him. (He was a poet of standing and an intelligent man.) They told him that this fellow had done them much harm, had divided their community and broken up its unity; 'In fact he talks like a sorcerer separating a man from his father, his brother or his wife. We are afraid that he will have the same effect on you and your people, so don't speak to him or listen to a word from him.'

They were so insistent that I decided not to listen to a word or to speak to him and I went so far as to stuff cotton in my ears when I went to the mosque fearing that I might overhear a word or two against my will. When I got to the mosque there was the apostle of God standing at prayer by the Ka'ba, so I stood near him. God had decreed that I should hear something of his speech and I heard a beautiful saying. So I said to myself 'God bless my stuff! Here am I, an intelligent man, a poet, knowing perfectly well the difference between good and evil, so what is to prevent me from listening to what this man is saying? If it is good I shall accept it; if it is bad I shall reject it.

I stayed until the apostle went to his house and I followed him and

entered his house with him. I told him what his people had said and that he [illegible] I have stuffed [illegible] in my ears lest I [illegible] bear what he was saying. But God had not allowed me to remain deaf and I heard a beautiful saying. 'So explain the matter to me,' I said. The apostle [illegible] Taqafa to me and recited the Qur'ān to me. By God I never heard anything finer nor anything more just. So I became a Muslim and bore true witness. I said, 'O prophet of God, I am a man of authority among my people and when I get back and call them to Islam pray to God to give me a sign which will help me when I preach to them.' He said, 'O God give him a sign.'

So I went back to my people and when I came to the pass which would bring me down to them [illegible] a light like a lamp placed between my eyes and I said, 'O God, not in my face! for I fear that they will think that a disfigurement has fallen upon me because I have left their religion.' So the light moved and lighted on the top of my whip. The people began to look at that light like a lamp on my whip like a candle while I was coming down from the pass to them.

When I got down my father came to me (he was a very old man) and I said, 'Be off with you, father, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me!' 'But why, my son?' said he. I said, 'I have become a Muslim and follow the religion of Muhammad.' He said, 'All right, my son, then my religion is your religion.' So I said, 'Go and wash yourself and clean your clothes, then come and I will teach you what I have been taught.' He did so, I explained Islam to him and he became a Muslim.

Then my wife came to me and I said, 'Be off with you! I have nothing to do with you or you with me.' 'Why, what ails my father and mother be your ransom?' I said, 'Islam has divided us and I follow the religion of Muhammad.' She said, 'Then my religion is your religion.' I said, 'Then go to [illegible] Dhū'l-Shirā and bathe your [illegible] Now Dhū'l-Shirā was an image belonging to Daus and the bath was the temenos which they had made sacred to him, in it there was a trickle of water from a rivulet from the mountain. She asked me urgently, 'Have you any fear from Dhū'l-Shirā on my account?'[1] 'No,' I said. 'I will go surety for that.' So she went and washed and when she returned
424 I explained Islam to her and she became a Muslim.

Then a preacher came to Daus but he held back and I went to the apostle in Mecca and said, 'O prophet of God, frivolous preoccupations[2] have been too much for me with Daus, so invoke a curse on them.' But

[1] No satisfactory explanation of this word is forthcoming, for probably we should adopt Ibn Hishām's reading.

[2] On Ibn al-Kalbī's authority *al-Ṭ.* is a wife, not a name, of a good being worshipped under the Sabaeans. In all probability the cult is geographical, denoting worship. Muslims explained it variously, and at present

[illegible]

[illegible]

he said, 'O God, guide Daus! Go back to your people and preach to them gently.' I continued in the Daus country calling them to Islam until the [illegible] passed.

I went to the apostle with my converts while he was in Khaybar. I [illegible] Daus and here we joined the [illegible] in Khaybar and he gave us an equal share of the booty with the Muslims.

I remained with the apostle until God opened Mecca to him and then I asked him to send me to Daus (Dhū'l-Kalfayn,[1] the image of 'Amr b. Hamama. As he fled the fire he said

> Not of your servants am I, Dhū'l-Kalfayn,
> [illegible]
> [illegible]

He returned to Medina to the apostle and remained with him until [illegible] Muslims and fought with them until they disposed of Ṭulayḥa and the whole of Najd. [illegible] with him will [illegible] and while on the way he saw a vision of which he told his companions asking for an interpretation. 'I saw my head had been shaved and a bird was [illegible] and a woman met me and took me into her womb and [illegible] They said that they hoped it would prove a good omen, but he went on to say, 'but he [illegible] The shaving of his head meant that he would lay it down; the bird which flew from his mouth was his spirit, and the woman who received him into her womb was the earth which would be opened for him and he would be hidden [illegible] what he had attained. He was slain as a martyr in al-Yamāma while his [illegible] 115
in the year of the Yarmūk in the time of 'Umar, dying as a martyr (216).

THE AFFAIR OF THE IRANITE WHO SOLD HIS CAMELS TO ABŪ JAHL 119

[illegible] and violence towards the apostle [illegible]

I was told by 'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Sufyān al-Thaqafī [illegible] a good number. A man from [illegible] brought some [illegible] Abū Jahl bought them from him [illegible] the market place near the mosque of Quraysh where the apostle was [illegible] the side of the mosque and said, 'O [illegible] help me to get what is due to me from Abū Jahl. I am a stranger [illegible]

[illegible]

stranger, a wayfarer and he will not pay his debt.' They said 'To you we [illegible]

So the man went and stood over the apostle and said, 'O Servant of God, Abū'l-Hakam b. Hishām has withheld the money he owes me. I am a stranger, a wayfarer, and I asked these men to tell me of someone who would help me to my right and they pointed to you, so get my money from him, God bless you.' He said, 'Go to him,' and the apostle got up and went with him. When they saw this, the men said to one of their number 'Follow him.' The apostle went to his house and knocked on the door, and when he asked who was there he said, 'Muhammad. Come out to me.' He came out to him pale with agitation, and the apostle said, 'Pay this man his due.' 'Don't mention it,' I gave him his money,' he said, [illegible] to the man. The apostle went away saying, 'Go about your business.' [illegible] for he has got his my due.

[illegible] door when out he came breathless with agitation, and he related what had been said. Hardly had he done so when Abū Jahl himself came up and [illegible] what you've done.' Confound you, he said, 'By God as soon as he knocked on my door and I heard his voice I was filled with terror. And when I went out to him there was a camel stallion towering above his head. I've never seen such a head and shoulders and such teeth on a stallion before. By God, if I had refused to pay up he would have eaten me.''

RUKANA AL-MUTTALIBI WRESTLES WITH THE APOSTLE

My father Isḥāq b. Yasār told me saying: Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbdu Yazīd b. [illegible] among Quraysh, and one day he met the apostle in one of the passes of Mecca [illegible] ing?' If I knew that what you say is true I would follow you, he said. The apostle then asked him if he would recognize that he spoke the truth [illegible] to offer any effective resistance. 'Do it again, Muhammad,' he said, and he [illegible] 'I can show you something more wonderful than that if you wish. I will [illegible]

called it and it advanced until it stood before the apostle. Then he said 'Resume your place,' and it did so.

Then Rukāna went to his people the B. ʿAbdu Manāf and told them that their tribesman could compete with any sorcerer in the world, for he had never seen such sorcery in his life, and he went on to tell them of what he had seen and what Muhammad had done.

A DELEGATION OF CHRISTIANS [illegible] TO HIM

[illegible] the apostle was in Mecca some twenty Christians came to him from [illegible] were in their meeting round the Kaʿba. When they had asked all the questions they wished the apostle invited them to come to God and [illegible] and they accepted God's call, believed in him, and declared [illegible] in their scriptures. When they got up to go away Abū Jahl with a number of Quraysh interrupted them, saying, 'God, what a wretched band you are! Your people at home sent you to bring them information about the [illegible] have yours. We have not been remiss in seeking what is best.'

It is said that these Christians came from Najrān, but God knows whether that was so. It is also said, and upon God knows best, that it was [illegible] works. Peace be upon you, we desire not the ignorant.'

I asked Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī about those to whom these verses had [illegible] 'Peace be upon you, we desire not the ignorant' [illegible] to the wreck. So describe us with those who bear witness.'

When the apostle [illegible] God has changed them among us in good

guidance and truth! If what Muhammad has brought were a good thing these fellows would not have been the first to get it, and God would not have put them before us.' God revealed concerning them: 'Drive not away those who call upon their Lord night and morning seeking His face. You are in no way responsible for them, and they are in no way responsible for you, so that you should drive them away and become an evildoer. Thus We tempt some by others that they may say: Are these they whom God has favoured among us? Does not God know best about the grateful? And when those who believe in Our signs come to you say: Peace be upon you. Your Lord hath prescribed for Himself mercy that he who doeth evil in ignorance and repenteth afterwards and doeth right (to him) He is forgiving, merciful.'[1]

According to my information the apostle used often to sit at al-Marwa in the booth of a young Christian called Jabr, a slave of the B. al-Hadrami, and they used to say: The one who teaches Muhammad most of what he brings is Jabr the Christian, slave of the B. al-Hadrami. Then God revealed in reference to their words: We will know that they say, "Only a mortal teaches him." The tongue of man at whom they hint is foreign, and this is a clear Arabic tongue (x 8).[2]

THE COMING DOWN OF THE SURA AL-TUR

I have been told that when the apostle was mentioned Al-As b. Wa'il al-Sahmi used to say: 'Let him alone for he is only a childless man with no offspring. If he were to die, his memory would perish and you would have rest from him.' God sent down in reference to that: 'We have given you al-Kawthar,[3] something which is better for you than the world and all that it holds.' Kawthar means 'great.' Labid b. Rabi'a al-Kilabi said:

> We were distressed at the death of the owner of Mahfil[4]
> And at al-Rafd[5] in the house of another great man (*kawthar*) (x 10).

Ja'far b. 'Amr (one) told me on the authority of 'Abdullah b. Muslim the brother of Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from Anas b. Malik that the latter said: When the apostle was asked what Kawthar was which God had given to him, I heard him say: It is a river on bread to from Sana' to Ayla. Its water pegs are as numerous as the stars of heaven. Birds go down to it with necks like camels. 'Umar b. al-Khattab said, "O apostle of God, the birds must be happy!" He answered: "He who eats them will be happier still!"

[1] Sura [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Ibn Hisham says that the man was a Mesopotamian slave, the name Gabr (Jabr) meaning slave of a god.

[3] Sura cviii.

[4] Mahfil is said to be either the name of water belonging to the B. Asad b. Khuzayma, near villages of the B. 'Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Ka'b, or al-Yamama, or a river. Cf. Bakri, al-Yamama al-Mughal, Wüst. Ibn p. 38.

[5] Rafd is the name of a watering place of the B. al-Harith b. Ka'b.

In this connexion (or perhaps some other) I heard that he said: 'He that drinketh thereof shall never thirst.'[1]

THE COMING DOWN OF 'WHY HAS NOT AN ANGEL BEEN SENT DOWN TO HIM?'

The apostle called his people to Islam and preached to them, and Zama'a b. al-Aswad, and al-Nadr b. al-Harith, and al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghuth, and Ubayy b. Khalaf, and al-'As b. Wa'il said: 'O Muhammad, if an angel had been sent with thee to speak to men about thee and to be seen with them!' Then God sent down concerning these words of theirs: 'They say: Why hath not an angel been sent down to him? If We sent an angel down the matter would be settled, they would be given no more time. Had We appointed him an angel We would have appointed him as a man and We should have obscured for them what they obscure.'[2]

THE COMING DOWN OF 'APOSTLES HAVE BEEN MOCKED BEFORE THEE'

I have heard that the apostle passed by al-Walid b. al-Mughira and Umayya b. Khalaf and Abu Jahl b. Hisham and they reviled and mocked him, and this caused him distress. So God sent down to him concerning this: 'Apostles have been mocked before thee, but that which they mocked at hemmed them in.'[3]

THE NIGHT JOURNEY AND THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

Zayd b. 'Abdullah al-Bakri[1] from Muhammad b. Ishaq told me the following. Then the apostle was carried by night from the mosque at Mecca to the Masjid al-Aqsa, which is the course of Aelia, when news had spread in Mecca among the Quraysh and all the tribes.

The following account reached me from 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud and Abu Sa'id al-Khudri and 'Aisha the prophet's wife, and Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan, and al-Hasan b. Abu al-Hasan al-Basri and Fairuz al-Dailami al-Zuhri al-Qurashi al-Fihri, mawla of Umayya b. al-Aswad. This is pieced together in the story that follows, each one contributing something of what he was told about what happened when he was taken on the night journey. The matter of the place of the journey and what is said about it is a searching test and a matter of God's power and authority wherein is a lesson for the intelligent and guidance and mercy and strengthening to those who believe. It was certainly an act of God by which He took him

he might at what time He [illegible] in them but He might which He willed [illegible] which He does what He wills to do

According to what I have heard 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud used to say [illegible] and he was mounted on it. His companion (Gabriel) went with him to see [illegible] with a company of the prophets, and he prayed with them. Then he was [illegible] The apostle said [illegible] he said [illegible] and he told the people what had [illegible] he replied, 'Yes, by God, [illegible] and as will your people be, Muhammad.'

[illegible] in the Hijr Gabriel came and stirred me with his foot. I sat up but saw [illegible] I sat up and [illegible] there [illegible] I sat up and he took hold of me [illegible] its sides with which it propelled its feet, putting down each forefoot as far [illegible] me keeping close to me.

[illegible] I came up to [illegible] more honourable before God than Muhammad has ever ridden was before. The animal was so ashamed that he broke out into a sweat and stood still so that I could mount him.

In his story al-Hasan said: 'The apostle and Gabriel went their way until they arrived at the temple at Jerusalem. There he found Abraham, [illegible] in prayer. Then he was brought two vessels, one containing [illegible] the other milk. The apostle took the milk and drank it, leaving [illegible] and as will your people be, Muhammad. Wine is forbidden you.'" Then the apostle returned to Mecca and in the morning he [illegible] what had happened. Most of them said, "By God, this [illegible]

[illegible] 265 such never went to Abū Bakr and said, "What do you think of your friend [illegible] Abū Bakr. He alleges that he went to Jerusalem one night and prayed there and came back to Mecca. He supposed that there were in it [illegible] the apostle. He said that he was in the mosque or that was [illegible] the people about it." Abū Bakr said, "If he said so then it is true. [illegible] Abū Bakr said, "I testify that you are the apostle of God, sent for the compliment the night and upon the [illegible] Abū Bakr [illegible] was the occasion on which he got that honorific.

Al-Hasan mentioned: God sent down concerning those who left behind [illegible] the Qur'ān. [illegible] Muhammad's [illegible] from Qatāda.

[illegible] Abū Bakr's female relative [illegible] the prophet's wife used to say: 'The apostle's body remained where it was but God removed his spirit by night.'

[illegible] 'I, the b. al-Muqīra b. al-Akhnas told me that Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān when he was asked about the prophet's night journey said, 'It was a true vision from God.' What those two latter said does not [illegible] God's saying, 'We made the vision which we showed them only for a test to men,' nor does it contradict what God said in the story of Abraham when he said to his son, 'O my son, verily I see in a dream that I must sacrifice thee,'[2] and he [illegible] prophets waking or sleeping.

[illegible] 'We were sleep which we thought [illegible] God [illegible] he saw when he saw. But whether he was asleep or awake, it was all true and actually happened.

[illegible] Muhammad said that the apostle [illegible] Abraham [illegible] Abraham.

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

Moses was a ruddy faced man, tall, thinly fleshed, curly haired, hooked nose as though he were of the Shanu'a. Jesus, Son of Mary, was a reddish man of medium height with lank hair with many freckles on his face as though he had just come from a bath.[1] One would suppose that his head was dripping with water, though there was no water on it. The

[illegible]

the caravan of so-and-so in such-and-such a valley and the camel he [illegible] as I was on the way to Syria. I carried on until in Dajnah[1] I passed by a caravan of the Banū so-and-so. I found the people asleep. They had a [illegible] something [illegible] the same explaining the matter. The point of this is that [illegible] the same moment coming down from al-Baidā' by the pass of al-Tan'im[2] led by a [illegible] camel with [illegible] and the [illegible] as we had described. They asked the men about the vessel and they told them about [illegible] all and they had heard a man calling down to it so that they were able to [illegible].

THE JOURNEY TO HEAVEN

Once when I have no reason to doubt [illegible] in the mosque of Abū [illegible] I heard the speaker say [illegible] the Messenger of God [illegible] Night [illegible] the Mosque [illegible] the Mosque [illegible] Mecca.

[illegible] a ladder was brought to me [illegible] I have never seen [illegible] the young man [illegible] the gates of heaven called the Gate of the Watchers. An angel called Isma'īl was in charge of it and under his authority were twelve thousand angels each of which having twelve thousand angels under his authority. As we said this [illegible] the angels asked in [illegible] heaven the servant of God has He.[1] When Gabriel brought me in, Isma'īl asked who I was, and when he was told that I was Muhammad he asked if I had been given a mission,[2] and on being assured of this he wished me well.

A traditionist who had got it from one who had heard it from the speaker said we that the heavens and [illegible] the angels who were [illegible] when I reached the lowest heaven [illegible] to welcome and wished me well [illegible] and when I asked Gabriel the reason he told me that if he had ever smiled on anyone before he would smile on anyone hereafter he would have smiled on me, but he does not smile because he is [illegible] God [illegible] in holding the prisoners with [illegible] "Will you not order him to show me hell?" And he said, "Certainly O [illegible]." [illegible] the flames blazed high into the air until I thought that they would [illegible] the angels [illegible] the other of these [illegible] shown to the [illegible] of a soldier [illegible] the flames [illegible] which [illegible] I reached the lowest heaven I saw a man sitting there with the spirits of men passing before him. [illegible] saying: "A good spirit from a good body" and of another he would say "Fought" and [illegible] spirit from an evil body. [illegible] reviewing the spirits of his offspring, the spirit of a infant [illegible] and the spirit of an infidel [illegible] and the [illegible] just opened.

Then I saw men with lips like camels, in their hands were pieces of fire like stones which they used to thrust into their mouths and they would come out of their posteriors. I was told that these [illegible] who unjustly devoured the wealth of orphans.

Then I saw men in the form of the family of Pharaoh,[1] with [illegible] before them. I found [illegible] passing [illegible] as a [illegible]

[illegible]

maddened by thirst when they were cast into hell, treading them down they being unable to move out of the way. These were the usurers.

[illegible]

who forsake the women which God has permitted and go after those he has [illegible].

'Then I saw women hanging by their breasts. These were those who had [illegible] on their husbands.

Ja'far b. Amr told me from al-Qasim b. Muhammad that the apostle [illegible] female. [illegible] of these persons and [illegible] in accordance of the *hawiya*.

To continue the tradition of Sa'id al-Khudri: 'Then I was taken up to the second heaven and there were the two maternal cousins Jesus, Son of Mary, and John, son of Zakariah. Then to the third heaven and there was a man [illegible] son of Jacob. Then to the fourth heaven and there was a man called Idris. "And we have exalted him to a lofty place."[1] Then to the fifth heaven [illegible] Aaron son of Imran. Then to the sixth heaven, and there was a dark man with a hooked nose like the Shanu'a. This was my brother Moses, son of 'Imran. Then to the seventh heaven and there was a man sitting on a throne at the gate of the [illegible] man more like myself. This was my father Abraham. Then he took me into Paradise and there I saw a damsel with dark red lips and I asked [illegible] Zaid b. Aslam: The apostle [illegible] the good news about her.

From a tradition of Abdullah b. Mas'ud from the prophet there has reached me the following: When Gabriel took him up to each of the heavens and asked the inhabitants of each how he had to go about his business and whether he had received a mission[2] and they would say 'God grant [illegible] Thus the date of the prayers a day was laid upon him [illegible] I passed by Moses [illegible] friend of yours he was! He asked me how many prayers had been laid upon me and when I told him fifty he said, 'Prayer is a weighty matter and your people are weak, so go back to your Lord and ask him to reduce [illegible] Again I passed by Moses and he said the same [illegible]

[illegible] go [illegible] I [illegible] again. He of you who performs them in faith and trust will have the reward of fifty prayers.

[illegible]

The apostle [illegible] of their branching here as a fan and touching and reaching [illegible] The [illegible] Yazid b. Rumaiti from [illegible] b. al-[illegible]

their tribesmen of the B. Asad [illegible] was al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad

Of the B. Zuhra [illegible] was al-Aswad [illegible] Abdu Yaghuth. Of the B. [illegible]
[illegible] al-Walid b. al-Mughira [illegible] Of the B. Salim b. Amr
al-As b. Wa'il b. Hishām [illegible] Of the B. Khuzā'a was al-Hārith b. [illegible]

polytheists. We will surely protect you against the mockers who put another god beside God. In the end they will know.

The same Yazid told me from Urwa (or it may have been from [illegible] other traditionist) that Gabriel came to the apostle when the mockers were [illegible]

[illegible] face and he became blind. Then al-Aswad b. Abdu Yaghuth passed and he [illegible]

of a wound he received some years earlier as he was trailing his gown when he passed by a man of Khuzā'a who was feathering an arrow, and the [illegible]

with you and killed him.

THE STORY OF ABU UZAIHIR AL-DAUSI 373

When al-Walid's death was near he summoned his three sons Hishām [illegible]

be not remiss in any of them. My blood lies on the Khuzā'a, don't let it remain uncompensated. I know that they are innocent of it, but I fear that you may be ill spoken of because of it when I am dead. Thaqīf owe me money in interest, see that you get it. Lastly my dowry money is with Abū Uzayhir al-Dausī. Don't let him keep it. Now Abū Uzayhir had married him to a daughter of his and then withheld her from him and did not let him have access to her up to the day of his death.

When al-Walīd died, the B. Makhzūm leaped upon Khuzā'a demanding blood-money for al-Walīd, saying, 'It was your man's arrow that killed him.' He was one of the B. Ka'b, an ally of the B. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim. Khuzā'a refused their demand and a connection in verse followed and the situation became tense. The man whose arrow had killed al-Walīd was one of the B. Ka'b b. 'Amr of Khuzā'a, and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm composed the following lines:[1]

I'll wager that you'll soon run away
And leave al-Ẓahrān with its yelping foxes.
And that you'll leave the water in the vale of Arnaḥ
And that you'll ask which Arāk trees are the best.
We are folk who do not leave our blood unavenged
And those we fight do not get to their feet again.

Al-Ẓahrān and al-Arāk were camping-grounds of the B. Ka'b of Khuzā'a.

Al-Jaun b. Abū'l-Jaun, brother of the B. Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī, answered him:

By God we will not pay unjust bloodwit for al-Walīd
Until you see a day when the stars wax faint
When your sour cows will be overthrown one after another
Each in death helplessly opening its mouth.
When you eat your bread and your gruel
Then all of you will weep and wail for al-Walīd.

There followed much argument and recrimination until it was apparent that it was prestige that was at stake, so Khuzā'a paid some of the blood-money and they relinquished their claim to the rest. When peace had been made al-Jaun said:

Many a man and woman when we made peace
Spoke in surprise of what we paid for al-Walīd.
'Did you not swear that you would not pay unjust compensation for al-Walīd
Until you had seen a day of great misfortune?'

[1] Tāj, i. 310.

But we have exchanged[1] war for peace
Now every traveller may go safely where he will.

But al-Jaun did not stop there but went on to boast of the killing of al-Walīd, saying that they had brought about his end, all of which was false. As a result al-Walīd, his son, and his tribe met what they had been warned against. Al-Jaun said:

Did not al-Mughīra claim that in Mecca
Ka'b was a great force?
Don't boast, Mughīra, because you see us
Truss Arabs and by-blows walk its streets.
We and our fathers were born there
As surely as Thabīr stands in its place.
Al-Mughīra said that to learn our case
Or to stir up war between us.
For Walīd's blood will not be paid for
You know that we do not pay for blood we shed.
The suspicious warrior hit him with an arrow
Poisoned, while he was full and out of breath.
He fell full length in Mecca's vale.
'Twas as though a camel fell,
'Twill save me delaying payment for Abū Hishām with
Miserable[2] little curly haired camels (223).

Then Hishām b. al-Walīd attacked Abū Uzayhir while he was in the market of Dhū'l-Majāz. Now his daughter 'Ātika was the wife of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. Abū Uzayhir was a chief among his people and Hishām killed him for the dowry money belonging to al-Walīd which he had retained, in accordance with his father's dying injunction. This happened after the apostle's migration to Medina. Badr was over and many of the leaders of heathen Quraysh had been slain. Yazīd b. Abū Sufyān went out and collected the B. 'Abdu Manāf while Abū Sufyān was in Dhū'l-Majāz and people said Abū Sufyān's honour in the matter of his father-in-law had been violated and he will take vengeance for him. When Abū Sufyān heard of what his son Yazīd had done he came down to Mecca as fast as he could. He was a mild but astute man who loved his people exceedingly, and he was afraid that there might be serious trouble among Quraysh because of Abū Uzayhir. So he went straight to his son, who was armed among his people the B. 'Abdu Manāf and the scented ones, took his spear out of his hand and hit him hard on the head with it, saying, 'God damn you! Do you wish to cause civil war among Quraysh for the sake of a man from Daus? We will pay them the bloodmoney if they will accept it.' Thus he put an end to the matter.

[1] Lit. 'mingled'.
[2] Abū is the pl. of abtaḥ, 'weak, wretched', not abounding in milk as the commentators explain. See Noldeke, *Fünf Mo'allaqāt*, vii. 44.

Hassān b. Thābit composed the following lines to excite feeling for the murder of Abū Uzayhir and to bring shame on Abū Sufyān for his cowardice and betrayal of trust

> The people on both sides of Dhū'l-Majāz rose one morning,
> But Ibn Harb's protégé in Mughammas[1] did so
> The farting donkey did not protect him he was bound to defend
> Hind did not avert her father's shame
> Hishām b. al-Walīd covered you with his garments.
> Wear them out and mend new ones like them [illegible]
> He got what he wanted from him and became famous,
> But you were utterly useless.
> If the shaykhs at Badr had been present
> The people's sandals would have been red with blood newly shed

When he heard of this news Abū Sufyān said 'Hassān wants us to fight one another for the sake of a man from Daus. By God, what a poor idea!'

Khālid b. al-Walīd when the people of Ṭā'if became Muslims spoke to the apostle about his father's interest which Thaqīf owed him, and a trader told me that he was wearing a belt printed the carrying over of usury from the Jāhiliya now out of Khālid's demanding interest 'O ye
276 who believe, fear God and give up what usury remains to you if you are (really) believers', to the end of the passage.[2]

So far as we know there was no vengeance for Abū Uzayhir until Islām made a clear cut between men, however, Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās al-Fihrī went out with a number of Quraysh to the Daus country, and came to the dwelling of a woman called Umm Ghaylān, a freedwoman of Daus. She used to comb the women's hair and prepare brides for their bridegrooms. Daus wanted to kill him in revenge for Abū Uzayhir but Umm Ghaylān and the women stood in their way and defended them. It was in reference to that that Dirār said

> God reward Umm Ghaylān and her women well
> For their coming without their finery with dishevelled hair
> They saved us at death's very door
> When the avengers of blood came forth.
> She called on Daus and the sandbanks flowed with glory,
> The streams on either side carried it on.
> God requite 'Amr well. He was not weak,
> He did his best for me
> I drew my sword and made play with an edge
> For whom should I fight but myself? 276,[3]

[1] al-Mughammas was on the road to Ṭā'if
[2] The sin was overcome for his contrition in language
[3] Sura ii. 278.

THE DEATH OF ABŪ ṬĀLIB AND KHADĪJA

Those of his neighbours who ill treated the apostle in his house were Abū Lahab, al-Ḥakam b. Abū'l-'Āṣ, 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayṭ, 'Adī b. Jamrā al-Thaqafī and Ibn al-Aṣdā al-Hudhalī. Not one of them became a Muslim except al-Ḥakam. I have been told that one of them used to throw 277
a [illegible] at him while he was praying and one of them used to throw it into his cooking-pot when it had been placed ready for him. Thus the apostle was forced to retire to a wall when he prayed. Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Urwa b. Zubayr told me on the authority of his father that when they threw this objectionable thing at him the apostle took it out on a stick and standing at the door of his house he would say 'O Banū 'Abdi Manāf, what sort of protection is this?' Then he would throw it into the street.

Khadīja and Abū Ṭālib died in the same year, and with Khadīja's death troubles followed fast on each other's heels for she had been a helpful support to him in Islām and he used to tell her of his troubles. With the death of Abū Ṭālib he lost a strength and stay in his personal life and a defence and protection against his tribe. Abū Ṭālib died some three years before he migrated to Medina, and it was then that Quraysh began to treat him in an offensive way which they would not have dared to follow in his uncle's lifetime. **A young lout actually threw dust on his head.**

Hishām on the authority of his father 'Urwa told me that when this happened the apostle went into his house with the dust still on his head and one of his daughters got up to wash it away weeping as she did so. 'Don't weep, my little girl,' he said, 'for God will protect your father.' Meanwhile he was saying, 'Quraysh never treated me thus while Abū Ṭālib was alive.'

When Abū Ṭālib fell ill and Quraysh learned of his grave condition they reminded one another that now that Hamza and 'Umar had accepted Islām and Muhammad's reputation was known among all the Quraysh clans, they had better go to Abū Ṭālib and come to some compromise lest they be robbed of their authority altogether.

Al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad b. 'Abbās from one of his family from Ibn 'Abbās told me that 'Utba and Shayba sons of Rabī'a and Abū Jahl 278
and Umayya b. Khalaf and Abū Sufyān with sundry other notables went to Abū Ṭālib and said 'You know your rank with us and now that you are at the point of death we are deeply concerned on your account. You know the trouble that exists between us and your nephew, so call him and let us make an agreement that he will leave us alone and we will leave him alone; let him have his religion and we will have ours.' When he came Abū Ṭālib said, 'Nephew, these notables have come to you that they may give you something and to take something from you.' 'Yes,' he answered, 'you may give me one word by which you can rule the Arabs and subject the Persians to you.' 'Yes,' said Abū Jahl, 'and ten words.' He said 'You must say "There is no God but Allāh" and you must renounce what you worship

beside him.' They clapped their hands and said, 'Do you want to make [illegible]

until God judge between us.' So saying they departed [illegible]

[illegible] uncle, and he said at once, 'You say it, uncle, and then I shall be able to intercede for you on Resurrection Day.' Seeing the apostle's eagerness he [illegible]

it in fear of death, I would say it. I should only say it to give you pleasure.' As his death was near, al-Abbās looked at him as he was moving his [illegible] and put his ear close to him and said, 'Nephew, by God, my brother has spoken the word you gave him to say.' The apostle replied, 'I did not hear it.'

God revealed concerning the people who came to him with their propo- [illegible] said: By the renowned Qur'ān, Nay, those who disbelieve are in pride [illegible] to your gods. This is a thing designed. We have not heard of this in the [illegible]

THE APOSTLE GOES TO THAQĪF TO SEEK HELP

In consequence of the growing boldness of Quraysh after Abū Ṭālib's death, the apostle went to Ṭā'if to seek help from Thaqīf and there defended himself against his foes. Also he hoped that they would receive the message which God had given him. He went alone.

[illegible] apostle arrived at al-Ṭā'if he made for a number of Thaqīf who were at [illegible]

[illegible] against his opponents at home. One of them swore that he would tear [illegible] said, "By God, don't let me ever speak to you. If you are an apostle from [illegible] you are lying against God it is not right that I should speak to you [illegible]

[illegible] p. 2d.
[illegible] p. 6.
[illegible] p. 3, 77.
[illegible] p. 6.

I have been told that he said to them, "Seeing that you have acted as you have, keep the matter secret, for he was loath that his people should hear about it, so that they would be still further estranged against him (sic). But they did not do so and stirred up their boys and slaves to curse him and cry after him until a crowd came together and compelled him to take refuge in an orchard belonging to 'Utba b. Rabī'a and ibn Rabī'a Shayba who were in it at the time. The boys who had followed him were back, and he made for the shade of a vine and sat there while the two sons watched him, observing what he had to endure from the hard souls. I was told that the apostle had sent the woman from the B. Jumah said said to her, "What has befallen us from your husband's people [illegible] of my weakness, little resources, and lowliness before men. O Most Merciful, Thou art the Lord of the weak and Thou art my Lord. To whom wilt Thou confide me? To one who will remote me? Or to an enemy to whom Thou hast given power over me? If Thou art not angry with me I care not. Thy favour is more ample for me. I take refuge in the light of Thy countenance by which the darkness is illuminated, and the things of this world and the next are rightly ordered, lest Thy anger descend upon me or Thy wrath light upon me. It is for Thee to be satisfied until I have all well pleased. There is no power save in Thee.

'When 'Utba and Shayba saw what happened they were moved with [illegible] told him to take a bunch of grapes on a platter and give them to him to eat [illegible] the name of God' before eating. 'Addās looked closely into his face and said, "By God, this is not the way the people of this country speak." The apostle then asked "Then from what country do you come, O 'Addās? and what is your religion?" He replied that he was a Christian and came from Nineveh. "From the town of the righteous man Jonah son of Matta," said [illegible] my brother he was a prophet and I am a prophet," answered the apostle [illegible]

'The two brothers were looking on and one said to the other, "He is already corrupted your slave!" And when 'Addās came back they said to [illegible] He answered that he was the finest man in the country who had told him things that only a prophet could know. They replied, "You rascal, don't [illegible]

'Then the apostle returned from Ṭā'if when he despaired of getting [illegible] middle of the night, and a number of jinn whom God has mentioned [illegible]

[illegible] their people to warn them having believed and responded to what [illegible] He will give you protection from a painful punishment'[1] And [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and say, 'Muhammad says: Will you give me protection so that I may [illegible] that the B. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy do not give protection against [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] worship Him and not associate anything with Him, and to renounce the [illegible] who the man was who followed him and contradicted what he said, and he [illegible] as Abū Lahab [illegible].'

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī told me that he went to the tents of Kinda where there was a shaykh called Mulayḥ. He invited them to come to God and offered himself to them, but they declined.

[illegible] went to the tents of Kalb to a clan called B. ʿAbdullah with the same [illegible] But they would not give heed.

One of our companions from ʿAbdullah b. Kaʿb b. Mālik told me that [illegible]

Al-Zuhrī told me that he went to the B. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and one of them [illegible] shall we have authority after you?' He replied, 'Authority is a matter which [illegible] victory someone else will reap the benefit. Thank you, No!'

[illegible] their return. This year when he asked for the news they told him that a man from Quraysh—one of the B. ʿAbdu'l-Muṭṭalib to be precise—[illegible] hands upon his head and said, 'O Banū ʿĀmir, could it have been avoided? [illegible] falsely. It was the truth. Where was your common sense?'

[illegible]

284 of importance coming to Mecca he went to them with his message. Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda al-Anṣārī—more precisely al-Ẓafarī—on the authority of some of his shaykhs told me that they said that Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, brother of the B. Amr b. Auf, came to Mecca on pilgrimage. Suwayd's tribesmen used to call him al-Kāmil because of his toughness, his poetry, his honour and his lineage. He it was who said

> There's many a man you call friend you'd be shocked
> If you know the lies he tells against you in secret.
> While he's with you his words are like honey
> Behind your back a sword aimed at the base of the neck.
> What you see of him pleases you, but underneath
> He's a deceitful backbiter cutting through to the marrow
> His eyes will show you what he's concealing,
> Rancour and hatred are in his evil look.
> Strengthen me with good deeds: long have you weakened me.'
> The best friends strengthen without weakening.

He once had a dispute with a man of the B. Balḥārith—one of the B. Ẓifr b. Mālik—over a hundred camels, and they appointed an Arab woman diviner arbitrator and she gave judgement in his favour, and he and the Bulawī went away alone. When they reached the parting of the ways Suwayd asked for his property. The man promised to send it, but Suwayd wanted to know who would guarantee that the animals would be handed over. As he could offer none but himself, Suwayd refused to leave him until he got his due. So they came to blows and Suwayd knocked him down, bound him closely and took him away to the country of the B. Amr, and there he had to stay until his tribesmen paid what was owing. It was in reference to that Suwayd composed these lines

> Don't think, Ibn Ẓifr son of Mālik, that I
> Am like the man you deceitfully slew in secret.
> When I had been thrown I manfully became your match—
> Thus the resolute man can change his position—
> I lay bent him under my left arm
> And his cheek remained in the dirt.

285 When he heard about how the apostle sought him out and invited him to Islam, he said, 'Perhaps you've got something like that which I have.' 'And what is that?' asked the apostle. 'The roll of Luqmān,' meaning the wisdom of Luqmān, he answered. 'Hand it to me,' said the apostle, and he handed it over and he said, 'This discourse is fine, but that which I have is better still, a Qur'ān which God has revealed to me which is a guidance and a light.' And the apostle recited the Qur'ān to him and invited him to

* Lit. 'Brother (or ... son) of'. The figure is that of an arrow which is fashioned to perhaps an eight, and whittled into shape for the same reason. Fletching can do no harm, but a hitching may cause the arrow to break, unnecessary as it is, but it does not be overdone.

Islam; he did not withdraw from it but said, 'This is a fine saying.' Then he went off and rejoined his people in Medina and almost at once the Khazraj killed him. Some of his family used to say, 'In our opinion he was a Muslim when he was killed; he was (in fact) killed before the battle of Bu'āth.

IYĀS ACCEPTS ISLAM

Al-Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh on the authority of Maḥmūd b. Labīd told me that when Abū 'l-Ḥaysar Anas b. Rāfi' came to Mecca with members of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal including Iyās b. Mu'ādh seeking an alliance with Quraysh against their sister tribe the Khazraj, the apostle heard about them. He came and sat with them and asked them if they would like to get something more profitable than their present errand. When they asked him what that could be he told them that he was God's apostle sent to humanity to call on them to serve God and not associate any other with Him, that He had revealed a book to him, then he told them about Islam and read to them some of the Qur'ān. Iyās, who was a young man, said, 'By God, people, this is something better than you came for!' Thereupon Abū'l-Ḥaysar took a handful of dirt from the valley and threw it in his face, saying, 'Shut up! We didn't come here for this.' So Iyās became silent. The apostle left them and they went to Medina and the 286
battle of Bu'āth between Aus and Khazraj took place.

Within a little while Iyās died. Maḥmūd said, 'Those of his people who were present at his death told me that they heard him continually praising and glorifying God until he died. They had no doubt that he died a Muslim, he having become acquainted with Islam at that gathering when he heard the apostle speak.

THE BEGINNING OF ISLAM AMONG THE HELPERS

When God wished to display His religion openly and to glorify His prophet and to fulfil His promise to him, the time came when he met a number of the Helpers at one of the fairs, and while he was offering himself to the Arab tribes as was his wont he met at al-'Aqaba a number of the Khazraj whom God intended to benefit.

Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me on the authority of some of the shaykhs of his tribe that they said that when the apostle met them he learned by enquiry that they were of the Khazraj and allies of the Jews. He invited them to sit with him and expounded to them Islam and recited the Qur'ān to them. Now God had prepared the way for Islam in that they lived side by side with the Jews who were people of the scriptures and knowledge, while they themselves were polytheists and idolaters. They had often insulted them in their country and whenever bad feeling arose the

Jews used to say to them. A prophet will be sent soon. His day is at hand. We shall follow him and kill you by his aid as Ad and Iram perished. So when they heard the apostle's message they said one to another. This is the very prophet of whom the Jews warned us. Don't let them get to him before us. Thereupon they accepted his teaching and became Muslims, saying, 'We have left our people, for no tribe is so divided by hatred and rancour as they. Perhaps God will unite them through you. So let us go to them and invite them to this religion of yours, and if God unites them in it, then no man will be mightier than you.' Thus saying they returned to Medina as believers.

There were six of these men from the Khazraj so I have been told. From B. al-Najjar i.e. Taym Allah of the clan of B. Malik: As'ad b. Zurara b. Udas b. Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar known as Abū Umāma, and Auf b. al-Hārith b. Rifā'a b. Sawād b. Malik known as Ibn 'Afrā' (229).

From B. Zurayq b. 'Āmir b. Zurayq b. Abdu Ḥāritha b. Ghadb b. Jusham: Rāfi' b. Mālik b. al-'Ajlān b. Amr b. Āmir b. Zurayq (230).

From B. Salima b. Sa'd b. 'Alī b. Asad b. Sārida b. Tazīd b. Jusham of the clan of B. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salima: Qutba b. 'Āmir b. Hadīda b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawād (231).

From B. Haram b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama: 'Uqba b. 'Āmir b. Nābi b. Zayd b. Haram.

From B. 'Ubayd b. 'Adī b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama: Jābir b. Abdullāh b. Ri'āb b. al-Nu'mān b. Sinān b. 'Ubayd.

When they came to Medina they told their people about the apostle and invited them to accept Islam until it became so well known among them that there was no home belonging to the Helpers but Islam and the apostle had been mentioned therein.

THE FIRST PLEDGE AT AL-'AQABA AND THE MISSION OF MUṢ'AB

In the following year twelve Helpers attended the fair and met at al-'Aqaba—this was the first 'Aqaba—where they gave the apostle the pledge of women. This was before the duty of making war was laid upon them.

These men were: From B. al-Najjar: As'ad b. Zurara, Auf b. al-Hārith and Mu'ādh his brother, both sons of 'Afrā'. From B. Zurayq b. 'Āmir: Rāfi' b. Mālik and Dhakwān b. 'Abdu Qays b. Khalada b. Mukhlid b. 'Āmir b. Zurayq (232).

From B. Auf of the clan of B. Ghanm b. Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf who were the Qawāqil: 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit b. Qays b. Aṣram b. Fihr b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm, and Abū 'Abdu'l-Rahmān who was Yazīd b. Tha'laba b. Khazma b. Aṣram b. 'Amr b. 'Ammār of B. Ghanāyma of Bālī, an ally of them (233).

i.e. no fighting was involved. Cf. Rom. ix. 12.

From B. Salim b. Auf b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. al-'Ajlān b. Zayd b. Ghanm b. Salim: al-'Abbās b. 'Ubāda b. Nadla b. Mālik b. al-'Ajlān.

From B. Salima: 'Uqba b. 'Āmir.

From B. Sawād: Qutba b. 'Amr b. Hadīda. The Aus were represented by Abu'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān whose name was Mālik of the clan of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus (234).

From B. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik b. al-Aus: 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida.

Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb from Abū Marthad b. 'Abdullāh al-Yazanī from 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Umayla al-Ṣanābiḥī from 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit told me: 'I was present at the first 'Aqaba. There were twelve of us and we pledged ourselves to the prophet after the manner of women and that was before war was enjoined, the undertaking being that we should associate nothing with God, we should not steal, we should not commit fornication, nor kill our offspring, we should not slander our neighbours, we should not disobey him in what was right, if we fulfilled this paradise would be ours, if we committed any of those sins it was for God to punish or forgive as He pleased.

Al-Zuhrī from 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdullāh al-Khawlānī Abū Idrīs said that 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit told him that 'We gave allegiance to the apostle that we would associate nothing with God, not steal, not commit fornication, not kill our offspring, not slander our neighbour, not disobey him in what was right; if we fulfilled this paradise would be ours, and if we committed any of these sins we should be punished in this world and this would serve as expiation, if the sin was concealed until the Day of Resurrection, then it would be for God to decide whether to punish or to forgive.

When those men left, the apostle sent with them Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim b. 'Abdu Manāf, and instructed him to read the Qur'ān to them and to teach them Islam and to give them instruction about religion. In Medina Mus'ab was called 'The Reader'; he lodged with As'ad b. Zurāra.

'Āṣim b. 'Umar told me that he used to lead the prayers because Aus and Khazraj could not bear to see one of their rivals take the lead.

THE INSTITUTION OF FRIDAY PRAYERS IN MEDINA

Muhammad b. Abū Umāma b. Sahl b. Hunayf from his father from 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik told me that the latter said: 'I was leading my father Ka'b when he had lost his sight, and when I brought him out to the mosque and he heard the call to prayer he called down blessings on Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra. This went on for some time; whenever he heard the adhān he blessed him and asked God's pardon for him. I thought that this was an extraordinary thing to do and decided to ask him why he did it. He told me that it was because he was the first man to bring them

[illegible] the wording is very [illegible]

[illegible] called Naqi'u'l-Khadamat. I asked him how many of them there were, and he told me that they numbered forty men.'

[illegible] Muhammad b. Amr b. Hazm told me that As'ad b. Zurara went out with Mus'ab b. Umayr to the area of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal and of B. Zafar Sa'd b. al-Nu'man b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Zayd b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal was the son of As'ad's aunt. He entered with him one of the gardens of B. Zafar (i.e.) by a well called Mirraq and sat in the garden and some of the men who had accepted Islam gathered together there. Now Sa'd b. M[illegible] Ashhal, and both followed the heathenism of their tribe. When they heard about him Sa'd said to Usayd: 'Go to those fellows who have entered our quarters to make fools of our weak minorities, drive them out and forbid them to enter our quarters. If it were not that As'ad b. Zurara is related to me as you know I would save you the trouble. He is my aunt's son and I can do nothing to him.' So Usayd took his lance and went to them, and when As'ad saw him he said to Mus'ab: 'This is the chief of his tribe who is coming to you, so be true to your word to him.' Mus'ab said: 'If he sits down I will talk to him.' He stood over them looking furious and asking what they meant by [illegible] like what you hear you can accept it, and if you don't like it you can leave it alone.' He agreed that that was fair, stuck his lance in the ground, and sat down. He explained Islam to him and read him the Quran. Afterwards they said—according to what has been reported of them—'By God before he spoke we recognized Islam in his face by its peaceful glow.' He [illegible] if he wants to enter this religion?' They told him that he must wash and purify himself and his garments, then bear witness to the truth and pray. He immediately did so and made two prostrations. Then he said, 'There is a man behind me who if he follows you every one of [illegible] follow suit. I will send him to you at once. It is Sa'd b. Mu'ad [illegible] his lance he went off to Sa'd and his people who were sitting in conclave. When Sa'd saw him coming he said, 'By God, Usayd is coming with a different expression from that he had when he left you.' And when he came up he asked what had happened. He said, 'I have spoken to the two [illegible] to me. We will do what you like' and I was told that the B. Harithah had gone out against As'ad to kill him because they knew that he was the son of Your aunt so as to [illegible] you expense a lot because [illegible] of what happens. As'ad escaped [illegible] what has been said about the B.

[illegible]

Harithah. He took the lance from his hand, saying, 'By God, I see that you have been [illegible] He went out to them and when he saw them sitting considerately he knew that [illegible] had intended what he thought he knew. He stood over them [illegible] To this [illegible] the relationship between us was [illegible] Would you [illegible] Sa'd had [illegible] Mus'ab [illegible] who had accepted Islam [illegible] The same thing happened again and the leaders of the quarter a meeting place are mentioned by [illegible] Sa'd said [illegible] And when he [illegible] happened [illegible] the most [illegible] their community the best in judgment and the most fortunate in leadership. He said [illegible] giving [illegible] was better in [illegible] God and His apostle. As a result every man and woman among the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal joined Islam.

As'ad and Mus'ab returned to the city's houses and [illegible] Wa'if, the Inche were Ana Allah and of Ana b. Harithah. The reason [illegible] Islam [illegible] Islam [illegible] Sa'd [illegible] what he thought of Islam and how [illegible] about his state

Lord of Mankind, mirum things have happened
The difficult and the simple are involved.
Lord of mankind, if we have erred
Guide us to the good path.
Were it not for our Lord we should be Jews
And the religion of Jews is not convenient.
Were it not for our Lord we should be Christians
Along with the monks on Mount Jalil.
But when we were erred we were erred
Hanifs, our religion is from all generations
We bring the sacrificial camels walking in fetters
Covered with shame but their shoulders bare (reply.

[illegible]

[illegible] returned to Mecca and the Muslim Anqar came to the fair there with the pilgrims of their people who were polytheists. They met

[illegible] the apostle at al-'Aqaba at the middle of the days of Tashriq when God intended to honour them and to help His apostle and to strengthen Islam and to humiliate heathenism and its devotees.

'Abbad b. Ka'b b. Malik b. Abū Ka'b b. al-Qayn, brother of the B. Salima, told me that his brother 'Abdullah b. Ka'b who was one of the most learned of the Anṣār told him that his father Ka'b who was one of those who had been present at al-'Aqaba and did homage to the apostle, informed him saying: "We went out with the polytheist pilgrims at our [illegible] was al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr our chief and senior. When we had started our journey from Medina al-Barā' said, "I have come to a conclusion and I don't know whether you will agree with me or not. I think that I will not turn my back on this building" (meaning the Ka'ba), "and that I shall pray towards it." We replied that so far as we knew our prophet prayed towards Syria[1] and we did not wish to act differently. He said, "I am going to pray towards the Ka'ba." We said, "But we will not." When the time for prayer came we prayed towards Syria and he prayed towards the Ka'ba until we came to Mecca. We blamed him for what he was doing, but he refused to change. When we came to Mecca he said to me, "Nephew, let us go to the apostle and ask him about what I did on our journey. For I feel some misgivings since I have seen your opposition." So we went to ask the apostle. We did not know him and we had never seen him before. We met a man of Mecca and we asked him about the apostle. he asked if we knew him and we said that we did not. "Then do you know his uncle [illegible] 'Abbās b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib." We said that we did because he was always coming to us at a storehouse. He said, "When you enter the mosque he is the man sitting [illegible] was al-'Abbās sitting with the apostle beside him; we saluted them and sat down. [illegible] was mentioned. "The poet?" Al-Barā' said, "O prophet of God, I come on this [illegible] pleasure [illegible] 'Aqaba [illegible] 'Abbās said, "O apostle of God, [illegible] Ka'b said, "I said to the apostle, 'Speak and take what you wish for yourself and your God.'"

Ma'bad b. Ka'b told me that his brother 'Abdullah told him that his father Ka'b b. Mālik said: "Then we went to the hajj and agreed to meet the apostle at al-'Aqaba in the middle of the days of the tashriq. When we had completed the hajj and the night came in which we had agreed to meet the apostle there was with us 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām Abū Jābir one of our chiefs and nobles whom we had taken with us. We had concealed our business from those of our people who were polytheists. We said to him, "You are one of our chiefs and nobles and we want to wean you from your present state lest you become fuel for the fire in the future." Then we invited him to accept Islam and told him about our meeting with the apostle at al-'Aqaba. Thereupon he accepted Islam and came to al-'Aqaba with us, and became a naqīb (leader).

We slept that night among our people in the caravan until when a third of the night had passed we went stealing softly like sandgrouse to our appointment with the apostle as far as the gully by al-'Aqaba. There were seventy-three men with two of our women: Nusayba d. of Ka'b b. 'Umm 'Umāra, one of the women of B. Māzin b. al-Najjār, and Asmā' d. of 'Amr b. 'Adiy b. Nābi, one of the women of B. Salima who was known as Umm Manī'. We gathered together in the gully waiting for the apostle until he came with his uncle al-'Abbās who was at that time a polytheist albeit he wished to be present at his nephew's business and we saw he had a firm governor. When he sat down he was the first to speak and said, "O people of al-Khazraj (the Arabs used the term to cover both Khazraj and Aus). You know what position Muhammad holds among us. We have protected him from our own people who think as we do about him. He is safe in his town and enjoys honour among his people but he will come to you and join you. If you think that you can be faithful to what you have promised him and protect him from his opponents then take on the burden you have undertaken. But if you think that you will betray and abandon him after he has gone out with you, then leave him now, for he is safe where he is." We replied: "We have heard what you said. Speak, apostle, and choose for yourself and for your God what you wish."

"The apostle spoke and recited the Qur'ān and invited men to God and encouraged Islam and then said, "I invite your allegiance on the basis that you protect me as you would your women and children." Al-Barā' took his hand and said: "By God, We have come [illegible] protect you as we protect our women. We give our allegiance and we are [illegible] 'Abbās b. al-[illegible] said, "Men of Khazraj, do you know what we are doing? We are giving our allegiance to this man [illegible] given you victory, you will return to your people and leave us?" The apostle smiled and said, "Nay, blood is blood, ruin is ruin, I am your [illegible]

in blood not to be paid for.[1] I am of you and you are of me. I will war against [illegible] war against you and be at peace with [illegible] peace with you (238).'

[illegible] The apostle said, 'Bring out to me twelve leaders that they [illegible] charge of [illegible] people's affairs. [illegible] produced nine from al-Khazraj and three from al-Aus.[2]

THE NAMES OF THE TWELVE LEADERS AND THE REST OF THE STORY OF AL-'AQABA

[illegible] b. Isḥāq al-Muṭṭalibī they w[illegible]

From al-Khazraj: Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra [illegible] b. al-Najjār who was [illegible] same line. Rāfi' b. Mālik b. al-'Ajlān b. 'Amr [illegible] al-Barā' b. [illegible] lah b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām b. Tha'laba b. Ḥarām b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. [illegible] Dulaym b. Ḥāritha b. Abū Ḥazīma b. Tha'laba b. Ṭarīf b. al-Khazraj b. [illegible]

From al-Aus: Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk b. 'Atīk b. Rāfi' b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Zayd b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus. Sa'd b. Khaythama b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Ka'b b. al-Naḥḥāṭ b. Ka'b b. Ḥāritha b. Ghanm b. al-Salm b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Mālik b. al-Aus. Rifā'a b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir b. Zubayr b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik b. al-Aus (241).

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that the apostle said to the Leaders: 'You are the sureties for your people just as the disciples of Jesus, Son of Mary, were responsible to him, while I am responsible for my people, i.e. the Muslims.' They agreed.

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me that when the people came together to plight their faith to the apostle, al-'Abbās b. 'Ubāda b. Naḍla al-Anṣārī, brother of B. Sālim b. 'Auf, said, 'O men of Khazraj, do you realize to [illegible] it is to war against all and sundry.[3] If you think that if you lose your property and your nobles are killed you will give him up, then do so now, for it would bring you shame in this world and the next (if you did so

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[1] [illegible] blood revenge and the obligation [illegible]

[illegible] But if you think that you will be [illegible] to your undertaking if you [illegible] in this world and the next.' They said that they would [illegible] the apostle on these conditions. But they asked what they would get in return for [illegible] and the apostle promised them paradise. They said, 'Stretch forth your hand,' and when he did so they pledged their word. 'Āṣim added that al-'Abbās said that only to bind the obligation [illegible] God knows best which is right (242).

The B. al-[illegible] allege that As'ad b. Zurāra was the first to strike his hand in fealty; the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal say that he was not, for Abū'l-Haytham was the first. [illegible] have ever heard, 'O people of the stations of Minā, do you want this repro[illegible] and the apostates [illegible] good of you (243).

The apostle then told them to disperse and go back to their caravans, and [illegible] of Minā tomorrow with our swords.' He replied, 'We have not been com[illegible] go back to your caravans.' So we went back to our beds and slept until the morrow.

In the morning the leaders of Quraysh came to our encampment saying [illegible] had come to [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] them and had pledged ourselves to support him in war against them, and that there was no Arab tribe that they would fight more reluctantly than us. [illegible]

[illegible]

The word is said to mean 'small and contemptible'.

young man, so give him back his sandals.' 'By God, I will not!' I said. [illegible] a good sword and [illegible] I shall plunder him.

'Abdallah b. Abu Bakr told me that they came to 'Abdallah b. 'Umayr and [illegible] Ka'b has [illegible] replied. 'This is a serious matter; my people are not in the habit of detaining a quarrelsome wife without consulting me in this way and I do not know that it has happened.' Thereupon they left him.

When the people had left Mecca they investigated the report closely and found that it was true. So they went in pursuit of many people and more took Sa'd b. 'Ubada in Adhakhir and also al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, brother of B. Sa'ida, both of them being 'leaders'. The latter got away, but they caught Sa'd and tied his hands to his neck with the thongs of the girth and brought him back to Mecca beating him on the way and dragging him by the hair, for he was a very hairy man. Sa'd said, 'As they held me, a number of Quraysh came up, among them a tall white handsome man of pleasant appearance and I thought that if there was any decency among them his man would show it. But when he came up he delivered me a violent blow in the face and after that I despaired of her protection. As they were dragging me along, a man took pity on me and said, "You poor devil, haven't you any right to protection from one of the Quraysh?" "Yes," I said, "I have. I used to guarantee the safety of the merchants of Jubayr b. Mut'im b. Adiy b. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manaf and protect them from those who might have envenged them in my country, also al-Harith b. Harb b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf." "Very well, then, call out the names of these two men and say what tie there is between you," he said. Thus I did and that man went to them and found them in the mosque beside the Ka'ba and told them of me and that I was calling for them and mentioning my claim on them. When they heard what I was saying they acknowledged the truth of my claim and came and delivered me. So Sa'd went off. The name of the man who hit him was Sulayt b. 'Amr, brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy (244).

The Iron poetry about the Migration was two verses composed by Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas, brother of B. Muhaarib b. Fihr

> I protected Sa'd and took him by force.
> It would have been better if I had caught Mundhir
> If I had got him his blood would not have to be paid for
> He deserves to be humiliated and left unavenged (245).

Hassan b. Thabit answered him thus

> You were not equal to Sa'd and the man Mundhir
> When the people's camels were then
> But for Abu Wahb (say) verses would have passed over
> The top of al-Baqi[1] sweeping down swiftly[2]

[1] [illegible] the cemetery in the desert. He was not [illegible] there.
[2] The interpretation of this difficult line depends on the identity of Abu Wahb. The most

> Do you boast of wearing mitres
> When the Nabataeans wear dyed[1] turbans?
> Be not like a sleeper who dreams that
> He is in a town of Caesar or Chosroes,
> Don't be like a bereaved mother who
> Would not have had her child had she been wise
> Nor like the sheep which with her forelegs
> Digs the grave she does not desire,
> Nor like the barking dog that sticks out his neck
> Not fearing the arrow of the unseen archer
> He who directs poetry's shafts at us
> Is like one who stands down to Khaybar.[2]

THE IDOL OF 'AMR IBNU'L-JAMUH

When they came to Medina they openly professed Islam there. Now some of the shaykhs still kept to their old idolatry among whom was 'Amr b. [illegible] son, Mu'adh, had been present at al-'Aqaba and had done homage to the apostle there. 'Amr was one of the tribal nobles and leaders and had set up in his house a wooden idol called Manat[1] as the nobles used to do, making it a god to reverence and keeping it clean. When the young men of the B. Salama Mu'adh b. Jabal and his own son Mu'adh adopted Islam with the other men who had been at al-'Aqaba they used to creep in at night to that idol of 'Amr's and carry it away and throw it on its face into a cesspit. When the morning came 'Amr cried, 'Woe to you. Who has been at our gods this night?' Then he went in search of the idol and when he found it he washed it and cleaned it and perfumed it saying, 'By God if I knew who had done this I would treat him shamefully!' When night came and he was fast asleep they did the same again and he restored the idol in the morning. This happened several times until one day he took the idol from the place where they had thrown it, purified it as before, and

304 fastened his sword to it, saying, 'By God, I don't know who has done this but if you are any good at all defend yourself when you have this sword.' At night when he was asleep they came again and took the sword from its sheath and hung it round dog's neck by a cord and hung there at such a straight. In the morning 'Amr came and could not find his sword anywhere, eventually he found it face downwards in that position to a dead dog. When he saw it and perceived what had happened and the Muslims of his clan spoke to him he accepted Islam by the mercy of God and became a good Muslim. He wrote some verses when he had come to a knowledge of God in which he mentioned the image and its impotence and thanked God for having delivered him from the blindness and error in which he had lived before:

> By Allah, if you had been a god you would not have been
> Tied to a dead dog in a straight.
> Phew! that we ever treated you as a god, but now
> We have found you out and left our wicked folly
> Praise be to God most High, the Gracious,
> The Bountiful, the Provider, the Judge of all religions
> Who has delivered me in time to save me
> From being kept in the darkness of the grave

CONDITIONS OF THE PLEDGE AT THE SECOND 'AQABA

When God gave permission to his apostle to fight, the second 'Aqaba contained conditions involving war which were not in the first act of fealty. Now they bound themselves to war against all and sundry for God and his apostle, while he promised them for faithful service thus the reward of paradise.

'Ubāda b. al-Walīd b. 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit from his father from his grandfather 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit who was one of the Leaders told me, 'We pledged ourselves to war in complete obedience to the apostle in weal and
305 woe in ease and hardship and evil circumstances, that we would not wrong anyone, that we would speak the truth at all times, and that in God's service we would fear the censure of none.' 'Ubāda was one of the twelve who gave his word at the first 'Aqaba.

THE NAMES OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE SECOND 'AQABA

There were seventy-three men and two women of Aus and Khazraj.[1]

Of Aus there were:

Usayd b. Hudayr, a leader who was one at Badr. Abu'l-Haytham b. Tayyihān who was at Badr. Salama b. Salāma b. Waqsh b. Zughba b. Za'ūrā' b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal who was at Badr (305). Total 3.

[1] The genealogies should properly come first, but they are omitted together with repetitions.

From B. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith: Zubayr b. Rāfi' b. 'Adiy b. Zayd b. Jushum b. Ḥāritha, and Abū Burda b. Niyār whose name was Hāni' b. Niyār b. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. Kilāb b. Duhmān b. Ghanm b. Dhubyān b. Huwayya b. Kānī b. Bālī b. Hanīy b. Balī b. Amr b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā'a, one of the Leaders. He was at Badr. Nubayt b. al-Haytham of B. Nābi b. Majda'a b. Ḥāritha. Total 3.

Of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik: Sa'd b. Khaythama a leader who was 306
present at Badr and was killed there as a martyr beside the apostle (306). Rifā'a b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir a leader present at Badr. 'Abdullāh b. Jubayr b. al-Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. al-Burak, the name of al-Burak being Imru'u'l-Qays b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr who was present at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud commanding the archers for the apostle (307). Aus Mālik b. 'Adiy b. al-Jadd b. al-'Ajlān b. Ḥāritha b. Dubay'a, a chief of clans from Balī present at Badr, Uhud and al-Khandaq and all the apostle's battles. He was killed in the battle of al-Yamāma as a martyr in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. Abū Ḥubayyā b. Qāyiz who was present at Badr, Uhud and al-Khandaq. Total 5.

The total for all clans of Aus was 22.

Of al-Khazraj there were:

Of B. al-Najjār who was Taymullāh b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr: Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd b. Kulayb b. Tha'laba b. 'Abd b. 'Auf b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār. He was present at all the apostle's battles and died in Byzantine territory as a martyr in the time of Mu'āwiya. Mu'ādh b. al-Ḥārith b. Rifā'a b. Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanm. Present at all battles. He was the son of 'Afrā' and his brother was 'Auf b. al-Ḥārith who was killed at Badr as a martyr. Mu'awwidh his brother shared the same glory. It was he who killed Abū Jahl b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, he too was 'Afrā's son 10
(308). And 'Umāra b. Ḥazm b. Zayd b. Lawdhān b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. Ghanm. He was present at all battles and died a martyr in the battle of al-Yamāma in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. As'ad b. Zurāra, a leader. He died before Badr when the apostle's mosque was being built. Total 4.

Of B. 'Amr b. Mabdhūl who was 'Amr b. Mālik. Sahl b. Atīk b. Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. 'Atīk b. 'Amr. Was at Badr. Total 1.

Of B. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār who are the B. Hubayb (309). Aus b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir b. Ḥarām b. 'Amr b. Zayd Manāt b. Adī b. 'Amr b. Mālik, present at Badr. Abū Talḥa Zayd b. Sahl b. al-Aswad b. Ḥarām b. 'Amr b. Zayd Manāt, present at Badr. Total 2.

Of B. Māzin b. al-Najjār: Qays b. Abū Sa'sa'a whose name was Amr b. Zayd b. 'Auf b. Mabdhūl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin. Present at Badr where the apostle put him in command of the vanguard. Ari b. Ghaziya b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Khansā' b. Mabdhūl. Total 2.

The total for B. al-Najjār was 12 (310). 2

Of B. al-Ḥārith b. Khazraj: Sa'd b. al-Rabī' a leader. Was at Badr and died a martyr at Uhud. Khārija b. Zayd b. Abū Zuhayr b. Mālik b.

[illegible] al-Qays b. Malik al-Aghbar b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b. Present at Badr [illegible] Abdullah b. Rawaha, a leader, present at all the apostle's battles [illegible] the commander of Mecca and was killed at al-[illegible] a martyr on one of the apostle's commanders. Bashir b. Sa'd b. Tha'laba b. Khalid b. Zayd b. Malik [illegible], the father of al-Nu'man, was present at Badr. Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. Abdullah b. Zayd Malik b. al-Harith. Present at Badr. He is was who was shown how to call to prayer and was ordered by the apostle to perform it. [illegible] Amr b. Tha'laba b. Amr b. Tha'laba b. [illegible] b. Malik. Present at Badr. [illegible] and was killed as a martyr in fighting B. Qurayza. [illegible] Tha'laba. Was present at the massacre of them at al-Aghwa. [illegible] the time of Mu'awiya. Was not at Badr. Total 7

[illegible] Tha'laba b. Sinan b. 'Amr b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. Bayada. Present at Badr. Farwa b. 'Amr b. Wadhak b. 'Ubayd b. 'Amir b. Bayada. Present at Badr (251). Khalid b. Qays b. Malik b. al-Ajlan b. [illegible] Amr. At Badr. Total 3

[illegible] b. Zuraqa b. Zayd b. Malik b. Ghanim b. Jushamb b. al-Khazraj. Rifa'a b. al-Ajlan, a leader. [illegible] b. Abdullah b. Mu'awiya b. Amr. He was sent to the apostle and stayed [illegible] Mecca after he had migrated from Medina. [illegible] the name of [illegible] He was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud. 'Abbad b. Qays b. 'Amir b. Khalid, [illegible]. Was at Badr. Al-Harith b. Qays b. Khalid b. Mu'awiya b. Amr, who was also Khalid. Present at Badr. Total 4.

Of B. Salama b. Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid [illegible] Al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr b. Ṣakhr [illegible] a leader who, the B. Salama allege, was the first to provide his head on the occasion when the conditions of the second Aqaba were agreed on. He died before the apostle came to Medina. He was at Badr and was at Badr. [illegible] and al-Khandaq and he died in Khaybar of [illegible] with the apostle the occasion that was prescribed. He was in whom the apostle believed when he asked B. Salama who their chief was and they replied [illegible] b. Qays as a sign of his magnanimity. He said: What [illegible] Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr. Sinan b. Ṣayfī b. Ṣakhr b. Khansā' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd who was at Badr and died a martyr at al-Khandaq. Al-Ṭufayl b. [illegible] b. al-Mundhir b. Sarḥ b. Khansā b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd who was at Badr [illegible] Sinan b. 'Ubayd. Al-Dajbah b. Ḥāritha b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd who was present at Badr. [illegible] b. 'Ubayd. Tulayb b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khansā' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd

[illegible] at Badr [illegible] Al-Tufayl b. Malik b. Khansā b. Sinan b. [illegible] who was present at Badr. Total 11

[illegible] Ka'b b. Malik b. Abū Ka'b b. al-Qays b. Ka'b. Total 1

Of B. Ghanm b. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama. Sulaym b. 'Amr b. [illegible] b. Ghanm who was at Badr. Qutba b. 'Amr b. Hadīda b. 'Amr b. Ghanm who was at Badr. Yazid his brother known as Abū [illegible] was at Badr. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Abbād b. [illegible] as Abū'l-Yasar. At Badr. Sawād b. Sawād b. 'Abbād b. 'Amr b. Ghanm (253). Total 5.

Of B. Nābi b. 'Amr b. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama. Tha'laba b. Ghanma b. 'Adiy b. Nābi was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at al-Khandaq. [illegible] at Badr. Abdullah b. Unays an ally from Qudā'a. Khālid b. 'Amr b. Adiy. Total 5

Of B. Harām b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama: 'Abdullah b. 'Amr who was a leader and was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud [illegible] his son. Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ who was at Badr. Thābit b. al-Jidh (al-Jidh being Tha'laba b. Zayd b. al-Harith b. Harām) was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at al-Ṭā'if. 'Umayr b. al-Harith b. Tha'laba [illegible] b. 'Amr b. al-Fuqayr an ally from Balī. Mu'ādh b. Jabal b. 'Amr b. Anas b. A'ish b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Adī b. Sa'd b. Ali b. Asad. It is said Anas b. Mālik b. Tazid b. Jushamb b. al-Khazraj, who lived with the B. Salama. He was present at all the battles and died in 'Amwās' in the year of the Syrian plague during the caliphate of 'Umar. The B. Salama claimed him for the reason that he was the brother of Sahl b. Muhammad b. al-Jadd b. Qays b. [illegible] b. Salama through his mother (255). Total 7

Of B. Auf b. al-Khazraj then of the B. Sālim b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit a leader who was at all the battles (256). Aus Abbās b. 'Ubāda b. Nadla [illegible], one of those who joined the apostle in Mecca, lived there with him and was called an Anṣārī Muhājirī. He was killed at Uhud as a martyr. Abū 'Abdu'l-Rahmān Yazīd b. Tha'laba b. Khazama b. Asram b. Amr b. Anmāra, an ally from the B. Ghuṣayna of Balī. [illegible] Amr b. al-Harith b. Tha'laba b. Amr b. Tha'laba. There were the Qawāqil. Total 4.

Of B. Sālim b. Ghanm b. Auf [illegible] Rifā'a b. Amr b. Zayd b. Amr b. Tha'laba b. Malik b. Sālim b. Ghanm [illegible] Wadī. Was at Badr (258). [illegible] b. Wadī b. Kulaib b. al-[illegible] Malik [illegible] Rifā'a was an ally [illegible] at Badr. He said the title Anṣārī Muhājirī for the reason given above. Total 2.

Of the B. Mu'awiyah Ka'b [illegible] Tha'labah a leader. Al-Mundhir b. Amr, a leader present at Badr and [illegible] [illegible] for the apostle. It was said of him: He hastened to death [illegible]

The total number of those present at the second Aqaba with the Aus and Khazraj was seventy-three men and two women who they allege pledged their obedience also. The apostle used not to accept loyalty with women, for merely stated the conditions and if they accepted them he would say, 'Go, I have made a covenant with you.'

The two women. Nusayba was of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar. She was d. of Ka'b b. Amr b. Auf b. Mabdhul b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin, another of Tarafa. She and her name went to war with the apostle. Her husband was Zaid b. Asim b. Ka'b, and her two sons were Habib and 'Abdullah. Musaylima the liar, the Liar of the Yamama, got hold of Habib and began to say to him, 'Do you testify that Muhammad is the [illegible] of God?' And when he said that he did, he went on, 'And do you
212 testify that I am the apostle of God?' he answered, 'I do not hear.' So he began to cut him to pieces member by member until he died. He used putting the same questions to him again and again, but he could get no different answers. Nusayba went to al-Yamama with the Muslims and took part in the war against Musaylima, where she received twelve wounds from spear or sword. It was Muhammad b. Yahya b. Habban who told me this story from 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abu Sa'sa'a.

The other woman was of B. Salima, Umm Mani' [illegible] Asma' d. Amr b. 'Adiy b. Nabi b. 'Amr b. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salima.

THE APOSTLE RECEIVES THE ORDER TO FIGHT

The apostle had not been given permission to fight or allowed to shed blood before the second Aqaba. He had simply been ordered to call men to God and to endure insult and forgive the ignorant. The Quraysh had persecuted his followers and driving some from their religion, and exiling others from their country. They had to choose whether to give up their religion, be maltreated at home, or to flee the country, some to Abyssinia, others to Medina.

When Quraysh became insolent towards God and rejected His gracious purpose, accused His prophet of lying, and ill treated and exiled those who served Him and proclaimed His unity, believed in His prophet, and held fast to His religion, He gave permission to His apostle to fight and to protect himself against those who wronged them and treated them badly.

The first verse which was sent down on this subject from what I have heard from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and other learned persons was 'Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged. God is
214 well able to help them,—those who have been driven out of their houses without right only because they said God is our Lord. Had not God used

some men to keep back others, cloisters and churches and synagogues and mosques wherein the name of God is constantly mentioned would have been destroyed. Assuredly God will help those who help Him. God is Almighty. If we give them power in the land will establish prayer, give the prescribed alms, enjoin kindness and forbid iniquity.' [illegible] the prophet and his companions all of them. Then God sent down to him: 'Fight them so that there be no more seduction,' i.e. until no believer is seduced from his religion, 'And the religion is God's,' i.e. Until God alone is worshipped.

When God had given [illegible] to fight and the clan of the Aus had pledged their support to him in Islam and to help him and his followers, and the Muslims who had taken refuge with him, the apostle commanded his companions, the emigrants of his people and those Muslims who were with him in Mecca, to emigrate to Medina and to join the brethren the Anṣār. 'God will make for you brethren and houses in which you may be safe.' So they went out in companies, and the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord's permission to leave Mecca and migrate to Medina.

THOSE WHO EMIGRATED TO MEDINA

The first of the Quraysh to migrate to Medina from among the apostle's companions was one of B. Makhzum, Abu Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad b. Hilal b. Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum whose surname was Abdullah. He went to Medina a year before the pledge at al-'Aqaba, having come to the apostle in Mecca from Abyssinia. He migrated because the Quraysh all secured him and he had heard that some of the Anṣār had accepted [illegible]

My father Ishaq b. Yasar on the authority of Salama who had it from his grandmother Umm Salama the prophet's wife told me that she said: When Abu Salama had decided to set out for Medina he saddled his camel for me and mounted me on it together with my son Salama who was in my arms. Then he set out leading the camel. When the men of B. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum saw him they got up and said: 'As far as we are concerned you can do what you like, but what about our wife?' He was supposed that we should let you take her away?' So they snatched the apostle's rope from his hand and took me from him. Abu Salama's family, the B. Abdu'l-Asad, were angry at this and said: 'We will not leave our son with her seeing you have torn her from our companion.' So they dragged at my boy Salama between them until

they dislocated his arm, and the B. al-Aswad took him away, while the B. al-Mughīra kept the rest there, and my husband Abū Salama went to Medina. Then I was separated from my husband and my son. I used to go out every morning and sit in the valley weeping continuously until a year or so had passed when one of my cousins of the al-Mughīra passed and saw my plight and took pity on me. He said to his tribesmen, 'Why don't you let this poor woman go? You have separated husband, wife, and child.' So they said to me, 'You can join your husband if you like', and then the B. 'Abdu'l-Asad returned my son to me. So I saddled my camel and took my son and carried him in my arms. Then I set forth making for my husband in Medina. Not a soul was with me. I thought that I could go [illegible] from anyone I met on the road until I reached my husband. When I was at Tan'īm I met 'Uthmān b. Talha b. Abū Ṭalḥa, brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār, who asked me where I was going and if I was all alone. I said him that except for God and my little boy I was alone. He said that I might not be left helpless like that and he took hold of the camel's halter and went along with me. Never have I met an Arab more noble than he. When we halted he would make the camel kneel for me and then withdraw where we had chosen a stopping-place for us[illegible] and tie it to a tree. Then he would go from me and lie down under a tree. When evening came he would bring the camel and saddle it, then go behind me and tell me to ride and when I was firmly established in the saddle he would come and take the halter and lead it until he brought me to a halt. Thus he did all the way to Medina. When he saw a village of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Qubā' he said, 'Your husband is in this village. [illegible] Then he went off on his way back to Mecca.

She used to say, By God, I do not know a family in Islam which suffered what the family of Abū Salama did.[1] Nor have I ever seen a nobler man than 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa.

The first emigrant to go to Medina after Abū Salama was 'Āmir b. Rabī'a, an ally of B. 'Adī b. Ka'b together with his wife Layla d. of Ḥathma b. Ghānim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Auf b. 'Uhayb b. 'Uwayj b. 'Adī b. Ka'b. Then Abū'l-Salt b. Jahda b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Ṣūrā b. Murra b. [illegible] b. Asad b. Khuzayma ally of B. [illegible] b. Abdu Shams along with his family and his brother [illegible] son of Abū Aḥmad. Now Abū Aḥmad was blind and he used to go all round Mecca from top to bottom without anyone to lead him. He was a poet. He had to wife al-Fur'a d. of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb; her mother was Umayma d. of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib.

The house of the B. Jahsh were hustled up when they left and 'Utba b. Rabī'a and [illegible] b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and Abū Jahl b. Hishām pounced

[1] This place is said to be two parasangs [illegible] the valley, Bakr Ibn [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] in a [illegible] there was to the upper part of Mecca. 'Tether it in the house of Abū b. [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] empty of inhabitants, and sighed heavily and said

> Every house however long its prosperity lasts
> Will one day be overtaken by misfortune and trouble. (abū).

Then [illegible] said to me, 'The house of the B. Jahsh has become [illegible] wretchedness.' To which Abū Jahl replied, 'Nobody will weep over her (abū)'.

He went on, 'This is the work of this man's nephew. He has divided our community, disrupted our affairs, and driven a wedge between us.' Abū Salama and 'Amr b. Rabī'a and Abū'l-Salt b. Jahda and his brother Abū Aḥmad b. Jahsh were hilleted on Muhallahar b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib b. Zahra in Qubā' among the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf.

Then the refugees came in companies and the B. Ghanm b. Dūdān were [illegible] to Medina as a body with their [illegible] and women. Abū'l-Salt b. Jahsh died, his brother Abū Aḥmad and 'Utba b. Nahrān and [illegible] and [illegible] and Arqam b. Hurayth and [illegible] and Muṣṭalib b. Nubāta and [illegible] and Nubaysh b. Nā'ila and Yazīd b. Rāqish, and [illegible] and 'Amr b. Mihṣan and Milik b. 'Amr and Sifwān b. 'Amr and Thaqf b. 'Amr and Rabī'a b. Aktham and al-Zubayr b. 'Abīd and Tamīm b. 'Ubayda and Sukkhayra b. 'Ubayda and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Jahsh.

Their women were Zaynab and Umm Ḥabīb daughters of Jahsh, Ju'ayla d. Jandal and [illegible] Qays d. Mihṣan and [illegible] d. Thawban and Asma d. of Raqqash and Sukkhayra d. Tamīm and Hamna d. Jahsh.

Abū Aḥmad mentioning the emigration of the B. Asad b. Khuzayma of his people to God and his apostle and their going to a land where they were called on to emigrate, said

> Had Aḥmad's mother 'Ināt Sifr and Hamna seen
> Her wish would have been true
> We were the first in Mecca and remained so
> Till the worst became the better part
> Here Ghanm b. Dūdān pitched his tent
> From it Ghanm has gone and its inhabitants disappeared.[1]
> To [illegible] they go in [illegible] and [illegible]
> Their religion the religion of God and his apostle

He also said,

> When Umm Aḥmad saw the nothing out
> In the protection of Ours I scarcely fear and terrorism,

[1] G's text has 'And when B Ghanm has gone' the Abū Dhar quotes the word quite [illegible] 'inhabitants'

THE LODGEMENTS OF THE EMIGRANTS IN MEDINA

'Umar accompanied by various members of his family and his brother Zayd, and Amr and Abdullah the sons of Suraqa b. al-Mu'ammir, and Khunays b. Hudhafa al-Sahmi (who had married 'Umar's daughter Hafsa whom the apostle married after the death of her husband), and Wadi'a b. Abdullah al-Taymi an ally of theirs, and Khawlī and Mālik b. Abu Khawlī, two allies (240), and four sons of al-Bukayr, namely Iyās, Aqil, Amir and Khālid and their allies from B. Sa'd b. Layth when they arrived at Medina stayed with Rifā'a b. Abdu'l-Mundhir b. Zanbar among B. Amr b. 'Auf in Quba'. 'Ayyāsh also stayed with him when he came to Medina.

Then came successive waves of emigrants. Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Uthmān, Suhayb b. Sinān stayed with Khubayb b. Isāf brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, in al-Sunh.* Others deny this and say that Talha stayed with As'ad b. Zurāra brother of the B. al-Najjār (241).

The following stayed with Kulthūm b. al-Hidm brother of B. Amr b. 'Auf in Quba': Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, Zayd b. Hāritha; Abu Marthad Kannāz b. Husayn (242) and his son Marthad of the tribe of Ghanī, allies of Hamza, Anasa, and Abu Kabsha, freedmen of the apostle. Other reports are that they stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama, and that Hamza stayed with As'ad b. Zurāra.

The following stayed with Abbād b. Bishr brother of the Banu Ajlān in Quba': 'Ubayda b. al-Harith and his brother al-Tufayl, al-Husayn b. al-Harith, Mistah b. Uthāsa b. Abbād b. al-Muttalib, Suwaybit b. Sa'd b. Harmala brother of B. Abdu'l-Dār, Tulayb b. 'Umayr brother of the B. Abd b. Qusayy, and Khabbāb, freedman of 'Utba b. Ghazwān.

With Sa'd b. al-Rabī' brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj in the house of the latter stayed Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Auf with some male emigrants.

With Mundhir b. Muhammad b. 'Uqba b. Uhayha b. al-Julāh in al-Taba the dwelling of the B. Jahjabā, stayed al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and Abū Salama b. Abd Rubba b. Abdu'l-'Uzzā.

With Sa'd b. Mu'ādh b. al-Nu'mān brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal in their dwelling stayed Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Dār.

With Abbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh brother of the B. Abdu'l-Ashhal in the latter's dwelling stayed Abū Hudhayfa b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a and his freedman Sālim, and 'Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir (243).

With Aus b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir, brother of Hassān b. Thābit in the dwelling of B. al-Najjār stayed 'Uthmān b. Affān. This was the reason why Hassān was so fond of 'Uthmān and lamented him when he was slain.

It is said that the celibate emigrants stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama because he himself was unmarried but God knows best about that.

* In the upper part of Medina.

PART III

THE HIJRA

THE CAMPAIGNS FROM MEDINA

THE OCCUPATION OF MECCA

THE CONQUEST OF ARABIA

THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET

After his companions had left the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for permission to migrate. Except for Abû Bakr and Ali, none of his supporters were left but those under restraint and those who had been forced to apostatize. The former kept asking the apostle for permission to emigrate and he would answer 'Don't be in a hurry; it may be that God will give you a companion.' Abû Bakr hoped that it would be Muhammad himself.

When the Quraysh saw that the apostle had a party and companions out of their tribe and outside their territory, and that his companions had migrated to join them, and knew that they had settled in a new home and had gained protectors, they feared that the apostle might join them, since they knew that he had decided to fight them. So they assembled in their council chamber, the house of Quṣayy b. Kilāb where all their important business was conducted, to take counsel what they should do in regard to the apostle, for they were now in fear of him.

One of our companions whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of 'Abdullāh b. Abû Najīḥ from Mujāhid b. Jubayr (other of al-Ḥajjāj), and another person of the same character on the authority of 324
'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās told me that when they had fixed a day to come to a decision about the apostle on the morning of that very day which was called the day of al-Zahma the devil came to them in the form of a handsome old man clad in a mantle and stood at the door of the house. When they saw him standing there they asked him who he was and he told them that he was a shaykh from the highlands who had heard of their intention and had come to hear what they had to say and perhaps to give them counsel and advice. He was invited to enter and there he found the leaders of Quraysh. From B. 'Abdu Shams were 'Utba and Shayba sons of Rabī'a and Abû Sufyān. From B. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manāf Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adiy, Jubayr b. Muṭ'im and al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal. From B. 'Abdu'l-Dār al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada. From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā Abû'l-Bakhtarī b. Hishām and Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām. From B. Makhzūm Abû Jahl b. Hishām. From B. Sahm Nubayh and Munabbih the sons of al-Ḥajjāj. From B. Jumaḥ Umayya b. Khalaf, and others including some who were not of Quraysh.

The discussion opened with the statement that now that Muhammad had gained adherents outside the tribe they were no longer safe against a sudden attack and the meeting was to determine the best course to pursue. One advised that they should put him in irons behind bars and then wait until the same fate overtook him as befell his like, the poets Zuhayr and Nābigha, and others. The shaykh objected to this on the ground that news would leak out that he was imprisoned, and immediately his followers would attack and snatch him away; then their numbers would so grow that they would destroy the authority of Quraysh altogether.

They must think of another plan. Another man suggested that they should drive him out of the country. They did not care where he went or what happened to him provided he was out of sight and they were rid of him. They [illegible] objected that it was not a good plan. [illegible] people. [illegible] authority and then he could do what he liked with them. They must think of a better plan.

Thereupon Abū Jahl said that he had a plan which had not been suggested [illegible] fat, well-born, aristocratic warrior: that each of these should be provided with a sharp sword; then that each of them should strike a blow at him and kill him. Thus they would be relieved of him, and responsibility [illegible] people dispersed.

[illegible] in the morning. The man in ambush [illegible] in preparation for departure.

[illegible] Ziyād on the authority of Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī told [illegible] they were all outside his door Abū Jahl said to them [illegible] Muhammad alleges that if you follow him you will be kings of the Arabs and the Persians. Then after death you will be raised to gardens like those of the Jordan. But if you do not follow him you will be slaughtered, and when you are raised from the dead you will be burned in the fire of hell. The apostle came out to them with a handful of dust saying, 'I do say that. You are one of them.' God took away their sight so that they could not see him and he began to sprinkle the dust on their heads as he recited [illegible] a straight path, a revelation of the Mighty the Merciful' as far as the [illegible] 'And we covered them and they could not see.' When he had [illegible] recited none of them but had dust upon his head. Then he went wherever he wanted to go and someone not of their company came [illegible] and came out to you and put dust on the head of every single man of you [illegible]

and then went off on his own affairs. Can't you see what has happened [illegible] they began to search and saw 'Alī on the bed wrapped in the apostle's [illegible]

Among the verses of the Qur'ān which God sent down about that day [illegible] also, and God is the best of planners;[1] and 'Or they say he is a poet for [illegible] I am with you among the expectant' (269).[2]

[illegible] Abū Bakr was a man of [illegible] in preparation for departure.

A man whom I have no reason to doubt told me as from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr [illegible] and I were there and the apostle asked him to send us away. 'But they are my two daughters and they can do no harm, may my father and my mother be your ransom,' said Abū Bakr. '[illegible] to depart and migrate,' he answered. 'Together [illegible] of God these are the two camels which I have held in readiness for this.' [illegible] was a servant of B. Sahm b. 'Amr, and a polytheist to lead them on the [illegible] and he gave them food until the appointed day came.[3]

[1] Sūra 8, 30 [2] Sūra 52, 30

[illegible] said (in a parenthesis which does not come via Ibn Hishām) in a long, crowd, making which [illegible]

According to what I have been told none knew when the apostle left except [illegible] and Abū Bakr and the apostle's family. I have heard that the apostle told 'Alī about his departure and ordered him to stay behind in Mecca in order to return goods which were still deposited with the apostle for persons in Mecca who had property which he was not [illegible] left it with him because of his notorious honesty and trustworthiness.

When the apostle decided to go he came to Abū Bakr and the two of them left by a window in the back of the latter's house and made for a cave on Thaur, a mountain below Mecca. Having entered, Abū Bakr ordered his son 'Abdullāh to listen to what people were saying and to come to them by night with the day's news. He also ordered 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, his freedman, to feed his flock by day and to bring them to them in the evening in the cave. Asmā' his daughter used to come at night with food to sustain them [270].

The two of them stayed in the cave for three days. When Quraysh missed the apostle they offered a hundred she-camels to anyone who would bring him back. During the day 'Abdullāh was listening to their plans and conversation and would come at night with the news. 'Āmir

fell would bring them to the cave where they milked them and slaughtered some. When 'Abdullāh left them in the morning to go to Mecca, 'Āmir would take the sheep over the same route to cover his tracks. When the three days had passed and men's interest waned, the man they had hired came with their camels and one of his own. Asmā' came too with a bag of provisions but she had forgotten to bring a rope, so that when they started she could not tie the bag on the camel. Thereupon she undid her girdle and using it as a rope tied the bag to the saddle. For this reason she got the name 'She of the girdle' [271].

When Abū Bakr brought the two camels to the apostle he offered the better one to him and invited him to ride her. But the apostle refused to ride an animal which was not his own and when Abū Bakr wanted to give him it he demanded to know what he had paid for it and bought it from

was told that Asmā' said, 'When the apostle and Abū Bakr had gone, a number of Quraysh including Abū Jahl came to us and stood at the door. When I went out to them they asked where my father was and when I said that I did not know Abū Jahl, who was a rough dissolute man, slapped my face so violently that my earring flew off. Then they took themselves off and we remained for three days without news until a man

of the Jinn came from the lower part of Mecca singing some verses in the Arab way. And the people were following him and listening to his words but they could not see him, until he emerged from the upper part of Mecca saying the while:

> God the Lord of men give the best of his rewards
> To the two companions who rested in the two tents of Umm Ma'bad.
> They came with good intent and went off at nightfall.
> May Muhammad's companion prosper!
> May the place of the Banū Ka'b's women bring them luck,
> For she was a look-out for the believers' [272].

Asmā' continued: 'When we heard his words we knew that the apostle was making for Medina. There were two of them, the apostle, Abū Bakr, 'Āmir, and 'Abdullāh b. Arqad (their guide) [273].

Yahya b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr told me that his father 'Abbād told him that his grandmother Asmā' said, 'When the apostle went [illegible] Abū Bakr the latter carried all his money with him to the amount of five or six thousand dirhams. My grandfather Abū Quḥāfa who had lost his sight came to call on us saying that he thought that Abū Bakr had put us in a difficulty by taking off all his money. [illegible] he had left us plenty of money. And I took some stones and put them in a [illegible] and put a cloth over it and put my hand on it saying, 'Put your hand on this money, father.' He did so and said: "There's nothing to worry about, he has done well in leaving us this and we will be [illegible] enough." In fact he had left us nothing but I wanted to set the old man's mind at rest.

Al-Zuhrī told me that 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. Mālik b. Ju'shum told him from his father, from his uncle Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum. 'When the apostle emigrated Quraysh offered a reward of a hundred camels to anyone who would bring him back. While I was sitting in my property a person came up and stopped near me. I could see [illegible] riders passing. I think they must be Muhammad and his companions.' I gave him a sharp admonishing [illegible] and said: "Why are you so anxious for a lost camel." "Perhaps so," he said and remained silent. I remained here for a short while. Then I got up and went to my house and ordered my horse to be put outside, for it was withheld for me in the bottom of the valley. Then I asked for my weapons and they were brought from the back of the room. Then I took my divining arrows and went out, having put on my armour. Then I cast the divining arrows and got same the answer which I did not want: "Do him no harm."[274] I did the same again and got the same result. I was hoping to bring him back to Quraysh so that I might win the hundred camels reward.

[illegible] made my portion of luck and where my horse was going at a good pace

[illegible] I rode on, and as I [illegible] I saw the [illegible] like a sandstorm. When [illegible] "Write a document for me which will be a sign between you and me" and the apostle instructed Abū Bakr to do so.

[illegible]

[illegible] Then I remembered something that I wanted to ask him. All I can remember now is that I said "Stray camels used to [illegible] reward for having let them have water?" "Yes," he said, "for watering [illegible]." Then I returned to my people and brought my [illegible]

[illegible] the shore until he crossed the road below 'Usfān, then below Amaj; then after passing Qudayd by way of al-Kharrār and Thaniyyatu'l-Marra to Liqf [illegible]

[illegible] then by al-'Abābīd (278), then by way of al-Fāja (279). Then he took [illegible], a man of Aslam, Aus b. Hujr by name, took the prophet to Medina on his camel which was called Ibn al-Riḍā', sending with him a servant called

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[illegible]

Mas'ūd b. Hunayda. From 'Arj, the guide took them to Thaniyyatu'l-[illegible] of Ri'm, thence to Qubā' to B. 'Amr b. 'Auf on Monday 12th Rabī'u'l-[illegible]

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from [illegible] who were the apostle's companions told me, "When we heard that the [illegible] him. This we did until there was no more shade left and then we went indoors in the hot season. On the day that the apostle arrived we had sat [illegible] of us had never seen the apostle and as the people crowded round him they did not know him from Abū Bakr until the shade left him and Abū Bakr got up with his mantle and shielded him from the sun, and then we knew."

The apostle, so they say, stayed with Kulthūm b. Hidm brother of the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, one of the B. 'Ubayd. Others say he stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama. Those who assert the former say that it was only because he [illegible] it is said that he stayed with Sa'd, for his house used to be called the house of the bachelors. But God knows the truth of the matter.

Abū Bakr stayed with Khubayb b. Isāf, one of the B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj [illegible] brother of the B. al-Ḥārith.

[illegible] deposits which the apostle held. This done he joined the apostle and [illegible]

[illegible]

bring her the camel to me as fast. Ali said to talk of this incident until [illegible] Ibn Ishaq told me this story from what Ali said

The apostle stayed in Quba' among B. Amr b. Auf from Monday to Thursday and then he laid the foundation of his mosque. Then God brought him out from them on the Friday. The B. Amr allege that he stayed longer with them, and God knows the truth of the matter. Friday prayer found the apostle among B. Salim b. 'Auf said he prayed it in the [illegible] Friday prayer that he prayed in Medina

Itban b. Malik and Abbas b. 'Ubada b. Nadla with some of B. Salim b. Auf came and asked him to live with them and enjoy their wealth and protection, but he said, 'Let her go her way, for his camel was under God's orders: so they let her go until she came to the home of B. Rayada, [illegible] chieftain. They gave the same invitation and met with the same reply. The same thing happened with B. Sa'ida when Sa'd b. 'Ubada and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr invited him to stay; and with B. 'l-Hirith b. al-[illegible] b. Rawaha, and with B. Adiy b. al-Najjar (who were his nearest maternal relatives the mother of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib Salma d. Amr being one of their women), being represented by Salit b. Qays and Abu Salit and Usayra b. Abu Khaarija. Finally the camel came to the home of B. Malik b. al-Najjar [illegible] drying-place for dates and belonged to two young orphans of B. al-Najjar of B. Malik clan, who were under the protection of Mu'adh b. 'Afra' [illegible] and it got up and went a short distance. The apostle left its rein free, not [illegible] knelt at first and knelt there again. It shook itself and lay exhausted with its chest upon the ground. The apostle alighted and Abu Ayyub Khalid b [illegible] them, but he said 'A man (stays) with his baggage)' and the apostle stayed with him. When he asked to whom the date-store belonged Mu'adh b 'Afra' told him that the owners were Sahl and Suhayl the sons of Amr who were orphans in his care and that he could take it for a mosque and he would pay the young men for it

The apostle ordered that a mosque should be built, and he stayed with Abu Ayyub until the mosque and his houses were completed. The apostle joined in the work to encourage the Muslims to work and the muhajirun and the ansar laboured hard. One of the Muslims rhymed

> If we sat down while the prophet worked
> It would be said that we had shirked.

[illegible]

As they built, the Muslims sang a rajaz verse:

> There's no life but the life of the next world
> O God, have mercy on the ansar and the muhajirun (281).

The apostle used to sing it in the form

> There's no life but the life of the next world
> O God, have mercy on the muhajirun and the ansar.[1]

'Ammar b. Yasir one of those who had overburdened bore with broken, saying, They are killing me. They load me with burdens they can't carry themselves.' Umm Salama the prophet's wife said: I saw the apostle put his hand through his hair—for he was a curly-haired man—and say, Alas for Sumayya! [illegible] there who will kill you but a wicked band of men.[2]

'Ali composed a rajaz verse on that day

> There's one that labours night and day
> To build an mosque of brick and clay
> And one who turns from dust away! (282.)

And 'Ammar learned it and began to chant it.

When he pronounced it at the prophet's retirement thought that it was he who was referred to in it according to what Zayd b. Abdallah al-Bayadi told me from his father. The apostle had actually [illegible] the mosque.[3]

He said: I have heard what you have been saying for a long time. O [illegible] 128
[illegible] and the apostle was angry and said: What is wrong [illegible] 'Ammar. He is [illegible] to Paradise while they invite him to hell. 'Ammar is as dear to me as my own face. If a man behaves like this he will not be forgiven, so avoid him.'

Sufyan b. 'Uyayna mentioned on the authority of Zakariya from al-Sha'bi that the first man to build a mosque was 'Ammar b. Yasir

The apostle lived in Abu Ayyub's house until his mosque and dwelling-houses were built; then he removed to his own quarters.

Yunus b. Abu Ishaq from Marthad b. 'Abdallah al-Yazani from Abu Raiha a Sahabi told me that Abu 'Ammar told him: When the apostle came to stay with me [illegible] I said I was Ayyub [illegible] I said to him, O prophet of God, you

[illegible]

[illegible] close to me as my parents, and I am distressed that I should be absent and you before me. So leave your present quarters and exchange places with me." He assented. "O Abu Ayyub, it is more convenient for me and my people that we should be on the ground floor of this house." So we remained as we were. Once we broke a jar of water and I with Abu Ayyub and I took one of our quilts to sop up the water in fear that it would drip on the apostle and cause him inconvenience. We had no cloth which we could use.

'We used to prepare his evening meal and send it to him. When he returned what was left—I, Abu Ayyub and I used to touch the spot where his hand had rested and eat from that in the hope of gaining a blessing. One night we prepared for him onions or garlic and the apostle returned it and I saw no mark of his hand on it. I went to him in some anxiety to tell him of my practice and then also came there was no mark of his hand, and he replied that he had perceived the smell of the vegetables and he was a man who had to speak confidentially to people lest God be offended with them. So we ate the dish and never sent him onions again.'

[illegible] The emigrants followed one another to visit the apostle and none was left in Mecca but those who had apostatized or been detained. Whole families with their property did not come together except the B. Mut'a from B. Jusam, the B. Jahsh b. Ri'ab, allies of B. Umayya, and the B. [illegible] from B. [illegible], allies of B. Asad b. [illegible]. Those remained in Mecca were locked up when they migrated, leaving no inhabitant.

When the B. Jahsh gave up their houses Abu [illegible] took and sold it to 'Amr b. Aliqma brother of B. 'Amir b. La'ayy. When the owners heard of this Abu Sufyan b. Jahsh told the apostle of it, and he replied: 'Are you not pleased that God will give you a better house in Paradise?' And when he answered 'Yes,' he said, 'There you have it.' When the apostle got permission of Mecca Abu Ahmad spoke as been about their house, and he apostle declined his reply. People said to him, 'The apostle doubtless wants everything the operation of your property which was lost in God's service, so don't speak to him about it again.' Abu Ahmad said in reference to Abu Sufyan:

> Tell Abu Sufyan of a matter he will love to repeat.
> You sold your cousin's house to pay a debt you owed.
> Your ally by God the Lord of men swears on oath
> Take it, Take it, may [your territory] cling to you like the ring of the door.

The apostle moved to Medina from the month of Rabi'u'l-awwal to Safar of the following year, when his mosque and his quarters were built. This order of the Ansar all accepted Islam and every house of the Ansar accepted Islam except Khatma, Wa'il, Wa'ik, and Umayya who were the Aus Allah, a clan of Aus who clung to their heathenism.

The best sermon which the apostle gave according to what I heard on the authority of Abu 'Uthman b. Abdu'l Rahman—God save me from sinning in the apostle's words which he did not say, was as follows: he praised and glorified God as was His due and then said: 'O men, send forward (good works) for yourselves. You know, by God, that one of you may be smitten and will leave his flock without a shepherd. Then his Lord will say to him—there will be no interpreter or chamberlain to veil him from Him—'Did not My apostle come to you with a message and did not I give you wealth and show you favour? What have you sent forward for yourself?' Then will he look to right and left and see nothing. He will look in front of him and see nothing but hell. He who can shield his face from the fire even with a little piece of date let him do so; and he who cannot find that then with a good word, for the good deed will be rewarded tenfold up to seven hundred fold. Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing.

Then the apostle preached on another occasion as follows: 'Praise belongs to God whom I praise and whose aid I implore. We take refuge in God from our own souls and from the evil of our acts. He whom God [illegible] I testify that there is no [illegible] fairest speech is the Book of God. He to whom God has made it seem glorious and made him enter Islam after unbelief, who has chosen it above all other speech of men, doth prosper. It is the finest speech and the most penetrating. Love what God loves. Love God with all your hearts, and weary not of the word of God and its mention. Harden not your hearts from it. Out of everything that God creates He chooses and selects: the angels He [illegible] and the speech He chooses He calls *ṣifiy*. From everything that is brought to men there is the lawful and the unlawful. Worship God and associate naught with Him, fear Him as He ought to be feared. Carry out loyally towards God what you say with your mouths. Love one another in the spirit of God. Verily God is angry when His covenant is broken. Peace be upon you.'

THE COVENANT BETWEEN THE MUSLIMS AND THE MEDINANS AND WITH THE JEWS

The apostle made a document concerning the emigrants and the helpers in which he made a friendly agreement with the Jews and established them in their religion and their property, and stated the recipient emigrants, as follows. In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful. This is a document from Muhammad the prophet [illegible] between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who

[1] Or perhaps simply 'your handiwork'. Here ends the text of the sermon. Some of its allusions to the Qur'an. Cf. 39, 23 where [illegible] differs as to the exact meaning of it.

[illegible] women among believers.

[illegible] al-Jahshi, and the B. Jusham, and the B. al-Najjar likewise.[1]

The B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, the B. al-Nabit and the B. al-Aus likewise.[2]

[illegible] for redemption money or bloodwit in kindness (283).

[illegible] of one of them. A believer shall not slay a believer for the sake of an unbeliever, nor shall he aid an unbeliever against a believer. [illegible] The Jew who follows us belong help and equality. He shall not be wronged nor shall his enemies be aided. The peace of the believers is indivisible. No separate peace shall be made when believers are fighting in the way of God; conditions must be kept equally among all who profess [illegible] the blood of our martyrs shall be the same as ours. The believers must be true and most upright towards [illegible] the protection of strangers under the protection of one another [illegible] the same man, and they are bound to take action against him.

[illegible] God and Muhammad.

The Jews will contribute to the cost of war so long as they are fighting

[1] B. al-Khazraj. [2] These all belong to al-Aus [illegible] Arabs of Medina are referred to.

[illegible] referred to God and to Muhammad the apostle of God. God [illegible] what is nearest to piety and goodness in this document. Quraysh and their helpers shall not be granted protection. The contracting parties are bound to help one another against any attack on Yathrib. [illegible] holy war. Every one shall have his portion from the side to which he belongs. [illegible] God and Muhammad is the apostle of God.

[illegible]

BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS

The apostle instituted brotherhood between his fellow emigrants and the helpers, and he said according to what I have heard— and I appeal to God lest I should attribute to him words that he did not say—'Let each of you take a brother in God.' He himself took 'Alī by the hand and said, 'This is my brother.' So God's apostle, the lord of the messengers and leader of the God-fearing, apostle of the Lord of the worlds, the peerless and unequalled, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib became brothers. Ḥamza, the lion of God and the lion of his apostle and his uncle, became the brother of Zayd b. Ḥāritha the apostle's freedman. To him Ḥamza gave his last testament on the day of Uḥud when battle was imminent in case he should meet his death. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib—the 'one of the wings' who was to fly in Paradise—and Mu'ādh b. Jabal brother of B. Salama became brothers (ʿāḥ).

The pairs were arranged thus:

Abū Bakr and Khārija b. Zuhayr brother of B. 'l-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.
'Umar and 'Itbān b. Mālik brother of B. Salim b. al-Khazraj.
Abū 'Ubayda, 'Āmir b. 'Abdullāh and Sa'd b. Mu'ādh b. al-Nu'mān.
'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Auf and Sa'd b. al-Rabī' brother of B. al-Ḥārith.

Al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and Salama b. Salāma b. Waqsh brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal though others say that he linked up with 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd the ally of the B. Zuhra.

'Uthmān b. 'Affān and Aus b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir brother of B. al-Najjār. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullāh and Ka'b b. Mālik brother of the B. Salama.

Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl and Ubayy b. Ka'b brother of the B. al-Najjār.

Mus'ab b. 'Umayr and Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd brother of the B. al-Najjār. Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba and 'Abbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh, brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal.

'Ammār b. Yāsir ally of the B. Makhzūm and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal. (Others say that Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās brother of the B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj the prophet's orator and 'Ammār b. Yāsir.)

Abū Dharr, Durayb b. Junāda al-Ghifārī and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, 'he who hastened to his death' brother of B. Sā'ida of al-Khazraj (x80).

Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a, ally of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā and 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf.

Salmān the Persian and Abū'l-Dardā' 'Uwaymir b. Tha'laba brother of B. al-Ḥārith (x89). Some say 'Uwaymir was the son of 'Āmir or of Zayd.

Bilāl freedman of Abū Bakr and the apostle's muezzin and Abū Ruwayḥa[1]

[1] A Negro characteristic of a negro, 'the father of the faint smell'. Cf. H. Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, p. 256.

'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān al-Khath'amī, more precisely one of the East.

These are the men who were named to us as those to whom the apostle made his companions brothers.

When 'Umar compiled the registers in Syria Bilāl had gone there and remained as a combatant. He asked him with whom he wished to be grouped and he said with Abū Ruwayḥa. 'I will never leave him, for the apostle established brotherhood between us.' So he was linked with him and the register of the Abyssinians was linked with Khath'am because of Bilāl's position with them, and that arrangement continued to this day in Syria. 246

ABŪ UMĀMA

During the months in which the mosque was being built Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra died; he was seized by diphtheria and a rattling in the throat.

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm told me on the authority of Yaḥyā b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. As'ad b. Zurāra that the apostle said: 'How unfortunate is the death of Abū Umāma!' The Jews and the Arab hypocrites are sure to say: 'If he were a prophet his companion would not die'; and (truly) I have no power from God for myself or for my companion (to avert death).

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda al-Anṣārī told me that when Abū Umāma died the B. al-Najjār came to the apostle, for Abū Umāma was their leader, saying that he held the high rank the apostle knew of and would be appoint some-one from among them to act in his place, to which the apostle replied, 'You are my maternal uncles, and we belong together so I will be your leader.' The apostle did not want to prefer any one of them to the others. Henceforth the B. al-Najjār regarded themselves as highly honoured in having the apostle as their leader.

THE CALL TO PRAYER

When the apostle was firmly settled in Medina and his brethren the emigrants were gathered to him and the affairs of the helpers were arranged Islām became firmly established. Prayer was instituted, the alms tax and fasting were prescribed, legal punishments fixed, the forbidden and the permitted prescribed, and Islām took up its abode with them. It was this clan of the helpers who 'have taken up their abode (in the city of the prophet) and in the faith.' When the apostle first came the people gathered to him for prayer at the appointed times without being summoned. At first the apostle thought of using a trumpet like that of the Jews who used it to summon to prayer. Afterwards he disliked the idea and ordered a clapper 247

to be made so it was duly fashioned to be beaten when the Muslims should pray.

Meanwhile Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. Abdu Rabbihi brother of B. al-Hārith heard a voice in a dream, and came to the apostle saying: 'A phantom visited me in the night. There passed by me a man wearing two green garments carrying a clapper in his hand, and I asked him to sell it to me. When he asked me what I wanted it for I told him that it was to summon people to prayer whereupon he offered to show me a better way: it was to say thrice "Allah Akbar. I bear witness that there is no God but Allah I bear witness that Muhammad is the apostle of God. Come to prayer. Come to prayer. Come to divine service. Come to divine service. Allah Akbar. Allah Akbar. There is no God but Allah"' When the apostle was told of this he said that it was a true vision if God so willed it, and that he should go with Bilāl and communicate it to him so that he might call to prayer thus, for he had a more penetrating voice. When Bilāl acted as muezzin 'Umar heard him in his house and came to the apostle dragging his cloak on the ground and saying that he had seen precisely the same vision. The apostle said, 'God be praised for that!'

I was told of this tradition by Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hārith on the authority of Muhammad b. Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'laba himself (288).

248 Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me on the authority of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from a woman of B. al-Najjār who said: 'My house was the highest of those round the mosque and Bilāl used to give the call from the top of it at dawn every day. He used to come before daybreak and would sit on the housetop waiting for the dawn. When he saw it he would stretch his arms and say: "O God, I praise thee and ask thy help for Quraysh that they may accept thy religion." I never knew him to omit these words for a single night.'

ABU QAYS B. ABI ANAS

When the apostle was established in his house and God had manifested his religion therein and made him glad with the company of the emigrants and helpers Abū Qays spoke the following verses (289).

He was a man who had lived as a monk in heathen days and wore a black mantle of camel-hair, given up idols, washed himself after impurity, kept himself clean from women in their courses. He had thought of adopting Christianity but gave it up and went into a house of his and made

[illegible]

a mosque of it, allowing no unclean person to enter. He said that he worshipped the Lord of Abraham when he abandoned idols and loathed them. When the apostle came to Medina he became a good Muslim. He was an old man, who always spoke the truth and glorified God in paganism. He composed some excellent poetry and it was he who said:

> 'Said Abu Qays when near to depart:
> Perform all you can of my behest
> I enjoin piety, the fear of God, and
> The preservation of your honour: but piety comes first.
> If your people hold authority envy them not.
> If you yourselves rule, be just.
> If a calamity befalls your people
> Put yourselves in the front of your tribe.
> If a heavy duty falls on them help them
> And bear the burdens they put upon you.
> If you are poor, practise austerity
> If you have money be generous with it (290).

He also said:

> Praise God at every dawn
> When His sun rises and at the new moon.
> He knows who is clear and not clear to us.
> What our Lord says is without error
> His are the birds which fly to and fro and shelter
> In nests in their mountain retreats.
> His are the wild creatures of the desert
> Which you see on the dunes and in the shade of sandhills.
> Him the Jews worship and follow
> Every dreary convent you can think of.[2]
> Him the Christians worship and keep
> Every feast and festival to their Lord.
> His is the self-denying monk you see,
> A prisoner of misery though once right happy.
> My son, never cut the bonds of kinship.
> Be generous though they are mean.[3]
> Fear God in dealing with defenceless orphans
> Often the forbidden is regarded as lawful.
> Know that the orphan has an All-knowing protector
> Who guides aright without being asked.
> Devour not the wealth of orphans
> A mighty protector watches over the same.

[1] A Dr. explains that 'wolf', a wild animal favourable omen, is a metaphor.

[2] Commentators differ as to the meaning of this phrase. Another possibility is: 'Though their pedigree is short their hearts are generous.' All through these verses we feel that the unknown rhymester is impressed within his religion.

My sons, transgress not the proper limits
Transgressing the bounds brings one to a halt.
O my sons, trust not the days,
Beware their treachery and the passage of time
Know that it consumes all creation,
Both the new and the old
Love your lives in piety and godliness,
Abandon obscenity and hold fast to what is right.[1]

the following poem he mentioned how God had honoured them with
n and His special favour in sending His apostle to them.

He abode among Quraysh some ten years
Hoping for a friend to help him.
He displayed himself to those who came to the fairs
But found none to offer him hospitality
But when he came to us God displayed his religion
And he became happy and contented in Medina.
He found friends and ceased to long for home
And was plainly helped by God.[2]
He told us what Noah said to his people
And what Moses answered when he was called.
None near at hand need he fear
And those afar he recked not of.[4]
We spent on him the best of our possessions,
Sparing not our lives in war at his side.
We know that there is nought beside God
And we know that God is the best guide.
We shall fight any man that fights Him,
Be he our dearest friend.
In every mosque when I pray to Thee
I say Blessed art Thou (Oft have I mentioned Thy name).
I say when I traverse a land I fear
Mercy Let not my enemies triumph over me
Go where you will death comes in many guises
And you cannot live for ever
A man does not know how to protect himself
Unless he makes God his protector.
The palm that needs water[5] cares naught for its owner
If it has moisture, though he be dead (291).

The influence of Syriac as in the words [illegible] and [illegible] is clear, and some of the [illegible] are reminiscences of the Psalms.

[1] Tiba, 'the Fragrant' is the ancient honorific of Medina. Cf. Hassān's opening line on p. 1020. 'In Tiba are the monuments of his luminous sojourn'

[2] W. a text 'He was a plain help to us from God' seems inferior to the C. text

[4] The verse is not as banal as the original

[5] I follow C. in reading [illegible] for W. a [illegible], and [illegible] for [illegible] 'standing'

(T. Ali b. Mujāhid said on the authority of Muhammad b. Isḥāq from al-Zuhrī and from Muhammad b. Ṣāliḥ from al-Sha'bī that they both said: The B. Ismā'īl dated from the fire of Abraham to the building of the temple when Abraham and Ismā'īl built it; then they dated from the building of the temple until they dispersed, and it happened that whenever people left Tihāma they dated from their leaving it, and those who remained in Tihāma of B. Ismā'īl used to date from the going out of Sa'd and Nahd and Jorhum of B. Zayd from Tihāma until Ka'b b. Lu'ayy died. Then they dated from the death of Ka'b to the elephant. The dating from the time of the elephant continued until 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dated from the Hijra which was the year 17 or 18.[1]

THE NAMES OF THE JEWISH ADVERSARIES

About this time the Jewish rabbis showed hostility to the apostle in envy, hatred, and malice, because God had chosen His apostle from the Arabs. They were joined by men from al-Aus and al-Khazraj who had obstinately clung to their heathen religion. They were hypocrites, clinging to the polytheism of their fathers denying the resurrection yet when Islam appeared and their people flocked to it they were compelled to pretend to accept it to save their lives. But in secret they were hypocrites whose inclination was towards the Jews because they considered the apostle a liar and strove against Islam.

It was the Jewish rabbis who used to annoy the apostle with questions and introduce confusion, so as to confound the truth with falsity. The Qur'ān used to come down in reference to these questions of theirs, though some of the questions about what was allowed and forbidden came from the Muslims themselves. These are the names of those Jews

From B. al-Naḍīr: Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab and his brothers Abū Yāsir and Judayy, Sallām b. Mishkam, Kināna b. al-Rabī' b. Abū'l-Ḥuqayq, Sallām b. Abū'l-Ḥuqayq Abū Rāfi' al-A'war whom the apostle's companions killed in Khaybar al-Rabī' b. al-Rabī' b. Abū'l-Ḥuqayq Amr b. Jahhāsh Ka'b b. al-Ashraf who belonged to Ṭayy of the clan of B. Nabhān, his mother being from B. al-Naḍīr al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Amr an ally of Ka'b, and Kardam b. Qays, an ally of Ka'b.

From B. Tha'laba b. al-Fiṭyūn: Abdullāh b. Sūriyā the one-eyed who was the most learned man of his time in the Hijāz in Torah studies, Ibn Ṣalūbā, and Mukhayrīq their rabbi who became a Muslim.

From B. Qaynuqā': Zayd b. al-Laṣīt (291), Sa'd b. Ḥunayf, Muḥammad b. Sayḥān [illegible]zayr b. Abū 'Azayr and Abdullāh b. Sayf (292). Sawād b. al-Ḥārith. Rifā'a b. Qays. Finḥāṣ Ashya' Nu'mān b. Adā. Bahrī b.

[1] This paragraph is part of a long chapter which T. devotes to the question of chronology in reference to the principal events in the prophet's life. It is put here because the last passage he quotes from [illegible] the poem of Abū [illegible] mentioning the length of the prophet's sojourn in Mecca after the beginning of his mission: the connexion with chronology is obvious

Amr Sha'b b. 'Adiy Sha'b b. Qays Zayd b. al-Hārith Nu'mān b. Amr Sukays b. Abū Sukays 'Adiy b. Zayd Nu'mān b. Abū 'Arfa Abū Awn Mahmud b. Dahsa Mālik b. Sayf (sic) Ka'b b. Rashid 'Amr Rifā'a b. Abū Rifā' Rifā'a Aslim b. Abū Aslim [illegible] Rāfi' b. Harītha Rāfi' b. Harīmila Rāfi' b. Khārija Mālik b. Auf Rifā'a b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt 'Abdullah b. Salām b. al-Hārith, who was their rabbi and most learned man. His name was al-Husayn. The apostle named him 'Abdullah when he accepted Islam.

From B. Qurayza al-Zubayr b. Bāta b. Wahb, 'Azzāl b. Shamwāl; Ka'b b. Asad responsible on behalf of his tribe for the agreement which was broken in the year of the Fathus; Shamwāl b. Zayd Jabal b. 'Amr b. Sa'yana al-Nu'mān b. Zayd Qardam b. Ka'b Wahb b. Zayd Nāfi' b. Abū Nāfi' Abū Nāfi' 'Adiy b. Zayd al-Hārith b. Auf Kardam b. Zayd Usayd b. Habib Rifā'a b. Rumayla Jabal b. Abū Qushayr Wahb b. Yahūdā.

From B. Zurayq: Labīd b. A'sam who bewitched the apostle of God so that he could not come at his wives.[1]

From B. Hārith: Kināna b. Sūriyā.

B. Amr b. 'Auf: Qardam b. 'Amr

From B. al-Najjār: Sābila b. Barhām.

These were the Jewish rabbis, the concerted opponents of the apostle and his companions, the men who asked questions and stirred up trouble against Islam to try to extinguish it, except for 'Abdullah b. Salām and Mukhayriq.[2]

233 'ABDULLAH B. SALAM ACCEPTS ISLAM

I was told the story of 'Abdullah b. Salām, a learned rabbi, by one of his family. He said: "When I heard about the apostle I knew by his description, name, and the time at which he appeared that he was the one we were waiting for, and I rejoiced greatly that he was coming. I kept silent about it until the apostle came to Medina. When he stayed in Qubā' among the B. Amr b. Auf a man came with the news while I was working at the top of a palm-tree and my aunt Khālida d. al-Hārith was sitting below. When I heard the news I cried Allāh Akbar and my aunt said, 'Good gracious, if you had heard that Moses b. 'Imrān had come you could not have made more fuss!' 'Indeed, aunt,' I said, 'he is the brother of Moses and follows his religion, being sent with the same mission.'" She asked, "Is he really

[1] In commenting on this Suhaylī points out the tradition is sound and is accepted by the traditionists. He quotes in the Tafsīr of Ma'mar b. Rāshid [illegible] which [illegible] transmitted by Ibn Ishāq the statement that the spell remained for a year. He goes on to say that the Mu'tazilites rejected the tradition on the ground that prophets cannot be bewitched, otherwise the Prophet would not have said what would be contrary to the truth, and 'And God will protect thee from men' (Sūra v. 71). He finds the tradition unacceptable. In [illegible]

the prophet who we have been told will be sent at this very time?" and she accepted my statement that he was. Accordingly I went to the apostle and became a Muslim, and when I returned to my house I ordered my family to do the same.

I concealed the matter from the Jews, and then went to the apostle and said, "The Jews are a nation of liars and I wish you would take me into one of your houses and hide me from them. Then ask them about me so that they may tell you the position I hold among them before they know that I have become a Muslim. For if they know it beforehand they will utter slanderous lies against me." The prophet housed me; the Jews came and the apostle asked them about my standing among them. They said: "He is our chief, and the son of our chief, our rabbi, and our learned man." When they said this he emerged and said: "O Jews, fear God and accept what He has sent you. For by God you know that he is the apostle of God. You will find him described in your Torah and even named. I testify that he is the apostle of God, I believe in him, I hold him to be true, and I acknowledge him." They accused me of lying and reviled me. Then I 234
reminded the apostle that I had said that they would do this, for they were a treacherous, lying, and evil people. A public proclamation my conversion and my household and my aunt Khālida followed suit.

THE STORY OF MUKHAYRIQ

He was a learned rabbi owning much property in date palms. He recognized the apostle by his description and his own learning, and he felt a predilection for his religion. Until on the day of Uhud, which fell on the sabbath, he reminded the Jews that they were bound to help Muhammad. They objected that it was the sabbath. "May you have no sabbath,"[1] he answered, and took his weapons and joined the apostle at Uhud. His parting testimony to his people was: "If I am killed today my property is to go to Muhammad to use as God shows him." He was killed on the battle that followed. I am told that the apostle used to say: "Mukhayriq is the best of the Jews." The apostle took over his property and all the alms he distributed in Medina came from it.

THE TESTIMONY OF ṢAFIYA

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm told me that he was told that Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhṭab said: "I was the favourite child of my father and my uncle Abū Yāsir. When I was present they took no notice of their other children. When the apostle was staying in Qubā' with the B. Amr b. Auf he we went to see him before daybreak and did not return until after nightfall, weary, worn out, drooping and feeble.

[1] Presumably 'Muhammad's offence' the pronoun is ambiguous.
Or, perhaps, 'You have no sabbath'

I went up to them in children's clothes as I always did [illegible]

THE JEWS ARE JOINED BY ANSARI HYPOCRITES

The following hypocrites [illegible] passed the lines to informations given him. God knows best about the truth. From Aus of the sections of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik of the subdivision Lauthān b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Zuwayy b. al-Harith. From B. Hubayb b. 'Amr b. [illegible] al-Harith. [illegible] these who withdrew from the apostle on the raid on Tabūk. He said: 'If this man is right we are worse than donkeys.' Uwayr b. Sa'd, one of them, who was closely related to Julās, he having married his mother after his father's death, reported what he had said to the apostle. But first he said to Julās: 'You are dearer to me than any man, the most generous to me, and it is most painful to me that anything should happen to you, and if I keep silence I shall bring my religion into peril.' [illegible] Julās had said. Julās swore by God that he had not said the words attributed to him by 'Uwayr. And God sent down concerning him: [illegible] 'They planned what they could not carry out and they had nothing to avenge but that God and His apostle had made them to be rich out of His bounty. If they repent, it will be better for them, and if they turn back God will afflict them with a painful punishment in this world and the next. In the world they have no friend or helper' (995).[1]

It is alleged that he repented and was known to be a good Muslim. [illegible] was a hypocrite, and when battle was joined he fell upon these two men, killed them, and attached himself to Quraysh (996).

Abu Ādh b. 'Afra' killed Suwayd treacherously when there was no war. He shot him with an arrow before the battle of Bu'ath.

The apostle—so they say—had ordered 'Umar to kill him if he could get hold of him, but he escaped and got to Mecca. Then he went to his [illegible] and joined the hypocrites in their opinion

[illegible] 1

[illegible] B. Dubay'a b. Zayd b. Sirma b. [illegible] Abu Sufyān b. [illegible] he had said to the hypocrites. It was he who said: 'Muhammad is all ears' [illegible] and is a mercy for those of you who believe; and those who annoy the apostle of God for them there is a painful punishment.'

A man of B. al-Ajlān told me that he was told that Gabrel came to the apostle and said: 'I have [illegible] flowing hair, ruddy cheeks, and inflamed eyes like two copper pots. His ears[1] is more green than a donkey's. He carries your words to the hypocrites, in heaven of him.' This, as they say, was the description of Nabtal.

Also from B. Dubay'a was Abu Habiba b. al-Ash'ar, one of those who had been the messenger of the apostle. [illegible] Qudayy. It was these two who made a covenant with God saying, 'If he gives us of his bounty we will give alms and be of the righteous'[1] [illegible] Also of the same [illegible] 'If God restores us safe from this we will give alms and be of the righteous.' [illegible] 'If God restores us safe from this we will give alms and be of the righteous.' [illegible] God and His apostle have pronounced—nothing but a

Abu al-Harith b. Hatib

[illegible]

(1) Of the B. Thalaba were Jibriya b. 'Amr b. al-'Aqlāf and his two sons 358

Zayd and Mujammi'. They were also concerned with the mosque of al-Dirar. Mujammi' was a youth who had collected most of the Qur'an and he used to lead them in prayer. When the mosque had been destroyed and certain men of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf who used to lead their people in prayer in their mosque, died, in the time of 'Umar, Mujammi' was mentioned to act as leader but 'Umar would not have it, saying: 'Wasn't he the imam of the hypocrites in the mosque of al-Dirar?' He replied: 'By God I knew nothing of their affairs. **But I was a youngster who could recite the Qur'an, whereas they could not, so they put me forward to lead the prayers.** These affairs seemed to me to accord with the best account they gave. They allege that 'Umar let him go and lead the prayers of his people.

Of B. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mâlik: Wadi'a b. Thâbit, one of the builders of the Dirar mosque, who said, 'We were only talking and jesting.' So God sent down: 'If you ask them they will say we were only talking and jesting. Say: Is it about God and His signs and His apostle you were [illegible]

about, who deceive themselves? God does not love a mutual deceiver.'[1] Also Qurzula, an ally of theirs.

The sister 'Âsim told me that the apostle used to say: 'He belongs to the people of hell.' As I had he fought as valiantly that he killed several polytheists. But they severely wounded him and he was carried to the quarters of the B. Zafar. The Muslims said, 'Cheer up, O Qurzula, you have done gallantly today and your sufferings have been for God's sake.' He said: '**Why should I cheer up? I fought only to protect my people.**' And when the pain of his wounds became unendurable he took an arrow from his quiver and cut a vein in his hand and thus committed suicide.

Among B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal no hypocrite male or female was known [illegible] except al-Dahhâk b. Thâbit, one of the B. Ka'b of the family of Nu'm b. Zayd. He was suspected of hypocrisy and love of the Jews.

Hassân b. Thâbit said of him:

> Who will tell al-Dahhâk that his views
> Were unable to be glorified in Islam?
> Do you love the Jews of al-Hîra and their religion,
> You liver hearted son, and not love Muhammad?
> Their religion will never march with ours
> As long as men roam the open desert.

I have heard that before his repentance Julâs together with Wadi'a, Rifâ'a and Suwayd used to make false pronouncements of Islam.[2] Some Muslims asked them to go to the sorcerers to settle a matter in dispute between them, while they wanted to refer it to the rabbis who acted as arbitrators in the pagan era. So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou considered those who allege that they believe in what has been sent down to thee and what was sent down before thee who wish to go to idolatry for arbitration when they have been commanded to give up belief in it? Satan wishes to lead them far astray.'[3]

Of B. Khatma from B. al-Najjâr: Rifâ'a b. Wadi'a, Zayd b. 'Amr, 'Amr b. Qays, and Qays b. 'Amr b. Sahl.

Of B. Jushaym of the clan of B. Salima: al-Jidd b. Qays who said, 'O Muhammad, give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not.' So God sent down concerning him: 'Of them is he who says: "Give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not." Surely it is into temptation that they have fallen, and hell encompasses the unbelievers.'[4]

Of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj: 'Abdullâh b. Ubayy b. Salûl. He was the head of the hypocrites. They used to gather to him and it was he who said: 'If we go back to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' This was during the raid on the B. al-Mustaliq and the whole mass of the

Hypocrites' came down about him and Wadi'a a man of B. 'Auf and Malik b. Abu Qawqal and Suwaid and Di'a of the clan of 'Abdullah b. Ubayy. Those were his men who sent secret messages to B. al-Nadir when the apostle besieged them. Stand fast, for by God if you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you. So God sent down concerning them: Hast thou not considered the hypocrites who say to their brethren of the scripture folk, If you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you. God bears witness that they are liars, so far as His words, like Satan when he says to man, "Disbelieve," and when they disbelieve he says, "I am not responsible for you, for my part I fear God the Lord of the worlds."[1]

THE RABBIS WHO ACCEPTED ISLAM HYPOCRITICALLY

The following are the Jewish rabbis who took refuge in Islam along with the Muslims and hypocritically professed it: of B. Qaynuqa': Sa'd b. Hunayf; Zayd b. al-Lusayt; Nu'man b. Awfa b. 'Amr; 'Uthman b. Auf; Zayd b. al-Lusayt who bought with 'Umar in the market of the B. Qaynuqa'. He was the man who said when the apostle's camel wandered off: Muhammad alleges that revelations come to him from heaven and he doesn't know where his camel is! When the apostle heard of what the enemy of God had said and God had told him where his camel was he said, 'I only know what God lets me know. And God has shown me. It is in such and such a glen caught by its rope to a tree.' The Muslims went and found it in that very spot caught up as the apostle had said.

Also Rifa'a b. Hurayma of whom I have heard that the prophet said, 'One of the greatest hypocrites has died today.' And Rifa'a b. Zayd b. al-Tabut of whom the prophet said when there was a high wind as he was returning from the expedition against the B. al-Mustaliq and the Muslims were in great anxiety: 'Don't be afraid, the wind is blowing because a great unbeliever is dead.' When he got back to Medina he found that Rifa'a had died the day the wind blew. Also Salsala b. Barham and Kinana b. Suriya.

These hypocrites used to assemble in the mosque and listen to the stories of the Muslims and laugh and scoff at their religion. When some of them[2] were there one day the apostle saw them talking with lowered voices among themselves huddled together. He ordered that they should be ejected and they were put out with some violence. Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd b. Kulayb got up and went to 'Amr b. Qays, one of B. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Nadir who was the custodian of their gods during the pagan era, took hold of his foot and dragged him outside the mosque, he saying meanwhile: 'Would you drag me out of the dunghill of the B. Tha'laba?' Then he went for Rifa'a b. Wadi'a, one of the B. al-Najjar, gripped him by his robe, slapped his face, and dragged him forcibly out of the mosque, saying, 'Faugh! you dirty hypocrite! Keep out of the apostle's mosque, you hypocrite!' [p. 264]

Thabit b. Hazm went for Zayd b. 'Amr who had a long beard and seized him by it and dragged him violently out of the mosque. Then clenching his fist he punched him in the chest and knocked him down, Zayd crying the meanwhile: 'You have torn my skin off!' 'God get rid of you, you hypocrite,' he answered, 'God has a worse punishment than that in store for you, so don't come near the apostle's mosque again!' [p. 265]

Abu Muhammad Mas'ud b. Aus b. Zayd b. Asram b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Nadir (who was at Badr) went for Qays b. 'Amr b. Sahl who was a youth (the only young man known to have been among the hypocrites) and pushed him in the back of the neck until he ejected him from the mosque.

A man of B. al-Khudra b. al-Khazraj of the family of Abu Sa'd called 'Abdullah b. al-Harith, hearing the order to clear the mosque, went for al-Harith b. 'Amr, a man with long hair, and taking a good grip of it he dragged him violently the whole way along the floor until he put him out. The hypocrite meanwhile swore: 'You are very rough, Ibn al-Harith.' 'Serve you right, you enemy of God, for what God has sent down about you,' he answered, 'Don't come near the apostle's mosque again, for you are unclean.'

A man of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf went for his brother Zuwayy b. al-Harith and put him out violently, saying, 'Faugh! You are doing Satan's work for him!'

These were the hypocrites whom the apostle ordered to be expelled from the mosque that day.

REFERENCES TO THE HYPOCRITES AND THE JEWS IN THE SURA ENTITLED 'THE COW'

The first hundred verses of the sura of the Cow came down in reference to these Jewish rabbis and the hypocrites of Aus and Khazraj, according to what I have been told, and God knows best. He said: 'Alif Lam Mim. That is the book wherein there is no doubt.' The word *rayb* means doubt. Qays:

A guidance to the god-fearing, those who fear God's punishment for abandoning the guidance they recognize, and hope for His mercy through believing in what has come to them from Him. 'Who believe in the unseen and establish prayer and give out what We have provided them with,' i.e. they establish prayer in its prescribed form and pay the [p. 266]

[1] Qur'an lix. 11–16.

[2] Ibn Hisham: 'of the people of the Book.'

[3] It is by no means certain that these men were Jews. The previous sentence implies that they were not. However, they may well be a band half converted to Judaism like so many of the inhabitants of Medina.

[illegible] expecting a (future) reward for it. And those who believe in Me and have been sent down to them and to those who were before them,' i.e. they believe there is no error in what those have brought [illegible] and what the spirits have brought before them, meaning no difference between them nor opposing what they brought from their Lord. 'And are sprung of the Lord and [illegible] the resurrection, paradise and hell, the reckoning and the [illegible] these are those who allege that [illegible] in what was before them and in what has come to them from thy Lord. These live in guidance from their Lord,' i.e. according to light from their Lord and completely answering to what has come to them. [illegible] who prosper, i.e. who attain what they seek and escape the evil they flee from. 'As for those who disbelieve,' i.e. in what has been sent down to them though they are we have long [illegible] 'it is all one to them whether thou warn them or do not warn them they will not believe.' [illegible] that they are [illegible] in the tombs, they have not they repeat the covenant which was made with them with reference to them. They disbelieve in what has come to them and in what they have already [illegible] brought to them in [illegible] and in what [illegible] their [illegible] that they have [illegible] knowledge of them. [illegible] and over their sight there is a covering, i.e. so that they will never find guidance [illegible] they will not believe in the truth which was made to them from the Lord though they believe in all that came before them. For opposing this they will have an awful punishment. [illegible] for answering the prophet relating to making the truth a lie after they knew it.

'And there are some men who say: We believe in God and the last day when they do not believe.' [illegible] the opposing of one and believing and [illegible] to [illegible]. They wished deceive God and those who believe but they deceive only themselves and perceive it not. In their hearts is a sickness, [illegible] God has added unto sickness,' i.e. doubts. A painful punishment is theirs because they lie. And when it is said to them, [illegible] in the land they say we are only making things to right.' i.e. we only wish to make peace between the two parties of the [illegible] Lo! they are the [illegible] and they perceive it not. And when it is said to them, Believe as the people believe they say: Are we to believe as the foolish believe? Do they not know that they are the foolish but they know it not. And when they meet those who believe they say, We believe, and when they go apart to their [illegible] the [illegible] they say: We are with you. We only make sport. Allah will requite them for their sport and [illegible] their transgression blindly. They are those who have purchased error at the price of guidance [illegible] disbelief for faith. [illegible] their trade is not profitable and they are not rightly guided. They are like unto a people who kindled a fire and when it had lighted all that was round about them Allah took their light and left them in darkness wherein they can not see. Deaf, dumb, blind, they will not return to the path. Or (they are) as a downpour from the sky in which there is darkness and thunder and lightning. They put their fingers in their ears because of the thunderclaps in fear of death. Allah encompasses the unbelievers. The lightning almost takes away their sight. Whenever it gives light to them they walk in it and when it is dark for them they stand still. If He willed He could take away their hearing and their sight. Lo! Allah is able to do all things.

Then he says: O men, worship your Lord, addressing both unbelievers and hypocrites, i.e. acknowledge His unity. Who created you and those before you, perchance you may ward off evil. Who has made the earth a bed for you and the heaven a building, and sent down water from heaven and has brought forth fruits thereby as food for you. So make not rivals of God when you know (better)' (303), i.e. do not associate with God rivals which can neither profit nor harm when you know that you have no [illegible]

[illegible] they extinguish it with their unbelief and hypocrisy, and God [illegible] in the darkness of unbelief and [illegible] they are [illegible] they [illegible] to what is good. [illegible] good and [illegible] and hypocrisy. They put their fingers in their ears because of the thunderclaps in fear of death. God encompasses the unbelievers and the fear of death in which they are [illegible] from their opposition and fear of you, they are like the [illegible] in the sunstorm who puts his fingers in his ears [illegible] in fear of death. He sees. God God brings that vengeance upon them, i.e. He encompasses the unbelievers. 'The lightning almost takes away their sight,' i.e. because of the exceeding brightness of the truth. 'Whenever it gives light to them they walk in it and when it is dark for them they stand still.' i.e. they know the truth and talk about it and so far as their talk goes they are on the straight path, but when they relapse from it into infidelity they come to a halt in bewilderment. 'And if God willed He could take away their hearing and their sight,' i.e. because they have forsaken the truth after they knew it. God is able to do all things.

Then he says: O men, worship your Lord, addressing both unbelievers and hypocrites, i.e. acknowledge His unity. 'Who creates you and those before you, perchance you may ward off evil. Who has made the earth a bed for you and the heaven a building, and sent down water from heaven and has brought forth fruits thereby as food for you. So make not rivals of God when you know (better)' (303), i.e. do not associate with God rivals which can neither profit nor harm when you know that you have no [illegible]

which the apostle calls you to the truth about which there is no doubt. 'And if you are in doubt about that which We have sent down to [illegible] servant,' i.e. in doubt about what he has brought you, 'then produce a [illegible] like it and summon your witnesses other than God,' i.e. whatever helpers you can get [illegible] 'if you do not and you cannot [illegible] the truth [illegible] prepared for the unbelievers,' i.e. for those who are in a state of infidelity like you.

[illegible] to appeal to their interest and warn them against breach of the covenant which He made with them in reference to His prophet when

[illegible] 'their error'

[illegible] It is said that the stones were those worshipped by the pagan Arabs.

[illegible] when He created them, and what happened to their forefather Adam and [illegible] Israel,' addressing the Jewish rabbis, 'Remember the favour I showed you,' i.e. My care for you and your fathers, whereewith He delivered them from [illegible] I shall fulfil My part of the covenant.' I shall carry out what I promised [illegible] which were upon your necks because of the sins which you had committed. 'And stand in awe of Me,' i.e. lest I bring down on you what I [illegible] heavenly transformation and the like. 'And believe in what I have sent down confirming what you already have, and be not the first to disbelieve it' [illegible] you know. i.e. do not conceal the knowledge which you have about M[illegible] you not understand?' i.e. would you forbid men to disbelieve in the [illegible] i.e. when you deny that it contains My covenant with you that you must [illegible] contradict what you know to be in My book.

[illegible] with it, how He forgave them and pardoned them; then their words [illegible] and said to them, 'Enter the gate with prostrations and say Hitta,'[illegible] i.e. say [illegible] those after their mockery (307)

With regard to their changing that word, the speech said according to what Salih b. Kaisan from Salih, freedman of al-Tau'ama d. Umayya b. Khalid from Abu Hurayra and someone above suspicion from Ibn [illegible] tions in a crowd saying, 'Wheat is in the barley' (308). (He also reminded them of) Moses praying for water for his people and His commanding him to strike the rock with his staff so that the water gushed forth in [illegible]

ons from which it was to drink. 'And their saying to Moses, "We cannot bear one kind of food. Pray to your Lord for us that He may bring forth w[illegible] for that which is lower? Go down to Egypt: thus you will get what you [illegible] man about whom they differed until God made clear to them his affair after their repeated requests to Moses for a description of the man; further the hardness of their hearts afterwards so that they were harder [illegible] there are rocks which fall down for fear of God. i.e. some rocks are softer than your hearts as sound to the touch to which you were called. 'And God is not unaware of what you do.'

[illegible] party of them who listen to the word of God then change it after they [illegible] another according to what I was told by a scholar. They said to Moses [illegible] His word when He speaks to them. Moses conveyed the request to God [illegible] mountain, and when the cloud covered them Moses commanded them to [illegible] heard. Then he went back with them to the Children of Israel and when he came to them a party of them changed the commandments they had [illegible] ordered you to do so-and-so,' they contradicted him and said that God had ordered something else. It is they to whom God refers

Then God said. 'And when they meet those who believe they say [illegible] through him and he is of them.' So God sent down concerning them- [illegible]

[illegible] 770

kill your people and drive some of them from their houses, supporting [illegible] **know the book and they do not know what is in it, yet they** [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] **n in accordance with the Torah and kill him when the Torah** [illegible] 771

[illegible] **know that God knows what they conceal and what they proclaim, and some of them are gentiles[1] who do not know the book** [illegible] 770

[illegible] **house and**

[illegible] **uidance of His religion. They shall have paradise for ever. He** [illegible] **ever**

[illegible] **and speak kindly to men, and establish prayer and pay the poor-tax,** [illegible]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[illegible] the Torah and the Gospel which God had revealed for them. [illegible] Jews and some you put to death?' Then he says: And they said, Our hearts are uncircumcised, i.e. in coverings. Nay, but God has cursed them for their unbelief. Little do they believe. And when a scripture comes to them from God [illegible] they knew that they disbelieved. [illegible] comes to them what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers.

Ásim b. 'Umar b. Qatáda told me that shaykhs of his people said: This passage came down about us and them. We had got the better of them in the pagan era, we being polytheists and they scripture folk. They used to say to us: Soon a prophet will be sent whom we shall follow; his time is at hand. With his help we shall kill you like 'Ád and Iram.' And when God sent His apostle from Quraysh and we followed him they denied him. God said: And when there comes to them what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers. Wretched is that for which they sell themselves in disbelieving in what God has sent down grudging that God should send down of His bounty upon whom He will of

They have incurred anger upon anger and for the unbelievers there shameful punishment. (1 2)

The double anger is His anger at what they have disregarded of the Torah which they had and His anger at their disbelieving in this prophet whom God had sent to them.[2] Then He told them of[3] the raising of the mountain above them and their taking the calf as a god instead of their Lord. God then said: Say, If the last dwelling with God is for you alone excluding others, then long for death if you are truthful,' i.e. pray for death to which of the two parties is most false with God. And they refused the apostle's suggestion. God said to His prophet: They will never long for it because of what their hands have sent before them, i.e. because they know about thee by the knowledge which they have [illegible] deny it. It is said that if they had longed for it the day he said that to them, not a single Jew would have remained on the earth but would have [illegible]ed. Then He mentions their love of this life and of a long life and God

and to be allowed to live long would not remove him from the punishment, i.e. it would not deliver him from it. The reason is that the poly

[illegible] hope for [illegible] knowledge that he has. Then God said: Say, Who is an enemy to Gabriel? For it is he who brought it down to thy heart by God's permission.

"Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abú Hurayra al-Makki told me from Shakir b. Humayd al-Asadi that a number of Jewish rabbis came to the apostle and asked him to answer four questions, saying that if he did so they would follow him and testify to his truth, and believe in him. [illegible] they would acknowledge his truth and they began: Why does a boy resemble his mother when the semen comes from the man? 'I adjure [illegible] you know that a green semen is white and thick while a woman's is yellow and thin, and the element goes with that which comes to the top?' 'Agreed,' they said. 'Tell us about sleep.' Do you not know that a sleep which you allege I do not have so when the eye sleeps but the heart is awake? [illegible] tell us about what Israel voluntarily forbade himself.' 'Do you not know that the food he loved best was the flesh and milk of camels and that once when he was ill God restored him to health so he deprived himself of his favourite food and drink to get nearer to God?' 'Agreed.' 'Tell us about the spirit.' Do you not know that it is Gabriel, he who comes to me?' 'Agreed, but Ó Muhammad he is an enemy to us, an angel who comes only with [illegible] and the shedding of blood and were it not for that we would follow you.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Who is an enemy to Gabriel? For it is he who brought it down to thy heart by God's permission [illegible] believers' so far as the words: Is it not that when they make a covenant some of them set it aside, nay most of them do not believe. And when an apostle [illegible] the kingdom of Solomon, i.e. sorcery. 'Solomon did not disbelieve, but the satans disbelieved, teaching men sorcery.'[4]

This, as I have heard, happened when the apostle rebuked Solomon b. David among the sent men. One of the rabbis said, 'Don't you wonder at Muhammad? He alleges that Solomon was a prophet [illegible] was nothing but a sorcerer.' So God sent down concerning that: 'Solomon did not disbelieve but the satans disbelieved,' i.e. in following sorcery and practising it. [illegible] Harut and Marut in Babylon and they taught nobody.

Someone whom suspicion told me from Thawr from Ibn 'Abbás that he heard to me: What Israel forbade himself was the [illegible] of the heart

[illegible]

[illegible]

of the family of Zaid b. Thābit told me from Ikrima or from Sa'īd b. Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbās. 'In the name of God the compassionate the merciful from Muhammad the apostle of God friend and brother of Moses who confirms what Moses brought. God says to you, O scripture folk, and you will find it in your scripture "Muhammad is the apostle of God, and those with him are severe against the unbelievers, merciful [illegible]

forehead. That is their likeness in the Torah and in the Gospel like a seed which sends forth its shoot and strengthens it and it becomes thick [illegible]

unbelievers with them. God has promised those who believe and do well forgiveness and a great reward."[12] I adjure you by God, and by what [illegible]

He delivered them from Pharaoh and his works, that you tell me, Do you find in what He has sent down to you that you should believe in Muhammad? If you do not find that in your scripture then there is no [illegible]

from error"[13] so I call you to God and this prophet' (313).

Among those people concerning whom the Qur'ān came down, especially the rabbis and unbelieving Jews who used to ask him questions and annoy him in confusing truth with falsehood—as I was told on the authority of Abdullah b. 'Abbās and Jābir b. Abdullah b. Ri'āb—was Abū Yāsir b. Akhṭab who passed by the apostle as he was reciting the opening words of The Cow: 'Alif Lām, Mīm, That is the book about which there is no doubt.' He came to his brother Huyayy who was with some other Jews and said: Do you know that I have heard Muhammad reciting in what has been sent down to him Alif Lām Mīm, &c?' After expressing surprise Huyayy and these men went to the apostle and told him what had been [illegible]

When he said that he had they said: God sent prophets before you but we do not know of anyone of them being told how long his kingdom would last and how long his community would last. Huyayy went up to his men and said to them: 'Alif is 1, Lām is 30; and Mīm is 40, i.e. 71 years. Are you going to adopt a religion whose kingdom and community will last for only 71 years?' Then he went to the apostle and said, 'Have you anything else, Muhammad?' 'Yes. Alif Lām Mīm Ṣād.' 'This by God is more weighty and longer. Alif is 1, Lām 30, Mīm 40, Ṣād 90, i.e. 161 years.

[illegible] Muhammad, so that we do not know whether you will have a short or long duration.' Then they left him. Abū Yāsir said to his brother Huyayy [illegible] these: 'The plain verses are the mother of the Book: the rest are allusions.'

I heard a scholar above suspicion maintaining that these verses were sent down about the [illegible] when they came to the apostle to ask him about Jesus, Son of Mary.

Muhammad b. Abū Umāmah b. Sahl b. Hunayf told me that he had heard that there were some among a number of Jews, but he did not explain that to me. God knows best.

According to what I heard from 'Ikrima, freedman of Ibn 'Abbās or from Sa'īd b. Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbās, Jews used to hope that the apostle would be a help to them against Aus and Khazraj before he emerged and when they were hard pressed by the Aus they declared to them and conjured them by what God had bestowed upon him. He said to them, Gather to Ahmad. He is that by which we will be victorious over Aus and Khazraj and therefore Muhammad [illegible] Muhammad a long speech in which we were promised and told us that he would be sent and describe him to us.' Salām b. Mishkam, one of B. al-Nadīr said: 'He has not brought us anything we recognize and he is not the one we spoke of to us.' [illegible] they disbelieved in it and [illegible] God revealing [illegible]

Malik b. al-Ṣayf said when the apostle had been sent and they were reminded of the conditions which had been imposed on them and which God had mentioned with them concerning him, [illegible] of them he was believed.'[14]

Abū Ṣalābah al-Fīrūzī said to the apostle: 'O Muhammad, you have not brought us anything we recognize and God has not sent down to you any sign so that we follow you. We have made alliance concerning him [illegible] and made to them pacts and made covenants that [illegible]

[illegible] bring it down to us from heaven that we may read it' bring us proofs for us from the signs, then we will believe you and believe in you.' So God sent down concerning that: 'Or do you wish to question your apostle as Moses was questioned aforetime? So whoever takes for unbelief has wandered from the straight road' (3:14).

Huyayy and Abū Yāsir were the most implacable enemies of the Arabs when God chose to send them an apostle from among themselves and they used to do all they could to turn men away from Islam. So God sent down [illegible] shall give you His orders. God can do anything.'

When the Christians of Najrān came to the apostle the Jewish rabbis came also and they disputed one with the other before the apostle. Rāfi' said, 'You have no standing,' and he denied Jesus and the Gospel; and a Christian said to the Jews, 'You have no standing,' and he denied that [illegible] say that Jews have no standing, yet they read the scriptures. They do not know what they are talking about. God will judge between them on the day of resurrection concerning their controversy, i.e. each one reads in his book the confirmation of what he denies, so that the Jews deny Jesus [illegible] Moses to hold Jesus true while in the Gospel is what Jesus brought in confirmation of Moses and the Torah has brought from God; so each one denies what is in the hand of the other.

Rāfi' said: 'If you are an apostle from God as you say, then ask God to speak to us so that we may hear His voice.' So God revealed concerning that: 'And those who do not know say, Why does not God speak to us or a sign come to us? Those who were before them said the same. Their minds are just the same. We have made the signs clear to a people who are sure.'

Abdullāh b. Ṣūriyā, the one-eyed man, said to the apostle, 'The only guidance is to be found with us, so follow us, Muhammad, and you will be rightly guided.' The Christians said the same. So God sent down [illegible] will be rightly guided. Say, Nay, the religion of Abraham a *ḥanīf* who was [illegible] away: they have what they earned and you have what you have earned and you will not be asked about what they used to do.'

And when the *qibla* was changed from Syria to the Ka'ba—it was changed in Rajab at the beginning of the seventeenth month after the apostle's arrival in Medina—Rifā'a b. Qays, Qardam b. 'Amr, Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, Rāfi' b. Abū Rāfi', al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Amr, an ally of Ka'b's, al-Rabī'

[1] Sūra 2:94, i.e. 'You are not responsible.'

b. al-Rabī' b. Abū'l-Ḥuqayq, and Kināna b. al-Rabī' b. Abū'l-H[illegible] came to the apostle asking why he had turned his back on the *qibla* he used to face when he alleged that he followed the religion of Abraham. If he would return to the *qibla* in Jerusalem they would follow him and declare him to be true. Their sole intention was to seduce him from his religion, so God sent down concerning them: 'The foolish people will say, What made them turn their back on the *qibla* that they formerly observed? Say, To God belongs the east and the west. He guides whom He will to the straight path. Thus we have made you a central community that you may [illegible] you. And we appointed the *qibla* which thou didst formerly observe only that we might know who will follow the apostle from him who turns upon his heels, i.e. to test and find them out. 'Truly it was a hard test except for those whom God guided, i.e. a temptation, i.e. those whom Allāh established. It was not Allāh's purpose to make your faith vain, i.e. your faith in the first *qibla*, your believing your prophet, and your following him to [illegible] you the reward of both of them. 'God is kind and compassionate to men.'

Then God said, 'We sometimes see thee turning thy face towards heaven and We will make thee turn towards a *qibla* which will please thee: so turn thy face towards the sacred mosque and wherever you are turn your faces towards it' (3:15). 'Those who have received the scripture know that it is the truth from their Lord, and God is not unmindful of what they do. If thou didst bring to those who have the scripture every sign they would not follow thy *qibla* and thou wouldst not follow their *qibla* nor would some of them follow the *qibla* of others. If thou shouldst follow their desires after the knowledge which has come to thee then thou wouldst be an evildoer,' as far as the words, 'It is the truth from thy Lord so be not of the doubters.'

Mu'ādh b. Jabal and Sa'd b. Mu'ādh brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, and Khārija b. Zayd brother of B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, asked some of the Jewish rabbis about something in the Torah and they concealed it from [illegible] them: 'Those who conceal the proofs and guidance We have sent down after We have made it plain to men in the book, God will curse them and those who curse will curse them.'

The apostle summoned the Jewish scripture folk to Islam and made it [illegible] b. Khārija and Mālik b. 'Auf said to him that they would follow the religion of their fathers, for they were more learned and better men than they. So God sent down concerning their words: 'And when it is said to them, Follow what God has sent down, they say, Nay, but we will follow [illegible] nothing and were not rightly guided.'

When God made Quraish to fight the apostle reminded the Jews in the quarter of the B. Qaynuqa' when he came to Medina [illegible] called on them to accept Islam before God should treat them as he had treated Quraish. They answered, 'Don't deceive yourself, Muhammad. You have killed a number of inexperienced Quraish who did not know how to fight. But if you fight us you will know that we are men and that you have met your equal.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'Say to those who disbelieve: You will be defeated and gathered into hell, a wretched resting-place. You had a sign in the two parties which met, one party fought in the way of God and the other with unbelieving seeing twice their number with their very eyes. God will strengthen with His help whom He will. In that there is a warning for the observant.'[1]

The apostle entered a Jewish school where there was a number of Jews and called them to God. Al-Nu'man b. 'Amr and al-Harith b. Zayd said to him:

'What is your religion, Muhammad?'

'The religion of Abraham.'

'But Abraham was a Jew.'

'Then let the Torah judge between us.'

They refused, and so God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou not seen how those who have received a portion of scripture when invited to God's book that it may judge between them, a party of them turn their backs in opposition, that is because they say: The fire will not touch us except for a limited time. What they were inventing has deceived them in their religion.'

The Jewish rabbis and the Christians of Najran, when they were together before the apostle, began to dispute. The rabbis said that Abraham was nothing but a Jew. The Christians said he was nothing but a Christian, so God revealed concerning them: 'O Scripture folk! Why do you argue about Abraham when the Torah and the Gospel were not sent down until after his time? Can it be that you do not understand? Behold, you are they who argue of what you know something, but why do you argue about what you know nothing? God knows but you do not know. Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian but he was a Muslim hanif and he was not a polytheist. Those who are the nearest to Abraham are those who follow him and this prophet and those who believe. God being the friend of believers.'[2]

'Abdullah b. Sayf and 'Adiy b. Zayd and al-Harith b. 'Auf agreed among themselves that they should affect to believe in what had been sent down to Muhammad and his companions at one time and deny it at another so as to confuse them, with the object of getting them to follow their religion and give up his religion. So God sent down concerning th[illegible]

[illegible] truth which you know? Some of the Scripture folk said, Believe in the

[1] Sura 3, 10. [2] Sura 3, 58.

[illegible] has been sent down to those that believe at the beginning of the day and they at the end of the day, perhaps they will go back (ut. 8). Believe only in one who follows your religion. Say: The guidance is God's guidance. Let anyone should be given the like of what you have been given or that they may argue with you before their Lord. Say: the bounty is in the hand of God. He gives it to whom he pleases and God is all-embracing and all-knowing.'[1]

Abu Rafi' al-Qurazi said, when the rabbis and the Christians from Najran had assembled before the apostle and he invited them to Islam, 'Do you want us, Muhammad, to worship you as the Christians worship Jesus, Son of Mary?' One of the Christians called al-Rabis or al-Ayham said, 'Is that what you want of us and invite us to, Muhammad?' or words to that effect. The apostle replied, 'God forbid that I should worship anyone but God or order that any but Him should be worshipped. God did not send me and order me to do that, or words to that effect.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'No mortal to whom God has given a book and authority and prophecy would say to men, Worship my servants of God' but Be learned in that you teach the book and in that you study it, as far as the words 'after you had become Muslims' (316).[2]

Adi he did not command you to take the angels and prophets as lords. Would He command you to disbelieve after you had become Muslims? 316

There are mentions how God had imposed on them that on their prophets the obligation to bear witness to his truth when he came to them and their taking his agreement for themselves and he says: 'When God made the covenant with the prophets He said: Behold, that which I have given you of book and wisdom. Then when an apostle shall come to you confirming what you have, you shall believe in him and help him. He said, Do you agree and take upon yourselves my burden? They answered, We agree. He said, Then bear witness, I being with you as a witness' to the end of the passage.

Abu b. Qays, who was an old man hardened in unbelief and most bitter against the Muslims, was conversing on one of them, passed by a number of the apostle's companions from Aus and Khazraj at a meeting while they were talking together. When he saw their unity and unity and their happy relations as friends after their enmity in pagan times he was filled with rage and said: 'The chiefs of B. Qayla in this country having assembled here will be no fair place for us with them.' So he gave orders to a Jewish youth who was with them to go to them and sit with them and mention the battle of Bu'ath and the preceding events, and recite to them some of the poetry composed by each side.

Now at the battle of Bu'ath Aus and Khazraj fought and the victory went to Aus who were commanded at the time by Hudayr b. Simak al-Ashhali the father of Usayd b. Hudayr. Khazraj being led by Amr b. al-Nu'man al-Bayadi, and both were killed (317).[3] 317

[illegible]

[illegible] mutual protection and alliance which had subsisted between them, so God sent down admonishing them and forbidding them to take them to [illegible]

[illegible] against you in sign. Say, Die in your rage', &c.

[illegible] around a certain Finhás, one of their learned rabbis, and another rabbi [illegible] your money in your usurious proceeds, prohibiting you to take interest and [illegible] interest."

[illegible]

[illegible] that is of the steadfastness of things.'

[illegible]

their backs and sold it for a [illegible] Think not that those who rejoice [illegible] praised for what they have not done—think not [illegible] and Ashya and the rabbis like those who rejoice in what they enjoy of [illegible] are niggardly of the hand, not bringing them to wealth and goodness and wanting men to say that they have no done

[illegible] of the helpers advising them not to contribute to the public expenses. [illegible] bounty they have received from God', i.e. the Torah which confirms what [illegible] punishment, and those who spend their money to be seen of men, and [illegible]

[illegible] understand.' Then he attacked him and reviled it. So God [illegible] are in the way. But God knows best about your enemies. God is [illegible] their contents and say 'We hear and disobey, hear thou as one that heareth [illegible] better for them and more upright. But God has cursed them for their unbelief and only a few will believe.'[8]

[illegible] concerning them: 'O you to whom the book was sent, Believe in what We have sent down in confirmation of what you have before We efface

[illegible]

were Huyayy and Sallim and Abu Rafi' and al-Rabi' and Abu Anas and [illegible] first (sacred) book, and they could ask them whether their religion or that [illegible] 'Your religion is better than his and you are on a better path than he and those who follow him.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou [illegible] and wisdom and We gave them a great kingdom.'[9]

[illegible] and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes and Jesus and Job and [illegible] event). God is Mighty, Wise.'[9]

A number of them came to the apostle and he said to them, 'Surely [illegible] their words. 'But God testifies concerning what He has sent [illegible] hear witness. And God is sufficient as a witness.

[illegible] people's attention: 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you [illegible]

Nu'man b. Adā' and Bahrī b. 'Amr and Sha's b. Adīy came to the apostle and he invited them to come to God and warned them of His vengeance. They replied: 'You cannot frighten us, Muhammad. We are the sons and the beloved of God' as the Christians say. So God sent down concerning them: 'And the Jews and the Christians say, We are the sons and the beloved of God. Say, Then why does He punish you for your [illegible] heavens and the earth and what lies between them and to Him is the [illegible] respective to their [illegible] or they repulsed him and denied what he brought them. Mu'ādh b. Jabal and Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and 'Uqba b. Wahb said to them: 'Fear God, for you know right well that he is the apostle of God and you used to speak of him to us before [illegible] Yahūdhā said, 'We never said that to you, and God has sent down no book since Moses nor sent an evangelist or warner after him. So God sent down concerning their words: 'O scripture folk, our apostle has come to you to make things plain to you after a cessation of apostles lest you [illegible] and warner has come to you (now). God is able to do all things.'

Then he recounted to them the story of Moses and their opposition to [illegible] wandered in the wilderness forty years as a punishment.

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī told me that he heard a learned man of Muzayna telling Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab that Abū Hurayra had told them that Jewish rabbis had gathered in their school when the apostle came to Medina. A married man had committed adultery with a married woman and they said: 'Send them to Muhammad and ask him what the law about them is and leave the penalty to him. If he prescribes *tajlīd* (which is scourging with a rope of palm fibre smeared with pitch, the blackening of the faces, mounting on two donkeys with their faces to the animal's tail) then follow him, for he is a king and believe in him. If he prescribes stoning for them, he is a prophet so beware lest he deprive you of what you hold.' They brought the pair to Muhammad and explained the position. The prophet walked to meet the rabbis in the school house and called on them to bring out their learned men and they produced 'Abdullāh b. Ṣūrīyā.

[illegible] B. Qurayza said [illegible] Abū Yāsir and Wahb b. Yahūdhā [illegible] the apostle [illegible] there on that he got to the [illegible] after [illegible] 'Abdullāh b. Ṣūrīyā, 'This is the most learned man living to the Torah' [illegible]

He was one of the youngest of them and when the apostle was [illegible]

[illegible] Sūra 5, 41. The last word might [illegible]

[illegible] that you are a prophet sent (by God) but they envy you.' The apostle went out to them and commanded that the two should be stoned and they were stoned at the door of his mosque among B. Ghanm b. Mālik b. [illegible] those who vie with one another in unbelief sadden thee, those who say with their mouths, We believe, but their hearts do not believe, those Jews who listen to lies, listening for other people who do not come to thee,' i.e. those who sent others and stayed behind themselves and gave them orders to change the judgement from its context. Then He said: 'They change words from their places, saying, If this be given to you receive it, and if it is not given to you, i.e. the stoning, beware of it' &c.

Muhammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukāna from Isrā'īl b. Ibrāhīm from Ibn 'Abbās told me that the apostle ordered them to be stoned, and they were stoned at the door of his mosque. And when the Jew felt the first stone he crouched over the woman to protect her from the stones until both of them were killed. This is what God did for the apostle in exacting the penalty for adultery from the pair.

Ṣāliḥ b. Kaisān from Nāfi', freedman of 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar from [illegible] he asked for a Torah. A rabbi sat there reading it having put his hand over [illegible] 'This, O prophet of God, is the verse of stoning which he refuses to read to you.' The apostle said, 'Woe to you Jews! What has induced you to abandon the judgements of God which you hold in your hands?' They [illegible] and noble origin committed adultery and the king refused to allow him to be stoned. Later another man committed adultery and the king wanted him to be stoned but they said 'No, not until you stone so-and-so.' And [illegible] they did away with all mention of stoning.' The apostle said: 'I am the first to revive the order of God and His book and to practise it.' They were duly stoned and 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar said, 'I was among those that stoned them.'

Da'ūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās said that the verses of The Table in which God said: 'Then judge between them or withdraw from them and if you withdraw from them they will do thee no harm. And [illegible] Qurayẓa. Those slain from B. al-Nadīr were leaders and they wanted the whole blood-wit while B. Qurayẓa wanted half of it. They referred the matter for arbitration to the apostle, and God sent down that passage [illegible]

justly and awarded the bloodwit in equal shares. But God knows which

Ka'b b. Asad and Ibn Salūbā and his son Abdullāh and Sha's said one to another. Let us go to Muhammad to see if we can seduce him from his religion, for he is only a mortal' so they went to him and said 'You know, Muhammad, that we are the rabbis, nobles, and leaders of the Jews and if we follow you the rest of the Jews will follow you and not oppose us. Now we have a quarrel outstanding with some of our people and if we believe in you and say that you are truthful will you, if we appoint you arbitrator between us, give judgement in our favour?' The apostle refused to do so and God sent down concerning them. And judge between them by what God has sent down and follow not their vain desires, and beware of them lest they seduce thee from some of what God has sent down to thee And if they turn their backs then know that God wishes to smite them for some of their sins. Many men are evil-doers. Is it that they are seeking the judgement of paganism? Who is better than God in judgement for a people who are certain?'[1]

Abū Yāsir and Nāfi' b. Abū Nāfi' and Azar and Khālid and Zayd and Lazir and Ashya' came to the apostle and asked him about the apostles he believed in. So the apostle said. 'We believe in God and what he has sent down to us and what was sent down to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes and what was given to Moses and Jesus and what was given to the prophets from their Lord we make no difference between any one of them. And we are submissive unto Him.'[2] When he mentioned Jesus, Son of Mary, they denied that he was a prophet saying, 'We do not

sent down concerning them 'O Scripture folk do you blame us for an

sent down aforetime and because most of you are evil-doers'[3]

Rāfi' b. Harisha and Salām b. Mishkam and Mālik b. aṣ-Ṣayf and Rāfi' b. Huraymila came to him and said Do you not allege that you follow the religion of Abraham and believe in the Torah which we have and testify that it is the truth from God?' He replied, 'Certainly but you have sinned and broken the covenant contained therein and concealed what you

know that there is another god with God?' The apostle answered God, there is no God but He. With that message I was sent and that I preach God sent down concerning their words 'Say, What is the greatest testimony Say God is witness between me and you, and this Qur'ān has been revealed to me that I might warn you by it and whomsoever it reaches Do you actually testify that with God there are other gods? Say I do not testify to that. Say He is only One God, and I dissociate myself from what you associate (with Him). Those to whom We sent the book know it as they know their own sons. Those who destroy themselves will not believe'[1]

Rifā'a and Suwayd had hypocritically affected to embrace Islam and some of the Muslims were friendly with them. So God sent down concerning these two men. 'O Believers, choose not as friends those who have chosen your religion to make a jest and game of it from among those who received the scripture before you, nor the unbelievers, and fear God if you are believers' as far as the words And when they come to you they say We believe, but they come in in unbelief and they went out with it and God knows best about what they are concealing.

Jabal and Shamwīl came to the apostle and said. 'Tell us when the hour will be if you are a prophet as you say So God sent down concerning them. 'They will ask you about the hour when it will come to pass. Say only my Lord knows of it. None but He will reveal it at its proper time It is heavy in the heavens and the earth. Suddenly will it come upon you They will ask you as though you knew about it. Say Only God knows about it but most men do not know'[1] (322).

Sallām and Nu'mān b. Aufā and Maḥmūd b. Dahya and Sha's and Mālik came and said to him 'How can we follow you when you have abandoned our Qibla and you do not allege that 'Uzayr is the son of God?' 339

is the son of God and the Christians say the Messiah is the son of God That is what they say with their mouths copying the speech of those who disbelieved aforetime. God fight them' How perverse they are to the end of the passage' (323)

Maḥmūd b. Sayḥān and Nu'mān b. Adā' and Bahrī and 'Uzayr and Sallām came to him and said Is it true, Muhammad, that what you have brought is the truth from God? For our part we cannot see that it is arranged as the Torah is.' He answered, 'You know quite well that it is from God you will find it written in the Torah which you have If men and jinn came together to produce its like they could not Finhāṣ and Abdullāh b. Sūriyā and Ibn Ṣalūbā and Kinana b. al-Rabī' and Ashya' and Ka'b b. al-Asad and Shamwīl and Jabal were there and they said 'Did neither men nor jinn tell you this, Muhammad?' He said 'You know

well that it is from God and that I am the apostle of God. You will find it written in the Torah you have.' They said: 'When God sends an apostle He does for him what he wishes, so bring down a book to us from heaven that we may read it and know what it is, otherwise we will produce one like the one you bring.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'Say, Though men and jinn should meet to produce the like of this Quran they would not produce its like though one helped the other' (3242).

Huyayy, Ka'b, Abū Rāfi' 'Ashya', and Shamwīl said to 'Abdallāh b. [illegible] 'Tell us who he became a Muslim. There is no prophet coming to Arabia, but your nation is a king.' Then they went to the apostle and asked him about Dhū'l-Qarnayn and he told them what God had sent him about, but from what he had already narrated to Quraysh. They were of those who endeavored [illegible] to ask the apostle about him when there came al-Nadr and 'Uqba to them.[2]

I was told that Sa'īd b. Jubayr said: A number of Jews came to the apostle and said: 'Now, Muhammad, Allāh created creatures, but who created Allāh?' The apostle was so angry that his colour changed and he swelled as there became indignant for his Lord. Gabriel came and continued saying, 'Calm yourself, O Muhammad.' And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: 'Say, He God is One. God the Eternal. He begetteth not nor is He begotten and there is none equal to Him.' When he recited that to them they said, 'Describe His shape to us, Muhammad, tell us his stature and his shape and what he is made of.' The apostle was more angry than before and reached us there. Gabriel came to him and spoke as before. And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: 'They think not of God as He ought to be thought of: the whole earth will be in His grasp at the day of resurrection and the heavens folded up in His right hand. Glorified and Exalted is He above what they associate with Him.'[3]

'Utba b. Muslim freedman of the B. Taym from Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān from Abū Hurayra told me: I heard the apostle say: 'Men question their prophet' to such an extent that one would almost say, New God created creation, but who created God? And if they say that, say to them, He God is One. [illegible] There is a man who chews tobacco in his left and say 'I take refuge in God from Satan the damned' (3243).

A DEPUTATION FROM THE CHRISTIANS OF NAJRĀN

A deputation from the Christians of Najrān came to the apostle. [illegible] were sixty riders. Amongst them there were fourteen of whom three were men of influence, [illegible] the leader of the people, a man of affairs, and their chief adviser whose [illegible] name was al-Ayham and their prelate,

[illegible]

'Abdu'l-Masīh by name; (3) the Sayyid, their administrator who saw to arrangements and general arrangements, whose name was al-Ashraf; and [illegible] their bishop, a learned man and religious leader who controlled their affairs, Abū Hāritha b. 'Alqama, one of B. Bakr b. Wā'il.

Abū Hāritha was a prelate of a province of heavy rank among them, and was a great student, so that he had an excellent knowledge of their religion, and the Christian kings of Byzantium had honoured him and paid him a subsidy and gave him servants, built churches for him and lavished honours on him, because of his knowledge and zeal for their religion.

When they set out from Najrān to see the apostle Abū Hāritha was riding on a mule of his with a brother at his side whose name was Kūz b. 'Alqama (3245). Abū Hāritha's mule stumbled and Kūz said, 'May So-and-so stumble.' [i.e. Curse him!], meaning the apostle. Abū Hāritha said: 'Curse yourself, but may you stumble.' 'But why, brother?' he asked. 'Because by God he is [illegible] that, what stops you from accepting him?' He replied, 'The way these people have treated us. They have given us titles, paid us subsidies, and honoured us. But they are absolutely opposed to him, and if I were to do what [illegible] we would take from us all that we have.' So he pondered over the matter until later he adopted Islam, and went to tell this story, so I have heard.[1] (3247)

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that when they came to Medina they came into the apostle's mosque as he was performing the afternoon prayer clad in Yamanī garments, cloaks, and mantles, with the elegance of men of B. al-Hārith b. Ka'b. The prophet's companions who saw them said that they never saw their like in any deputation that came afterwards. The time of their prayers having come they stood and prayed in the apostle's mosque, and he said that they were to be left to do so. They prayed towards the east.

[illegible] 'Abdu'l-Masīh the 'Aqib, al-Ayham the Sayyid, Abū Hāritha b. 'Alqama, Khuwaylid, Amr, Khālid, Abdullāh, Johannes: of these the first three named above spoke to the apostle. They were Christians according to the Byzantine rite, though they differed among themselves in some points, saying He is God, and He is the son of God, and He is the third person of the Trinity, which is the doctrine of Christianity. They argue that he is God because he used to raise the dead, and heal the sick, and declare the unseen, and make clay birds and then breathe into them so that they flew away,[1] and all this was by the command of God Almighty: 'We will make him a sign to men.'[2] They argue that he is the son of God in that they say he had no known father, and he spoke in the cradle and this is something that no child of Adam has ever done. They argue that he is the third of three in that God says: 'We have done, We have commanded

[illegible]

[illegible] would have said I have done, I have created, and seen, but He is He and Jesus and Mary. Concerning all these assertions the Qur'an came down.

When the two divines spoke to him the apostle said to them, 'Submit yourselves.' They said, 'We have submitted.' He said, 'You have not submitted, so submit.' They said, 'Nay, but we submitted before you.'

[illegible]

But who is his father, Muhammad?' The apostle was silent and did not

[illegible]

coherence: the beginning of the *sūra* of the Family of 'Imrān up to more

[illegible]

that He transcends what they say, and His oneness in creation and authority, without association therein, in refutation of the infidelity they have invented, and their making rivals to Him, and using their own arguments against them in reference to their master to show them their error thereby. 'God: there is no God but He, no associate is with Him in His authority. The Living, the Ever-existent,' the living Who cannot die, whereas Jesus died and was crucified according to their doctrine. 'The Ever-existent' one who remains unceasingly in the place of His sovereignty in His creation, whereas Jesus, according to their doctrine, removed from the place where he was and went from it elsewhere. 'He has brought down to thee the book in truth,' i.e. with the truth about which they differ. 'And He sent down the Torah and the Gospel,' the Torah to Moses and the Gospel to Jesus, as He sent down books to those who were before him. 'And He sent down

[illegible]

which the sects differ in regard to the nature of Jesus and other matters. 'Those who disbelieve in God's signs will have a severe punishment. God is Mighty, Vengeful,' i.e. God will take vengeance on all who deny His

[illegible]

doctrine of Jesus when they make him God and Lord, when they possess the knowledge that he is nothing of the kind, thus behaving with insolence and infidelity. 'He it is who forms you in the wombs as He pleases,' i.e.

[illegible]

that—like every other child of Adam, so how can he be God when he had occupied such a place? Then He says, to lift His transcendence and His essential unity above what they put with Him, 'There is no God but He the Mighty, the Wise.' The Mighty in His victory over those who deny

[illegible]

His creatures. 'He it is who has sent down to thee the book, which has

[illegible]

meaning which has been given. 'And others are obscure', they are subject

[illegible]

changed into what is false and altered by declining from the truth. 'But as to those in whose hearts is a deviation,' i.e. turning away from true guidance, 'they follow what is ambiguous,' i.e. what can be otherwise

[illegible]

trine, 'desiring *fitna*,' i.e. confusion, and desiring an arbitrary interpretation

[illegible]

decreed.' 'And none knows its interpretation,' i.e. what they mean by it,

[illegible]

is. 'Everything comes from our Lord.' So how can there be any controversy when it is one speech from one Lord? 'Then they carry over the

[illegible]

in overtones. 'None but the intelligent take heed' in this way. 'O Lord,

[illegible]

our hearts swerve, though we swerve made through our sins. 'Grant us

[illegible]

of knowledge too' contrary to what they say 'subsisting ever in justice,' i.e.

[illegible]

with God is Islam,' i.e. the religion, the practice, O Muhammad, acknowledging

[illegible]

that which came to thee, namely that God is One without associate.

[illegible]

'We did' and 'We commanded' is to only a [illegible] [illegible] of grace. 'Say: I have surrendered my purpose' to God [illegible] [illegible] have those who follow me. And say to those who received the book and to the gentile [illegible] who have no book: 'Have you surrendered?' For if they have surrendered then will be rightly guided and if they turn then [illegible] is only accumulated on them to deliver the message. And God sees

what they had newly invented and said: 'Those who disbelieve in God's [illegible] nature' as far as the words, 'Say, O God possessor of sovereignty,' i.e. [illegible] Thou wilt. Thou exaltest and abasest whom Thou wilt, in Thy hand is good, i.e. there is no God but Thee. 'Thou canst do all things,' i.e. none but Thou can do this in thy majesty and power. 'Thou causest the night [illegible] the dead and the dead from the living' by that power. 'And Thou nurtures whom Thou wilt without stint.' None has power to do that but Thou, i.e. though I gave Jesus power over those matters on virtue of which [illegible]

Then he admonished and warned the believers and said: 'Say: If you [illegible] and follow me, God will love you and forgive you your sins,' i.e. your past unbelief. 'And God is Forgiving Merciful. Say, Obey God and [illegible] apostle,' for you know him and find him (mentioned) in your book [illegible]

[illegible] explained to them how what God intended to do with Jesus [illegible] one of another and God is a Hearer, a Knower. Then he mentioned the affair of 'Imran's wife and how she said: 'My Lord, I vow to Thee what is in my womb as a consecrated offering,' i.e. I have vowed [illegible]

him entirely devoted to God's service independent of an earthly master. 'Accept (him) from me. Thou art the Hearer, the Knower.' And when she was delivered of him she said: 'O my Lord, I have given birth to a female-[illegible] Lord knew best of what she was delivered, and the male is not as the female, i.e. the two were not the same when I vowed to [illegible] to thee as a consecrated offering. I have called her Mary and I put her in Thy keeping [illegible] and her offspring from Satan, the Accursed.' God said: 'And her Lord accepted her with kindly acceptance and made her grow up to a goodly growth and made Zacharias her guardian; when her father and mother were dead' (38)

[illegible]

'So worship Him. This is a straight path,' i.e. that to which I urge you and

favour from their Lord. 'And bear witness that we are Muslims,

believe in what Thou hast sent down and we follow the apost

Then He mentions His taking up of Jesus to Himself when they decided

and says: 'When God said, O Jesus I am about to cause thee to die and

they purposed as they did, 'and am setting those who follow thee

those who disbelieve until the day of resurrection.' The narrative con-

tinues until he says 'This which We recite unto thee.' O Muhammad, of

how his affair was, 'Then say: Come, let us summon our sons and your

God knows about the corrupt doers. Say, O Scripture folk, Come to a

with Him and some of us will not take others as lords beside God. And if

them to justice and deprived them of their argument.

When there came to the apostle news of Jesus from God and a decisive judgement between him and them, and he was commanded to resort to

began. But they said: 'O Abu 'l-Qasim, let us consider our affairs then we

was. He said: 'O Christians, you know right well that Muhammad

do this you will be exonerated. But if you decide to adhere to your

trust to decide between them in certain financial matters in dispute among them.

Muhammad b. Ja'far said: The apostle said, 'If you agree to me

wanted an office more than I wanted that one and hoped that I should get it. I went to the noon prayer in the heat and when the apostle had com-

until he saw Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah and calling him he said, "Go with

So, said 'Umar, Abu 'Ubayda went with them.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HYPOCRITES

the leader there was 'Abdallah b. Ubayy b. Salul al-Awf of the clan of B.

As the angel shows, the meaning is 'let us invoke God's curse on whichever of us is lying

Khazraj never rallied to one man before or after him until Islam came, as they did to him. With him was a man of Aus whom Aus obeyed, Abū 'Āmir 'Abdu 'Amr b. Ṣayfī b. al-Nu'mān, one of B. Ḍubay'a b. Zayd, the father of Ḥanẓala, 'the washed' on the day of Uḥud. He had been an ascetic in pagan days and had worn a coarse hair garment and was called 'the monk'. These two men were damned through their high status and it did them harm.

'Abdullah b. Ubayy's people had made a sort of jewelled diadem to crown him and make him their king when God sent His apostle to them, so when his people forsook him in favour of Islam he was filled with rancour, realizing that the apostle had deprived him of his kingship. However, when he saw that his people were determined to go over to Islam he went too, but unwillingly, retaining his enmity and dissimulating.

Abū 'Āmir stubbornly refused to believe and abandoned his people when they went over to Islam and went off to Mecca with about ten followers to get away from Islam and the apostle. Muhammad b. Abū Umāma from one of the family of Ḥanẓala b. Abū 'Āmir told me that the apostle said, 'Don't call him the monk but the evil doer.'

Ja'far b. 'Abdullah b. Abū'l-Ḥakam whose memory went back to apostolic days and who was a narrator of tradition told me that before he left for Mecca Abū 'Āmir came to the apostle in Medina to ask him about the religion he had brought.

'The Ḥanīfīya, the religion of Abraham.'

'That is what I follow.'

412 'You do not.'

'But I do! You, Muhammad, have introduced into the Ḥanīfīya things which do not belong to it.'

'I have not. I have brought it pure and white.'

'May God let the liar die a lonely, homeless, fugitive!' (meaning the apostle as if he had falsified his religion).

'Well and good. May God so reward him!'

That actually happened to the enemy of God. He went to Mecca and when the apostle conquered it he went to Ṭā'if; when Ṭā'if became Muslim he went to Syria and died there a lonely, homeless, fugitive.

Now there went with him 'Alqama b. 'Ulātha b. 'Auf b. al-Aḥwaṣ b. Ja'far b. Kilāb and Kināna b. 'Abd Yālīl b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafī. When he died they brought their dispute about his property before Caesar, lord of Rome.[1] Caesar said, 'Let townsmen inherit townsmen and let nomads inherit nomads.' So Kināna b. 'Abd Yālīl inherited his property and not 'Alqama.

Ka'b b. Mālik said of Abū 'Āmir and what he had done:

God save us from an evil deed
Like yours against your clan, O 'Abdu 'Amr,

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[1] i.e. New Rome.

You said, 'I have honour and wealth.'
But of old you sold your faith for infidelity (573).

'Abdullah b. Ubayy while maintaining his position among his people kept wavering until finally he adopted Islam unwillingly.

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the beloved friend of the apostle, told me that the [illegible] there. Said Zayd: The apostle gave me a seat behind him. He passed 'Abdullah b. Ubayy as he was sitting in the shade of his fort Muzāḥim (575). Round him were sitting some of his men, and when the apostle saw him his sense of politeness would not allow him to pass without alighting. 413 So he got off the donkey and sat for a little while reciting the Quran and inviting him to God. He admonished and warned him and preached the good news to him while he, with his nose in the air,[1] uttered not a word. Finally, when the apostle had finished speaking he said, 'There would be nothing finer than what you say if it were true. But sit in your own house and if anyone comes, talk to him about it, but don't importune those who do not come to you and don't come into a man's gathering with talk which he does not like.' 'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa, who was one of the Muslims who were sitting with him, said, 'Nay, do come to us with it and come into our gatherings and quarters and houses. For by God it is what we love and what God has honoured us with, and guided us to.' When 'Abdullah b. Ubayy saw that his people were opposed to him he said:

When your friend is your opponent you will always be humiliated
And your adversaries will overthrow you.
Can the falcon mount without his wings?
If his feathers are clipped he falls to the ground (574).

Al-Zuhrī from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usāma told me that the apostle got up and went into the house of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, his face showing the emotions roused by Ibn Ubayy the enemy of God. Sa'd asked the apostle why he looked so angry as though he had heard something that displeased him, and then he told him what Ibn Ubayy had said. Sa'd said, 'Don't be hard on him; for God sent you to us as we were making a diadem to crown him, and by God he thinks that you have robbed him of a kingdom.'

FEVER ATTACKS THE APOSTLE'S COMPANIONS

Hishām b. 'Urwa and 'Umar b. 'Abdullah b. 'Urwa from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that 'Ā'isha said: When the apostle came to Medina it

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[1] Ibn Qutayba, *Muqaddima*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris, 1947, p. [illegible], has [illegible] for [illegible]. G.-D. [illegible] by [illegible]. The word is a [illegible] and the context seems to require the meaning I have given.

[illegible] would be one of the prophets after him. 'And an apostle to B. Isra[illegible] thereby my prophethood that I am an apostle from Him to you. 'I will [illegible] me unto you, He being my Lord and yours 'and I will heal him who was [illegible] Therein is a sign for you that I am an apostle from God to you, 'if you [illegible] was forbidden you,' i.e. I tell you about it that it was forbidden you and [illegible] can enjoy it and be exempt from its penalties. 'And I bring you signs from your Lord, so fear God and obey me. God is my Lord and your Lord, i.e. disowning what they say about him and proving that his Lord (is God) 'So worship Him. This is a straight path,' i.e. that in which I urge you and bring you. 'But when Jesus perceived their disbelief' and enmity against [illegible] are God's helpers. We believe in God.' This is their saying by which they [illegible] not what those who argue with them say about Him. 'O our Lord, we believe in what Thou hast sent down and we follow the apostle, so write [illegible]

Then He mentions His taking up of Jesus to Himself when they decided [illegible] and says: 'When God said, O Jesus I am about to cause thee to die and to [illegible] they purposed as they did, 'and am setting those who follow thee above those who disbelieve until the day of resurrection. The narration continues until the words 'This which We recite unto thee,' O Muhammad, of falsehood is mangled, of the story of Jesus and of what they differed in regard to him, so accept no other report. 'The likeness of Jesus with God, And listen' 'is as the likeness of Adam whom God created of earth then said to him. Be, and he was. The truth is from thy Lord,' i.e. the report which comes to thee about Jesus, 'so be not of the doubters,' i.e. the truth [illegible] esus was created without a male (intervening), I created Adam from [illegible] Jesus was flesh and blood and hair and skin. The creation of Jesus without [illegible]

[illegible] knowledge has come to thee,' i.e. after I have told thee his story as [illegible] I have brought you of the story of Jesus [illegible] they turn back say: Bear witness that we are Muslims.' Thus he invited them to justice and deprived them of their argument.

When there came to the apostle news of Jesus from God and a decisive judgement between him and them, and he was commanded to resort to [illegible] begin. But they said, 'O Abu'l-Qasim, let us consider our affairs; then we [illegible] come to you later with our decision.' So they left him and consulted [illegible] that they had decided not to resort to cursing and to leave him as he [illegible] them [illegible] evening I will send a firm and trusty man.' 'Umar used to say, 'I never [illegible]

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HYPOCRITES

[illegible]

[1] As the original shows, the meaning is 'let us invoke God's curse on which of us is lying'

Khazraj never rallied to one man before us after him until Islam came, as they did to him. With him was a man of Aus whom Aus obeyed, Abu 'Amir 'Abdu 'Amr b. Sayfi b. al-Nu'man, one of B. Dubay'a b. Zayd, the father of Hanzala, 'the washed' on the day of Uhud. He had been an ascetic in pagan days and had worn a coarse hair garment and was called the monk. These two men were damned through their high station and it did them harm.

Abdullah b. Ubayy's people had made a set of jewelled diadem to crown him and make him their king when God sent His apostle to them, so when his people forsook him in favour of Islam he was filled with resentment realizing that the apostle had deprived him of his kingship. However when he saw that his people were determined to go over to Islam he went too, but unwillingly, retaining his enmity and dissimulating.

Abu 'Amir stubbornly refused to believe and abandoned his people when they went over to Islam and went off to Mecca with about ten followers to get away from Islam and the apostle. Muhammad b. Abu l-'Ariqa from one of the houses of Hanzala b. Abu 'Amir told me that the apostle said, 'Don't call him the monk but the evil-doer.

Ja'far b. 'Abdullah b. Abu'l-Hakam whose memory went back to apostolic days and who was a narrator of traditions told me that before he left for Mecca Abu 'Amir came to the apostle in Medina to ask him about the religion he had brought.

'The Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham.

'That is what I follow.

'You do not.'

'But I do. You, Muhammad, have introduced into the Hanifiya things which do not belong to it.

'I have not. I have brought it pure and white.'

'May God let the liar die a lonely homeless fugitive' (meaning the apostle as if he had falsified his religion).

'Well and good. May God so reward him!'

That actually happened to the enemy of God. He went to Mecca and when the apostle conquered it he went to Ta'if, when Ta'if became Muslim he went to Syria and died there a lonely homeless fugitive.

Now there went with him 'Arqama b. 'Ulatha b. Aus b. al-Abwaq b. Ja'far b. Kulib, and Kinana b. Abu Hubaib b. Amr b. Umayr al-Thaqafi. When he died they brought their wealth to his property before Caesar lord of Rome.[1] Caesar said, 'Let townsmen inherit townsmen and let nomads inherit nomads.' So Kinana b. 'Abd Yalil inherited his property and not 'Arqama.

Ka'b b. Malik said of Abu 'Amir and what he had done

> God save me from an evil deed
> Like yours against your clan, O Abu 'Amir

[1] i.e. Heraclius

> You said, 'I have honour and wealth',
> But of old you said your faith for infidelity (334).

'Abdullah b. Ubayy while maintaining his position among his people kept wavering until finally he adopted Islam unwillingly.

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usama b. Zayd b. Haritha, the beloved friend of the apostle, told me that the apostle rode on Sa'd b. 'Ubada's donkey during his illness, mounted on an ass with a saddle surmounted by a cloth of Fadak with a bridle of palm-[illegible] So he got off the mount and sat for a little while reciting the Quran and inviting him to God. He admonished and warned him and preached the good news to him while he, with his nose in the air, uttered not a word [illegible] nothing finer than what you say if it were true. But sit in your own house and if anyone comes, talk to him about it, but don't importune those who [illegible] he does not like." Abdullah b. Rawaha, who was one of the Muslims who were sitting with him, said, "Nay, do come to us with it and come into our gatherings and quarters and houses. For by God it is what we love and what God has honoured us with, and guided us to." When 'Abdullah b. Ubayy saw that his people were opposed to him he said

> When your friend is your opponent you will always be humiliated
> And your adversaries will overthrow you.'
> Can the falcon mount without his wings?
> If his feathers are clipped he falls to the ground (334).

'Al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usama told me that the apostle got up and went into the house of Sa'd b. 'Ubada, his face showing the emotions roused by Ibn Ubayy the enemy of God. Sa'd asked the apostle why he looked so angry as though he had heard something that displeased him, and then he told him what Ibn Ubayy had said. Sa'd said 'Don't be hard on him, for God sent you to us as we were making a diadem to crown him, and by God he thinks that you have robbed him of a kingdom.

FEVER ATTACKS THE APOSTLE'S COMPANIONS

Hisham b. 'Urwa and 'Umar b. 'Abdullah b. 'Urwa from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that 'Aisha said: 'When the apostle came to Medina it

[illegible] Muqaddima, in Gottingen-Dissertation, Paris, 1927, p. 22, has ya'ibha for yuqa'ibu. C. D. [illegible] The word is a hapax and as the context seems to require the meaning 'have gone.

was the most fever-infested land on earth, and his companions suffered
414 severely from it though God kept it from His apostle. 'Amr b. Fuhayra and Bilāl, freedmen of Abū Bakr, were with him in one house when the fever attacked them, and I came in to visit them, for the veil had not then been ordered for us. Only God knows how much they suffered from the fever. I came to my father and asked him how he fared and he said

> Any man might be greeted by his family in the morning
> While death was nearer than the thong of his sandal

I thought that my father did not know what he was saying. Then I went to 'Āmir and asked him how he was and he said

> I have experienced death before actually tasting it
> The coward's death comes upon him as he sits.
> Every man resists it with all his might
> Like the ox who protects his body with his horns (335)

I thought that 'Āmir did not know what he was saying. Bilāl when the fever left him lay prostrate in a corner of the house. Then he lifted up his voice and said

> Shall I ever spend a night again in Fakhkh'
> With sweet herbs and thyme around me?
> Will the day dawn when I come down to the waters of Majanna
> Shall I ever see Shāma and Ṭafīl again? (336)

I told the apostle what they had said and he remarked that they were delirious and out of their minds with a high temperature. He said, "O God, make Medina as dear to us as Mecca and even dearer. And bless us in its food, and carry its fever to Mahya'a." Mahya'a is al-Juḥfa.[a]

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī from 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ mentioned that, when the apostle came to Medina with his companions, the fever of Medina smote them until they were extremely ill (though God turned it away from
415 his prophet) to such a degree that they could only pray sitting. The apostle came out to them when they were praying thus and said, 'Know that the prayer of the sitter is only half as valuable as the prayer of the stander.' Thereupon the Muslims painfully struggled to their feet despite their weakness and sickness, seeking a blessing.

Then the apostle prepared for war in pursuance of God's command to fight his enemies and to fight those polytheists who were near at hand whom God commanded him to fight. This was thirteen years after his call.

[illegible]

THE DATE OF THE HIJRA

By the preceding *isnād* from 'Abdullāh b. Hishām who said Zayd b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakkā'ī from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq told me that the apostle came to Medina on Monday at high noon on the 12th of Rabī'u l-awwal.

The apostle on that day was fifty-three years of age, that being thirteen years after God called him. He stayed there for the rest of Rabī'u'l-awwal, the month of Rabī'u'l-Ākhir, the two Jumādās, Rajab, Sha'bān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhu'l-Qa'da, Dhū'l-Ḥijja (when the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage), and Muḥarram. Then he went forth raiding in Ṣafar at the beginning of the twelfth month from his coming to Medina (337).

(THE RAID ON WADDĀN WHICH WAS HIS FIRST RAID)

until he reached Waddān, which is the road of al-Abwā' making for Quraysh and B. Damra b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kināna. The B. Damra there made peace with him through their leader Makhshī b. 'Amr al-Ḍamrī. Then he returned to Medina without meeting war and remained there for the rest of Ṣafar and the beginning of Rabī'u'l-awwal (338).

THE EXPEDITION OF 'UBAYDA B. AL-ḤĀRITH

During that stay in Medina the apostle sent 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib with sixty or eighty riders from the emigrants, there not being a single one of the Anṣār among them. He went as far as water in the Ḥijāz below Thaniyatu'l-Murra, where he encountered a large number of Quraysh. No fighting took place except that Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ shot an arrow on that day. It was the first arrow to be shot in Islam. Then the two companies separated, the Muslims having a rearguard. Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr al-Bahrānī, an ally of the B. Zuhra, and 'Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir al-Māzinī, an ally of the B. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manāf, fled from the polytheists and joined the Muslims to whom they really belonged. They had gone out with the unbelievers in order to be able to link up with the Muslims. Mikraz b. Abū Jahl was in command of the Meccans (339).

Concerning this raid Abū Bakr composed the following (340)

> Could you not sleep because of the spectre of Salmā in the sandy wilderness,
> And the important event that happened to the tribe?
> You see that neither admonition nor a prophet's call
> Can save some of Lu'ayy from unbelief
> A truthful prophet came to them and they gave him the lie,
> And said, 'You shall not live among us.'
> When we called them to the truth they turned their backs,
> They howled like bitches driven back panting to their lairs;

With how many of them have we ties of kinship.
Yet to abandon piety did not weigh upon them:
If they turn back from their unbelief and disobedience
(For the good and lawful is not like the abominable);
If they follow their idolatry and error
God's punishment on them will not tarry
We are men of Ghalib's highest stock
From which nobility comes through many branches
I swear by the lord of crowds urged on at even by singing,
Their feet protected by old leather thongs
Like the red-backed deer that haunt Mecca
Going down to the well's slimy cisterns,
I swear, and I am no perjurer,
If they do not quickly repent of their error,
A valiant band will descend upon them,
Which will leave women husbandless
It will leave dead men, with vultures wheeling round,
It will not spare the infidels as Ibn Hārith did.[1]
Give the Banū Sahm with you a message
And every infidel who is trying to do evil
If you assail[2] my honour in your evil opinion
I will not assail[2] yours.

'Abdullāh b. al-Ziba'rā al-Sahmī replied thus:

Does your eye weep unceasingly
Over the ruins of a dwelling that the shifting sand obscures?
And one of the wonders of the days
(For time is full of wonders, old and new)
Is a strong army which came to us
Led by 'Ubayda, called Ibn Hārith in war.
That we should abandon images venerated in Mecca,
Passed on to his heirs by a noble ancestor
When we met them with the spears of Rudayna,
And noble steeds panting for the fray,
And swords so white they might be salt-strewn
In the hands of warriors, dangerous as lions,
Whereawith we deal with the conceited[3]
And quench our thirst for vengeance without delay,
They withdrew in great fear and awe,
Pleased with the order of him who kept them back
Had they not done so the women would have wailed,

[1] i.e. 'Ubayda.
Abū Dharr refers the meaning of this word to the divine announcement. In this line possibly sorrowing rather than 'humour' is the meaning of 'ird'.
[2] Lit., the turning-aside, of him who turns to one side. Possibly the writer has in mind Sūra 31, 17, 'Turn not thy cheek in scorn towards people'.

Bereft of their husbands all of them.
The dead would have been left for those concerned
And those utterly heedless to talk about
Give Abū Sufyān with you a message
You have no further part in the honour[1] of Fihr,
No binding oath that cannot be broken
That war will be renewed in needed from me (341).

Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, according to reports, said about his having shot an arrow:

Has the news reached the apostle of God
That I protected my companions with my arrow?
By them I defended their vanguard
In rough ground and plain.
No archer who shoots an arrow at the enemy
Will be counted before me, O apostle of God.
'Twas because thy religion is true
Thou hast brought what is just and truthful.
By it the believers are saved
And unbelievers recompensed at the last.
Stop, thou hast gone astray, so do not slander me.
Woe to thee Abū Jahl, lost one of the tribe! (342).

The flag of 'Ubayda b. al-Hārith according to my information was the first flag which the apostle entrusted to a believer in Islam. Some scholars allege that the apostle sent him when he came back from the raid of al-Abwā' before he got to Medina.

HAMZA'S EXPEDITION TO THE SEA-SHORE 4

While he was staying there he sent Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib to the sea-shore in the neighbourhood of Al-Is (?) in the territory of Juhayna, with thirty riders from the emigrants; none of the helpers took part. He met Abū Jahl with three hundred riders from Mecca on the shore, and Majdī b. 'Amr al-Juhanī intervened between them, for he was at peace with both parties. So the people separated one from another without fighting.

Some people say that Hamza's flag was the first which the apostle gave to any Muslim because he sent him and 'Ubayda at the same time, and thus people became confused on the point. They alleged that Hamza had composed poetry in which he says that his flag was the first which the apostle entrusted to anyone. Now if Hamza actually said that it is true if God wills. He would not have said it if it were not true, but God knows what happened. We have heard from learned people that 'Ubayda was the first man to receive a flag. Hamza said concerning that, so they allege (343):

Wonder, O my people, at good sense and at folly,
At lack of sound counsel and at sensible advice,

See n. 2 on the previous page

As those who have wronged us, while we have left
Their people and their property inviolate,
As though we had attacked them
But all we did was to enjoin charity and justice
And call them to Islam, but they received it not,
And they treated it as a joke
They ceased not so until I volunteered to attack them
Where they dwelt, desiring the satisfaction of a task well done
At the apostle's command—the first to march beneath his flag.
Seen with none before me.
A victorious flag from a generous, mighty God,
Whose acts are the most gracious
At even they sallied forth together.
Each man's pot burning with his companion's rage
When we saw each other, they halted and hobbled the camels,
And we did the same an arrow-shot distant.
We said to them, 'God's rope is our victorious defence.
You have no rope but error.'
Abū Jahl warred there unjustly,
And was disappointed. for God frustrated his schemes.
We were but thirty riders, while they were two hundred and one
Therefore, O Lu'ayy, obey not your deceivers,
Return to Islam and the easy path,
For I fear that punishment will be poured upon you
And you will cry out in remorse and sorrow.

Abū Jahl answered him, saying

I am amazed at the crimes of anger and folly
And at those who stir up strife by lying controversy,
Who abandon our fathers' ways.
Those noble, powerful men,
They come to us with lies to confuse our minds,
But their lies cannot confuse the intelligent
We said to them, 'O our people, strive not with your folk—
Controversy is the utmost folly—
For if you do, your weeping women will cry out
Wailing in calamity and bereavement
If you give up what you are doing,
We are your cousins, trustworthy and virtuous.
They said to us, 'We find Muhammad
One whom our cultured and intelligent accept.'
When they were obstinately contentious
And all their deeds were evil,
I attacked them by the sea-shore, to leave them
Like a withered leaf on a rootless stalk.

Majdī held me and my companions back from them
And they helped me with swords and arrows
Because of an oath binding on us, which we cannot discard,
A firm tie which cannot be severed,
But for Ibn 'Amr I should have left some of them
Food for the ever-present vultures, unavenged
But he had sworn an oath, which made
Our hands recoil from our swords
If time spares me I will come at them again,
With keen, new polished swords,
In the hands of warriors from Lu'ayy, son of Ghālib,
Generous in times of dearth and want (344).[1]

THE RAID ON BUWĀṬ

Then the apostle went raiding in the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal making for Quraysh (345), until he reached Buwāṭ in the neighbourhood of Radwā. Then he returned to Medina without fighting, and remained there for the rest of Rabī'u'l-Ākhir and part of Jumāda'l-Ūlā.

THE RAID ON [illegible] SAFRA

Then he raided the Quraysh (346). He went by the way of B. Dīnār, then by Fayfā'u-l-Khabār and halted under a tree in the valley of Ibn Azhar called Dhāt'l-Sāq. There he prayed and there is his mosque. Food was prepared and they all ate there. The place occupied by the stones which supported his cooking-pot is still known. He drank from a watering place called al-Mughtarib.[1] Then he went on leaving al-Khalīq on the left and went through a glen called 'Abdullāh to this day, then he bore to the left[2] until he came down to Yalyal and halted where it joins al-Qabū'a. He drank of the well at al-Qubū'a and then traversed the plain of Malal until he met the track in Sukhayrāt al-Yamām which carried him straight to al-'Ushayra in the valley of Yanbu' where he stopped during Jumāda'l-Ūlā and some days of the following month. He made a treaty of friendship there with B. Mudlij and their allies B. Damra, and then returned to Medina without a fight. It was on this raid that he spoke the well-known words to 'Alī.

Yazīd b. Muhammad b. Khaytham al-Muhāribī from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī from Muhammad b. Khaytham the father of Yazīd from 'Ammār b. Yāsir who says that the latter said, 'Alī and I were close companions in the raid of al-'Ushayra and when the apostle halted there we saw

[illegible]

[1] Reading [illegible] and [illegible]

seven sons of B. Malik washing at a well and on the date palms. Ali suggested that we should go and see what the men were doing, so we went and watched them for a time until we were overcome by drowsiness and we went and lay down under some young palms and fell fast asleep at the mid four days. And there no one should wake us but the apostle himself as he stirred us with his feet! It was as we were dusting ourselves that the apostle said to Ali when he saw him covered with dust: 'What have you been up to, Abu Turab' (father of dust)? Then he took us. 'Shall I tell you of the two most wretched creatures? Uqaysir of Thamud who slaughtered the camel, and he who shall strike you here, 'Ali' (and he put his hand to the side of his head—'until this is soaked from it' (and he took hold of his beard).

A learned traditionist told me that the real reason why the apostle called 'Ali Abu Turab was that when 'Ali' was angry with Fatima he would not speak to her. He did not say anything to anyone, but he used to sprinkle dust on his head. Whenever the apostle saw dust on 'Ali's head he knew that he was angry with Fatima and he would say: 'What is your trouble, O Abu Turab?' But God knows the truth of the matter.

THE RAID OF SA'D B. ABU WAQQAS

Meanwhile the apostle had sent Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas with eight men from the emigrants. He went as far as al-Kharrar in the Hijaz. There he returned without fighting. (347)

THE RAID ON BATWIN, WHICH IS THE FIRST RAID OF BADR

The [illegible] only a few nights, less than ten, in Medina when he came back from raiding Al-Usbayra, and then Kurz b. Jabir al-Fihri raided the pasturing camels in Medina. The apostle went out in search of him, until he reached a valley called Safawan in the neighbourhood of Badr. Kurz escaped him and he could not overtake him. This was the first raid of Badr. Then the apostle returned to Medina and stayed there for the rest of Jumada'l Akhira, Rajab, and Sha'ban.

DEPUTATION OF 'ABDULLAH B. JAHSH AND THE COMING DOWN OF THEY WILL ASK YOU ABOUT THE SACRED MONTH

The apostle sent 'Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab al-Asadi in Rajab on his return from the first Badr. He sent with him eight emigrants, without any of the Ansar. He wrote for him a letter, and ordered him not to look at it

until he had journeyed for two days, and to do what he was ordered to do, but not to put pressure on any of his companions. The names of the eight emigrants were: Abu Hudhayfa, 'Abdullah b. Jahsh, 'Ukkasha b. Mihsan, 'Utba b. Ghazwan, Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas, 'Amir b. Rabi'a, Waqid b. 'Abdullah, and Khalid b. al-Bukayr.[1]

When 'Abdullah had travelled for two days he opened the letter and looked into it, and this is what it said: 'When you have read this letter of mine proceed until you reach Nakhla between Mecca and Al-Ta'if; lie in wait there for Quraysh and find out for us what they are doing.' Having read the letter he said, 'To hear is to obey.' Then he said to his companions, 'The apostle has commanded me to go to Nakhla to lie in wait there for Quraysh so as to bring him news of them. He has forbidden me to put pressure on any of you, so if anyone wishes for martyrdom let him go forward, and he who does not let him go back. As for me I am going on as the prophet has ordered.' So he went on and all his companions, not one of them turning back. He continued along the Hijaz until it came to a mine called Bahran above al-Fura', Sa'd and 'Utba lost the camel which they were riding by turns, so they stayed behind to look for it, while 'Abdullah and the rest of them went on to Nakhla. A caravan of Quraysh passing by, raisins and leather and other merchandise of Quraysh carried by them. 'Amr b. al-Hadrami (347), 'Uthman b. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughira and his brother Nawfal the Makhzumites, and al-Hakam b. Kaysan, freedman of Hisham b. al-Mughira being among them. When the caravan saw them they were afraid of them because they had camped near them. 'Ukkasha, who had shaved his head, looked down on them, and when they saw him they felt safe and said, 'They are pilgrims, you have nothing to fear from them.' The raiders took council among themselves, for this was the last day of Rajab, and they said, 'If you leave them alone tonight they will get into the sacred area and will be safe from you, and if you kill them you will kill them in the sacred month,' so they were hesitant and feared to attack them. Then they encouraged each other, and decided to kill as many as they could of them and take what they had. Waqid shot 'Amr b. al-Hadrami with an arrow and killed him, and 'Uthman and al-Hakam surrendered. Nawfal escaped and eluded them. 'Abdullah and his companions took the caravan and the two prisoners and came to Medina with them. One of 'Abdullah's family mentioned that he and his companions, A fifth of what we have taken belongs to the apostle. This was before God had appointed a fifth of the booty to him.) So he set apart for the apostle a fifth of the caravan, and divided the rest among his companions.

When they came to the apostle, he said, 'I did not order you to fight in the sacred month,' and he held the caravan and the two prisoners in suspense and refused to take anything from them. When the apostle said that the men were in despair and thought that they were doomed. I hear Muhammad b. Muslim b. 'Abdullah b. Shihab al-Zuhri

his brethren reproached them for what they had done, and the Quraysh said, 'Muhammad and his companions have violated the sacred month, shed blood therein, taken booty and captured men.' The Muslims in Mecca who opposed them said that they had done it in Sha'bān. The Jews turned this raid into an omen against the apostle. Amr b. al-Hadramī [illegible] Wāqid had killed they said meant *amrun'l-harb* (war has come to life), al-Hadramī meant *hadaratu'l-harb* (war is present), and W[illegible] *waqadat'l-harb* (war is kindled), but God turned this against them, not [illegible]

and disbelieving in Him and in the sacred mosque and dri[illegible] people therefrom is more serious with God." [illegible] If you have killed [illegible]

it when you were its people. [illegible] is a more serious [illegible] killing of those of them whom you have slain. And seduction is [illegible] worse than killing. 'And they will not cease to fight you until [illegible]

heinous acts than that contumacious [illegible]

[illegible] of their enmity in the matter, the apostle took the caravan and prisoners. Quraysh sent to him to redeem 'Uthmān and al-Hakam. [illegible]

[illegible] reward of combatants?' So God sent down concerning [illegible]

[illegible] Ikir said concerning Abdullāh's raid (though others say that 'Ab-

dullāh himself and all whom Quraysh said, 'Muhammad and his companions have broken the sacred month, shed blood therein and taken booty and made prisoners' (351):

You count war in the holy month a grave matter,
But graver is, if one judges right-ly
Your opposition to Muhammad's teaching, and your
[illegible] which God sees and witnesses,
Your driving God's people from His mosque
So that none can be seen worshipping Him there
Though you deform us for killing him,
More dangerous to Islam is the pagan who revies.
Our lances drank of Ibn al-Hadramī's blood
In Nakhla when Wāqid lit the flame of war,
'Uthmān ibn 'Abdullāh is with us,
A richer band straining with blood restrains him.

THE CHANGE OF THE QIBLA TO THE KA'BA

It is said that the Qibla was changed at Sha'bān at the beginning of the eighteenth month after the apostle's arrival in Medina.

THE GREAT EXPEDITION OF BADR

Then the apostle heard that Abū Sufyān b. Harb was coming from Syria with a large caravan of Quraysh containing their money and merchandise, accompanied by some thirty or forty men, of whom were Makhrama b. Nawfal b. Uhayb b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Zuhra, and Amr b. al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il b. Hishām (352).

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī and 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr and Yazīd b. Rūmān from Urwa b. al-Zubayr and other scholars of ours from Ibn 'Abbās, each one of them told me some of this story and their account is collected in what I have drawn up of the story of Badr. They said that when the apostle heard about Abū Sufyān coming from Syria he summoned the Muslims and said, 'This is the Quraysh caravan containing their property. Go out to attack it, perhaps God will give it as a prey.' The people answered his summons some eagerly, others reluctantly, because they had not thought that the apostle would go to war. When he got near to the Hijāz Abū Sufyān was seeking news, and questioning every rider in his anxiety, until he got news from some riders that Muhammad had called out his companions against him and his caravan. He took alarm at that and hired Damdam b. 'Amr al-Ghiffārī and sent him to Mecca ordering him to call out Quraysh in defence of their property and to tell them that Muhammad was lying in wait for it with his companions. So Damdam left for Mecca at full speed.

(352) [illegible] which there have [illegible] in [illegible]

THE DREAM OF 'ĀTIKA D. OF 'ABDU'L-MUTTALIB

A person above suspicion told me on the authority of 'Ikrima from Ib

before Damdam arrived 'Ātika saw a vision which frightened her. She sent to her brother al-Abbās saying, 'Brother

again. Then he seized a rock and loosened it, and it began to fall, until at the bottom of the mountain it split into pieces. There was not a house or a dwelling in Mecca but received a bit of it." al-Abbās said, "By God, this

anyone." Then Abbās went out and met al-Walīd b. 'Utba, who

friend of his, and told him and asked him to keep it to himself. al-Walīd told his father and the story spread in Mecca until Quraysh were

'al-Abbās said, "I got up early to go round the temple, while Abū Jahl

And what do you mean by that?' I said. 'That vision which 'Ātika saw. he

says is true, then it will be so but if the three days pass and nothing hap-

among the Arabs. Nothing much had passed between us except that I contradicted that and denied that she had seen anything. Then we sepa-

nothing much passed between us but I swear by God that I

On the third day after [illegible] while I was asleep, thinking that I had let something slip which I wanted to get from him, I went into the mosque and saw him, and as I was walking towards him an emissary from us that he should repeat some of what he had said and I could attack him for he was a man with sharp features, sharp temper and sharp [illegible] he came out towards the door of the mosque hastily, and I said to myself 'What is the matter with him, curse him, is all his fear that I should attack him?' But he had heard something which I did not hear, the voice of Dhamdam crying out in the bottom of the valley as he stood upon his camel, saying [illegible] mounted on middle-aged and [illegible] when he was saying [illegible] Quraysh! [illegible] transport caravan! [illegible] transport caravan! Muhammad and his companions are lying in wait for your property which is with Abū Sufyān. I do not think that you will overtake it. Help! Help!' This diverted him and me from our affair."

The men prepared quickly, saying, "Do Muhammad and his companions think this is going to be like the caravan of Ibn Hadramī? By God, they will soon know that it is not so. Every man of them either went himself or sent someone in his place. So all went; not one of their nobles remained behind except Abū Lahab. He sent in his place al-'Āṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra who owed him four thousand dirhams which he could not pay

debt. So he went on his behalf and Abū Lahab stayed behind.

Abdullāh b. Abū Najīḥ told me that Umayya b. Khalaf had decided to stay at home. He was a stately old man, corpulent and heavy. 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayṭ came to him as he was sitting in the mosque among his companions, carrying a censer burning with scented wood. He put it in front of him and said, 'Scent yourself with that, for you belong to the women!' 'God curse you and what you have brought,' he said, and then got ready and went out with the rest. When they had finished their preparations and decided to start they remembered the quarrel there was between them and B. Bakr b. Abdu Manāt b. Kināna, and were afraid that they would

The cause of the war between Quraysh and B. Bakr, according to what one of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy from Muhammad b. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab told 43

gone out seeking a lost camel of his in Dajnān. He was a youngster

He passed by 'Āmir b. Yazīd b. 'Āmir b. al-Mulawwaḥ, one of B. Ya'mar b. 'Auf b. Ka'b b. 'Āmir b. Layth b. Bakr b. Abdu Manāt b. Kināna in Dajnān, he being the chief of B. Bakr at that time. When he saw him he liked him and asked him who he was. When he told him, and had gone away, he called his tribesmen, and asked them if there was any blood

[illegible] with Quraysh, and when they said there was, he said 'Any man who kills his youngster in revenge for one of his tribe will have exacted the blood due to him.' So one of them followed him and killed him in revenge for the blood Quraysh had shed. When Quraysh discovered the matter, 'Amir b. Yazid said, 'You owed us blood on what do you claim? If you wish pay us what you owe us, and we will pay you what we owe. If you want only blood, man for man, then ignore your claims and we will ignore ours', and since this youth was of no great importance to the clan of Quraysh, they said, 'All right, man for man' and ignored his death and sought no compensation for it.

Now while his brother Mikraz was travelling in Marr al-Zahran he saw 'Amir on a camel, and as soon as he saw him 'Amir went up to him and made his camel kneel beside him. 'Amir was wearing a sword, and Mikraz brought his sword down on him and killed him. Then he twirled his sword about on his belly, and brought it back to Mecca and hung it overnight among the curtains of the Ka'ba. When morning came Quraysh saw 'Amir's sword hanging among the curtains of the Ka'ba and recognized it. They said, 'This is 'Amir's sword. Mikraz has attacked and killed him.' This is what happened as [illegible] men, and they occupied themselves with chat, until when Quraysh decided to go to Badr they remembered the vendetta with B. Bakr and were afraid of them.

Mikraz b. Hafs said about his killing 'Amir

When I saw that it was 'Amir I remembered the fearless corpse of my dear brother.

I said to myself, 'Go, 'Amir, fear not my soul and look to what you do,

I was certain that as soon as I got in a shrewd blow with the sword, it would be the end of him.

I swooped down on him, on a brave experienced man, with a sharp sword.

When we came to grips I did not show myself a man of ignoble parents.

I slaked my vengeance, forgiving not revenge which only weaklings forgo (353).

Yazid b. Rumân from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that when Quraysh were ready to set off they remembered their quarrel with B. Bakr and it almost deterred them from starting. However Iblis appeared to them in the form of Suraqa b. Malik b. Ju'sham al-Mudlaji who was one of the chiefs of B. Kinâna saying, 'I will guarantee that Kinâna will not attack you in the rear,' so they went off speedily.

The apostle set out in the month of Ramadân (354). He gave the flag to Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hâshim b. 'Abdu Manâf b. 'Abdu'l-Dâr (355). The apostle was provided with two black flags, one with 'Ali called al-'Uqâb and the other with one of the Ansâr. His companions had seventy camels on

which they took it in turns. The apostle with 'Ali and Marthad b. Abu Marthad al-Ghanawi one camel. Hamza and Zayd b. Hâritha and Abu Kabsha and Anasa freedmen of the apostle one camel. and Abu Bakr and 'Umar, and 'Abdu'l-Rahmân b. 'Auf one camel. The apostle put over the rear-guard Qays b. Abu Sa'sa'a brother of B. Mâzin b. al-Najjâr (356).

He took the road to Mecca by the upper route from Medina, then by al-'Aqiq, Dhât Ilirq, and Fi'ru'l-Jawz (357). Then he passed Turbân, Malal (Malaal) Hamdân, Sukhayrât (Yamân, and Sayda then by the ravine of al-Rauhâ' to Shanâkha, which is the direct route, until at 'Irqu'l-Zabya (358) he met a nomad. He asked him about the Quraysh party, but found that he had no news. The people said 'Salute God's apostle.' He said, 'Have you got God's apostle with you?' and when they said that they had, he said, 'If you are God's apostle, then tell me what is in the belly of my she-camel here.' Salama b. Salâma said to him, 'Don't question God's apostle but come to me and I will tell you about it. You swept upon her and she has in her belly a little goat from you!' The apostle said, 'Enough! You have spoken obscenely to the man.' Then he turned away from [illegible]

The apostle stopped at Rûjân which is the wadi of al-Rauhâ' then went on to al-Munsarif leaving the Mecca road on the left and went to the right to al-Nâziya making for Badr. Arrived in its neighbourhood he crossed a wadi called Rûjûbi between al-Nâziya and the pass of al-Safra', then along he rode, then he debouched from it until when near al-Safra' he sent Bisbas b. 'Amr al-Juhani, an ally of B. Sâ'ida, and Adiy b. Abu Zaghbâ' al-Juhani, ally of B. al-Najjâr, to Badr to scout for news about Abu Sufyân and his caravan. Having sent them on ahead he moved off and when he got to al-Safra', which is a village between two mountains, he asked what their names were. He was told that they were Mâsik and Mukhri'. He asked about their inhabitants and was told that they were B. al-Nâr and B. Hurâq,[illegible] two clans of B. Ghifâr. The apostle drew an ill omen from their names and so disliked them that he refused to pass between them so he left them and al-Safra' on his left and went to the right to a wadi called Dhafirân which he crossed and then halted.

News came to him that Quraysh had set out to protect their caravan, and he told the people of this and asked their advice. Abu Bakr and then 'Umar got up and spoke well. Then al-Miqdâd got up and said, 'O apostle of God, go where God tells you for we are with you. We will not say as the children of Israel said to Moses, 'Go and your Lord go and fight and we will stay at home,' but go and your Lord go and fight, and we will fight

[illegible]

with you. By God, if you were to ride on to Birk al-Ghimâd,' we would [illegible] the apostle thanked him and blessed him. Then he said, 'Give me advice, O Men,'[illegible] by which he meant the Ansâr. This is because they formed the [illegible] they stipulated that they were not responsible for his safety until he entered [illegible] did their wives and children. So the speech was aimed that the Ansâr would not feel obliged to help him unless he was attacked by an enemy in [illegible] Sa'd b. Mu'âdh said, 'It seems to if you mean us,' and what he said that he did. Sa'd said, 'We believe in you, we declare your truth, and we witness that what you have brought is the truth, and we have given you our word [illegible] we would plunge into it with you; not a man would stay behind. We do [illegible] in war, trustworthy in combat. It may well be that God will let us show [illegible] pleased him. Then he said, 'Forward in good heart, for God has promised me one of the two parties,'[2] and by God, it is as though I now see the enemy lying prostrate. Then the apostle journeyed from Dhafirân and went over passes called Asâfir. Then he dropped down from there to a [illegible] and left al-Hanân on the right. [illegible] the apostle [illegible] you. He said, 'Tit for tat?' 'Yes,' he replied. The old man said, 'I have [illegible] day. If this is true, today they are in such-and-such a place,' referring to [illegible] the apostle [illegible] the way in which they actually were. [illegible] 'from Mâ'' mean? Is it from the water of Iraq?' (360).

Then the apostle returned to his companions: and when night fell he sent 'Alî and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwâm and Sa'd b. Abû Waqqâq with a number of his companions to the well at Badr in quest of news of both parties, according to what Yazîd b. Rûmân from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me, and they fell in with some water-camels of Quraysh, among whom were Aslam, a slave of B. al-Hajjâj, and Arîd Abû Yasâr, a young man of B. Al-'Âs b. Sa'îd, and they brought them along and questioned them while the apostle was standing praying. They said, 'We are the waitermen of Quraysh; they sent us to get them water.' The people were displeased at their report, for they had hoped that they would belong to Abû Sufyân, so they beat them, and when they had beaten them soundly the two men said, 'We belong to Abû Sufyân,' so they let them go. The apostle bowed and prostrated himself twice, and said, 'When they told you the truth you beat them, and when they lied you let them alone. They told the truth; they do belong to Quraysh. Tell me you two about the Quraysh.' They replied, 'They are behind this hill which you see on the farthest side.' The hill was al-'Aqanqal. The apostle asked them how many they were, and when they said, 'Many,' he asked for the number, but they did not know, so he asked them how many beasts they slaughtered every day, and when they said nine or ten, he said, 'The people are between nine hundred and a thousand.' Then he asked how many nobles of Quraysh were among them. They said, 'Utba, Shayba, Abû'l-Bakhtarî, Hakîm, Naufal, al-Hârith b. 'Âmir, Tu'aymma, al-Nadr, Zam'a, Abû Jahl, Umayya, Nabîh, Munabbih, Suhayl, 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd.' The apostle went to the people and said, 'This Mecca has thrown to you the pieces of its liver!'[3]

Bashas and 'Adiy had gone on until they reached Badr, and halted on a hill near the water. Then they took an old skin to fetch water while Majdî b. 'Amr al-Juhanî was by the water. 'Adiy and Bashas heard two girls from the village discussing a debt, and one said to the other, 'The caravan [illegible] pay you what I owe you.' Majdî said, 'You are right,' and he made [illegible] the apostle and told him what they had overheard.

Abû Sufyân went forward to get in front of the caravan as a precaution, [illegible] Sufyân came to the spot where they had halted, picked up camel [illegible] God,' he said, 'this is the fodder of Yathrib.' He returned at once to his [illegible] alone leaving Badr on the left, travelling as quickly as possible.

sleeping I saw a man advancing on a horse with a camel, and then he [illegible] Uzzayya" (and he went on to enumerate the men who were killed at Badr all nobles of Quraysh). Then I saw him seek his camel in the chest and [illegible] to be killed."

[illegible] Quraysh: 'Since you came out to save your caravan, your men, and [illegible] together, and will respect us in future. So come on [illegible] and as you only came out to protect him and his property, lay day [illegible] that if you have come out with us your heart is with Muhammad.' So Tālib and some others returned to Mecca. Tālib said

> O God, if Tālib goes forth to war unwillingly
> With one of these squadrons,
> Let him be the plundered not the plunderer,
> The vanquished not the victor (361).

[illegible] were on the side of the wadi bed nearest to Medina. God sent a rain which turned the soft sand of the wadi into a compact surface which did not hinder the apostle's movements, but greatly restricted the movement of [illegible] he got to the nearest water of Badr he halted.

I was told that men of B. Salama and that al-Hubāb b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jamūḥ said to the apostle: 'Is this a place which God has ordered

you to occupy, so that we can neither advance nor withdraw from it, or is it a matter of opinion and military tactics?' When he replied that it was the latter he pointed out that it was not the place to stop but that they should go on to the water nearest to the enemy and halt there, stop up the wells beyond it, and construct a cistern so that they would have [illegible] to drink. The apostle agreed that this was an excellent plan and it was immediately carried out; the wells were stopped, a cistern was built and filled with water from which his men replenished their drinking-vessels [illegible] and: 'O prophet of God, let us make a booth (?) of palm-branches) for [illegible] the enemy and if God gives us the victory that is what we desire; if the worst occurs you can mount your camels and join our people who are left [illegible] constructed for the apostle and he remained there [illegible] with Thee and calling Thy apostle a liar. O God, grant the help which Thou didst promise us. Destroy them this morning!' Before uttering these words he had seen among the enemy 'Utba b. Rabī'a, mounted on a red camel of his, and said, 'If there is any good in any one of them, it will be with the man on the red camel: if they obey him, they will take the right way.' Khufāf b. Aymā' b. Rahada, or his father Aymā' b. Rahada al-Ghiffārī, had sent to Quraysh, as they passed by, a son of his with some [illegible] Hakīm,' who afterwards became a good Muslim and used to say, when he [illegible]

My father Isḥāq b. Yasār, and other learned men told me on the authority [illegible] returns said, 'Three hundred men, a little more or less, but wait till [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] till he slay one of you, and if they kill of you a number equal to their own, what is the good of living after that? Consider, then, what you will do." When Hakim b. Hizam heard those words, he went on foot amongst the folk until he came to 'Utba b. Rabi'a and said, 'O Abu'l-Walid, you are chief and lord of Quraysh and he whom they obey. Do you wish to be [illegible] [illegible] "By God, I know that if he speaks the truth we are the victims against us (if I break my word)" he was under my protection [illegible] slain the son of his paternal or maternal uncle or some man of his family [illegible] back and leave Muhammad to the rest of the Arabs. If he [illegible] that is what you want; and if it be otherwise, he will find [illegible] cried to do to him what you (in fact) would have liked to do."

Hakim said: 'I went to Abu Jahl and found him oiling a coat of mail (364)' which he had taken out of its bag. I said to him, "O Abu'l-Hakam [illegible] what 'Utba had said. "By God," he cried, "his lungs became swollen (with [illegible] back until God decide between us and Muhammad. 'Utba does not believe his own words, but he saw that Muhammad and his [illegible] son is among them, so he is afraid lest you slay him." Then he went to 'Amir b. al-Hadrami, saying, "This ally of yours is for turning back with the folk at this time when you see your blood-revenge before your eyes. Arise, therefore, and remind them of your covenant and the murder of [illegible] brother." 'Amir arose and uncovered [illegible] then he cried, "Aiba for 'Amir! Aiba for 'Amir!" And war was kindled and all was marred and the folk held stubbornly on their evil course and 'Utba's advice was wasted on them. When 'Utba heard how Abu Jahl had taunted him, he said: "He with the helmeted garment[illegible] will find out whose lungs are swollen, mine or his (364)." Then 'Utba looked for a helmet to put on his head, but seeing [illegible] that his head was so big that he could not find a helmet to fit him, he wound a piece of cloth he had round his head [illegible] patched man, stepped forth and said, 'I swear to God that I will drink [illegible] Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib [illegible] Ibn Ishaq [illegible] his companions. Then he crawled to the cistern and threw himself into it with the purpose of fulfilling his oath, but Hamza followed him and [illegible] him and killed him in the cistern.

Then after him 'Utba b. Rabi'a stepped forth between his brother Shayba and his son al-Walid b. 'Utba, and when he stood clear of the ranks gave the challenge for single combat. Three men of the Ansar came [illegible] was Afra', and another man, said to have been 'Abdullah b. Rawaha. The Quraysh said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'Some of the Ansar.' Whereupon [illegible] the heralds of Quraysh shouted, 'O Muhammad! Send forth against us our peers of our own people.' [illegible] and arise, O Hamza, and arise, O 'Ali!' And when they came and [illegible] declare his name, they said: 'Yes, there are noble men and peers.' [illegible] 'Ubayda was the oldest of them, and he faced 'Utba b. Rabi'a, while [illegible] not long before Hamza slew Shayba and 'Ali slew al-Walid. 'Ubayda and [illegible] (T. 1318). His leg had been cut off and the marrow was oozing from it. When they brought 'Ubayda to the prophet he said, 'Am I not a martyr, [illegible] Were Abu Talib alive he would know that his words

> We will not give him up till we lie stretched round him
> And be unmindful of our women and children

[illegible] the men of the Ansar declared their lineage, 'Utba said, 'You are noble and our peers, but we desire men of our own tribe.'

Then they advanced and drew near to one another. The prophet had ordered his companions not to attack until he gave the word, and [illegible] strength. He himself remained in the hut with Abu Bakr. I was informed by Abu [illegible] Muhammad b. al-Munkadir [illegible] Ibn Ishaq [illegible]

and said "Take

what had made him do this and he replied, 'O apostle of God, you are

The dust is upon his front teeth

by an arrow. Then while Ḥārithah b. Suraqa, one of B. Adiy b. al-Najjār

If in God's war you've firmly stood
You need not fear as others should
While you are righteous true and good.)'

servant?' He answered, 'When he plunges into the midst of the enemy

O God, destroy this morning him that more than any of us hath cut the cord of kinship and wrought that which is not approved." Thus he con

dismissed himself to death

guarding the apostle for fear lest the enemy should come back at h

God, he replied, 'it is the first defeat that God has brought on the

and I would rather see them slaughtered than left alive.'

sword in him."

He was killed as a martyr in the battle of al-Yamāma

447 met was accompanied by his fellow-rider Junada b. Malik b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam b. Asad who was one of B. Lu'ayy b. al-'Uzzā he said. 'And what about my friend here?' 'No, by God, sons of Muqaddhir, we are not going to spare your friend. The apostle gave us orders about you only.' 'In that case' he said, 'I will die with him.' The women at Mecca could not see that I intended my friend to save my life. When the news reached them that al-Mujaddhir came at him and he insisted on fighting

> A man of the free betrays not his friend
> Till he's dead, or sees him safe on his way

The result was that al-Mujaddhir killed him and composed these lines thereon

> Do you not know or have you forgotten?
> Then note well my line is from Bakr
> Those who thrust with Yazanī spears
> Scattering down chiefs and bringing them low.
> Tell Bakhtari that he is bereaved of his father
> Or tell my son the like of me
> I am he of whom it is said my origin is in Bakr
> When I thrust in my spear it breaks almost double
> I kill my opponent with a sharp Mashrafī sword,
> I yearn for death like a camel overfull with milk
> You will not see Mujaddhir telling a lie (368).

Then al-Mujaddhir went to the apostle and told him that he had done his best to take him prisoner and bring him to him but that he had insisted on fighting and the result had been fatal to him (369).

448 Yahya b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me on the authority of his father; and 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr and others on the authority of 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Awf told me the same, saying: 'Umayya b. Khalaf was a friend of mine in Mecca and my name was 'Abd 'Amr, but I was called 'Abdu'l-Rahmān when I became a Muslim. When we used to meet in Mecca he would say, "Do you dislike the name your parents gave you?" and I would say yes, and he would say, "As for me, I do not know al-Rahmān so adopt a name which I can call you between ourselves. You won't reply to your original name, and I won't use one I don't know." When he said, "O 'Abdu 'Amr," I would reply, "O Abū 'Alī," and he called me 'Abdu'l-Ilāh, and I accepted the name from him. On the day of Badr I passed by him attending to his own affairs, holding him by the hand. I was carrying some of my mail which I had looted, and when he saw me he said, "O 'Abdu 'Amr," but I would not answer until he said, "O 'Abdu'l-Ilāh." Then he said, "Will you take my prisoner, for I am more valuable than these coats of mail which you have?" "By God I will," I said. So I threw away the mail and took him and he took by the hand, he crying the while "I never saw a day

like this. Have you no use for milk?" Then I walked off with the pair of

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'Abdu'l-Wāhid b. Abū 'Awn from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm from his father 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf told me that the latter said: 'Umayya said to me as I walked between them holding their hands, "Who is that man who is wearing an ostrich feather on his breast?" When I told him it was Hamza he said that it was he who had done them so much damage. As I was leading them away Bilāl saw him with me. Now it was Umayya who used to torture Bilāl in Mecca to make him abandon Islām, bringing him out to the scorching heat of the sun, laying him on his back, and putting a great

religion of Muhammad, and Bilāl kept saying 'One! One!' As soon as he

he lives.' I said, 'Will you attack (my) prisoners?' But he kept crying these words in spite of my remonstrances until finally he shouted at the top of his voice, 'O God's Helpers, the arch-infidel Umayya b. Khalaf. May I not live if he lives.' The people formed a ring round us as I was protecting him. Then a man drew his sword and cut off his son's foot so that he fell down and Umayya let out a cry such as I have never heard, and I said to him 'Make your escape' (though he had no chance of escape) 'I can do nothing for you.' They hewed them to pieces with their swords until they were dead. Abdu'l-Rahmān used to say, 'God have mercy on Bilāl! I lost my coats of mail and he deprived me of my prisoners.'

Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me he was told as from Ibn 'Abbās: 'A man of B. Ghifār told me: I and a cousin of mine went up a hill from which we could look down on Badr, we being polytheists waiting to see the result of the battle so that we could join in the looting. And while we were on the hill a cloud came near and we heard the neighing of horses and I heard one saying: "Forward, Hayzūm!"[a] As for my cousin, his heart burst asunder and he died on the spot. I almost perished, then I pulled myself together.'

Abdullah b. Abū Bakr from one of B. Sā'ida from Abū Usayd Mālik b. Rabī'a who was present at Badr told him after he had lost his sight: 'If I were in Badr today and had my sight I could show you the glen from which the angels emerged. I have not the slightest doubt on the point.'

My father Isḥāq b. Yasār from men of B. Māzin b. al-Najjār from Abū Dā'ūd al-Māzinī, who was at Badr, told me: 'I was pursuing a polytheist at Badr to smite him, when his head fell off before I could get at him with my sword, and I knew that someone else had killed him.'

One above suspicion from Miqsam, freedman of 'Abdullah b. al-Hārith from 'Abdullah b. 'Abbās, told me, 'The sign of the angels at Badr was white turbans flowing behind them; at Hunayn they wore red turbans.' (370)

One above suspicion from Miqsam from Ibn 'Abbās told me: 'The angels

[a] Abbās ... behind him ... behind him.

* The name of a horse.

[illegible] reinforcements, but they did not fight.

As he was fighting that day Abū Jahl was saying

> What has Jerico war to do with me
> A young he-camel with razor-like teeth?
> For this very purpose did my mother bear me (372)

When the apostle had finished with the enemy he ordered that Abū Jahl should be looked for among the slain. ('T He said, 'O God, don't let him escape Thee!') The first man to find him—so Thaur b. Yazīd from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās told me—as well as 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr who told me the same—was Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ, brother of B. Salama, whom they reported as saying: I heard the people saying when Abū Jahl was spoken of thus: 'Abū'l-Ḥakam cannot be got at' (373). When I heard that I made it my business, and made for him. When I got within striking distance I fell upon him and fetched him a blow which sent his foot and half his shank flying. I can only liken it to a date-stone flying from the pestle when it is beaten. His son 'Ikrima struck me on the shoulder and severed my arm and it hung by the skin from my side, and the battle compelled me to leave him. I fought the whole of the day dragging my arm behind me and when it became painful to me I put my foot on it and standing on it I tore it off. He lived after that until the reign of 'Uthmān.

Mu'awwidh b. 'Afrā' passed Abū Jahl as he lay there helpless and smote him until he left him at his last gasp. He himself went on fighting until he was killed. Then 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd passed by Abū Jahl when the apostle had ordered that he was to be searched for among the slain. I have heard [illegible] they went to look for the trace of a scar on his knee. When they took were [illegible] his knees and one of them was stretched so deeply that it left a permanent scar. 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd said that he found him at his last gasp and put his foot on his neck (for he had once climbed at him and punched him in Mecca), and said to him: 'Has God put you to shame, you enemy of God?' He [illegible] 'Do I [illegible] when a man you have killed?' 'Tell me how the battle went.' He told him that it went in favour of God and His [illegible]

[illegible] 'You have climbed high, you little shepherd.' Then I cut off his head and brought it to the apostle saying, 'This is the head of the enemy of God, Abū Jahl.' He said, 'By God than Whom there is no other, is it?' (This used to be his oath.) 'Yes,' I said, and I threw his head before the apostle and he gave thanks to God (374).

'I killed b. Mālik b. Hurāsha al-Ḥanafī, ally of B. 'Abdu Shams, thought he [illegible] He came to the apostle [illegible] to fight there that. [illegible] sword, and he fought with it until God gave victory to the Muslims. The [illegible] with the apostle [illegible] Tulaytila b. Ḥabīb [illegible] and they in which he said about it

> What do you think about a people when you kill them?
> Are they not sons though they are not Muslims
> If clouds and manes were captured
> You will not get away scotheless after killing Ḥibāl
> I see Ḥanāla's breast against them—a mane well used to
> The cry of 'Warriors down to the fight!'
> (Just they see me her protected and covered,
> Another day unencumbered dash to the fray)
> The night I left Ibn Aqram lying
> And 'Ukkāsha the Ghanwian dead on the field (375).

When the apostle said, 'Some of my people shall enter Paradise like the full moon.' [illegible] the apostle [illegible] and the apostle said, 'Do not [illegible] and the present is cold.'

I have heard [illegible] the apostle said [illegible] the last [illegible] the apostle answered, 'He is not yours but sent through alliance' (376).

Yūnus b. Bukayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'Ā'isha told me that the [illegible] within his armour so that it filled it and when they went to move him he [illegible] upon it. As they threw them into the pit the apostle stood and said: 'O people of the pit, have you found that what [illegible] true? For I have found what my Lord promised me is true.' The companions [illegible] said: 'Are you speaking to dead people?' He answered: 'Not [illegible] what I say [illegible] when he said: 'Do you hear what [illegible] what I say [illegible] hear them?'

Humayd al-Tawīl told me that Anas b. Mālik said: 'The apostle's companions heard him saying in the middle of the night: "O people of the pit—O 'Utba, O Shayba, O Umayya, O Abū Jahl," enumerating all who had been thrown into the pit: "Have you found that what God promised you is true? I have found that what my Lord promised me is true." The Muslims said: "Are you calling to dead bodies?" He answered: "You cannot hear what I say better than they, but they cannot answer me."'

A learned person told me that the apostle said that day: 'O people of the pit, you were an evil kinsfolk to your prophet. You called me a liar when others believed me, you cast me out when others took me in, you fought against me when others fought on my side.' Then he added: 'Have you found that what your Lord promised you is true?'

Hassān b. Thābit said:

I recognize the dwellings of Zaynab on the sandhill
Looking like the writing of revelation on dirty old paper.[a]
Winds blow over them and every dark cloud
Pours down its heavy rain.
Its traces obscured and deserted
Were once the abodes of dearly loved friends.
Abandon thy constant remembrance of them,
Quench the heat of the sorrowing breast.
Tell the truth about that in which there is no shame,
Not the tale of a liar
Of what God did on the day of Badr,
Giving us victory over the polytheists.
The day when their multitude was like Hirā'
Whose foundations appear at sunset.
We met them with a company
Like lions of the jungle young and old
456 In defence of Muhammad in the heat of war
Helping him against the enemy.
In their hands were sharp swords
And well-tried shafts with thick knots.
The sons of Aws the leaders, helped by
The sons of al-Najjār in the strong religion.
Abū Jahl we left lying prostrate
And 'Utba we left on the ground.
Shayba too with others
Of noble name and descent.
The apostle of God called to them
When we cast them into the pit together,
'Have you found that I spoke the truth?
And the command of God takes hold of the beam?'

[a] I follow Ibn Hishām's suggestion for the meaning of *qalām*.

'They spoke not. Had they spoken they would have said,
'Thou wast right and thy judgment was sound.'

When the apostle gave the order for them to be thrown into the pit 'Utba was dragged to it. I have been told that the apostle looked at the face of his son Abū Hudhayfa, and so he was sad and his colour had changed. He said, 'I fear that you feel deeply the fate of your father' or words to that effect. 'No,' he said, 'I have no misgivings about my father and his death, but I used to know my father as a wise, cultured, and fortunate man and so I hoped that he would be guided to Islam. When I saw what had befallen him and that he had died in unbelief after my hopes for him it saddened me.' The apostle blessed him and spoke kindly to him.

I have been told that the Qur'ān came down about certain men who were killed at Badr: 'Those whom the angels took who were wronging themselves they asked, What were you (doing)? They said: We were oppressed in the earth. They said: Was not God's earth wide enough that you could have migrated therein? As for them their habitation will be hell—an evil 456
resort.' They were: al-Hārith b. Zam'a, Abū Qays b. al-Fākih, Abū Qays b. al-Walīd, Ali b. Umayya, and al-'As b. Munabbih. These had been Muslims while the apostle was in Mecca. When he migrated to Medina their fathers and families in Mecca shut them up and seduced them and they let themselves be seduced. Then they joined their people in the expedition to Badr and were all killed.

Then the apostle ordered that everything that had been collected in the camp should be brought together, and the Muslims quarrelled about it. Those who had collected it claimed it, and those who had fought and pursued the enemy claimed that had it not been for them there would have been no booty and that had they not engaged the enemy they would not have been able to get anything, while those who were guarding the apostle lest the enemy should attack him claimed that they had an equal right, for they had wanted to fight the enemy and they had wanted to seize the booty when there was none to defend it, but they were afraid that the enemy might return to the charge and so they kept their position round the apostle.

Abdu'l-Rahmān b. al-Hārith and others of our friends from Sulaymān b. Mūsā from Makhūl from Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī (*sic*) said: 'I asked 'Ubāda b. al-Sāmit about the chapter of *al-Anfāl* and he said that it came down concerning those who took part in the battle of Badr when they quarrelled about the booty and showed their evil nature. God took it out of their hands and gave it to the apostle, who he divided it equally among the Muslims.'

Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that Mālik b. Rabī'a one of B. Sā'ida 457
from Abū Usayd al-Sā'idī said: 'I got a sword belonging to B. Ādām the Makhzūmites which was called al-Marzubān, and when the apostle ordered

[illegible] to [illegible] as what they had taken I came and threw it into the heap of spoils. Now the apostle never held back anything he was asked for and [illegible] b. Abu [illegible] [illegible] I told him he said the apostle gave it him.'

Then the apostle sent 'Abdullah b. Rawaha with the good news of the victory to the people of Upper Medina, and Zayd b. Haritha to the people of Lower Medina. I asking b. Zayd said: 'The news came to us as we had heaped earth on Ruqayya the apostle's daughter who was married to 'Uthman b. 'Affan (the apostle having left me behind with 'Uthman to look after her), that Zayd b. Hāritha had come. So I went to him as he was standing in the place of prayer surrounded by the people, and he was saying: 'Utba and Shayba and Abū Jahl and Zama'a and Abu'l-Bakhtari and Umayya and Nubayh and Munabbih have been slain.' I said, 'Is this true, my father?' and he said, 'Yes, by God it is, my son.'

Then the apostle began his return journey to Medina with the following prisoners, among whom were: 'Uqba b. Abu Mu'ayt and al-Nadr b. al-Hārith. The apostle entrusted with him the leaders that had been taken from the polytheists and put 'Abdullah b. Ka'b in charge of them. A regular poet of the Muslims [illegible] said:

> Start your camels, O Rawha!
> There's no halting-place in Dhū Ṭalḥ
> Nor in the desert of Ghamayr a pen
> The people's camels cannot be hobbled up.
> So to set them on the way is wise
> God having given victory and Akhnas having fled,

Then the apostle went forward until when he came out of the pass of al-Safra he halted on the sandhill between the pass and al-Nāziya called Sayr in a vale there and divided the booty which God had granted to the Muslims equally. Then he marched until he reached Rauḥā' where the Muslims met him congratulating him and the Muslims on the victory God had given him. Salama b. Salama—so 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and Yazīd b. Rumān told me—said: 'What are you congratulating us about? By God, we only met some bald old women like the mangy camels which are hobbled, and we slaughtered them.' The apostle smiled and said, 'But, nephew, these were the chiefs (ṣīd). When the apostle was at al-Sayr al-Nadr was killed by 'Ali, as a learned Muslim told me. When he was in Irqa' Lubna (?) was killed (?). He had been captured by 'Abdullah b. Salama, one of the B. al-'Ajlān.

When the apostle ordered him to be killed 'Uqba said: 'But who will look after my children, O Muhammad?' 'Hell,' he said, and 'Asim b. Thābit b. Abu'l-Aqlah al-Anṣārī killed him according to what Abū 'Ubayda b. Muhammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir told me (364).

[illegible]

Abu Rifā'a, freedman of Fawwāz b. 'Amr al-Bayāḍī, was the apostle's slave with a pot full of barley and dates (365). He had stayed behind from Badr but was present at all the other battles and afterwards became the apostle's scribe. The apostle said, 'Abū Rifā'a is one of the Anṣār' (secretary with us here), and they did so.

The apostle arrived in Medina a day before the prisoners. 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that Tabit b. Aqchasim b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Sa'd b. Zurāra said that the prisoners were brought in when Sawda d. Zama'a, the wife of the prophet, was with the daughters of 'Afra' where they were for wailing. Ibn Ishāq [illegible] 'Afra' [illegible] being before the tent was lowered on them. Sawda said: 'As I was with them, suddenly a voice said: "Here are the prisoners." and I returned to my house where the apostle was. And there was Abū Yazīd Suhayl b. 'Amr in a corner of the room with his hands tied to his neck. I could hardly contain myself when I saw Abū Yazīd in this state and I said, "O Abu Yazīd, you surrendered yourself readily. You ought to have died a noble death." Suddenly the prophet's voice startled me: "Sawda, would you stir up trouble against God and his apostle?" I said, "By God, I could hardly contain myself when I saw Abū Yazīd in this state and that is why I said what I did."

Nubayh b. Wahb brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār told me that the apostle [illegible]

Now Abū 'Azīz b. 'Umayr b. Hishām, brother of Mus'ab b. 'Umayr by the same mother and father, was among the prisoners and he said, 'My brother Mus'ab passed by me as one of the Anṣār was binding me and he said: "Bind him fast, for his mother is a wealthy woman, perhaps she will redeem him from you." I was with a number of the Anṣār when they brought me from Badr, and when they sat down morning and evening meals they gave me the bread and me the dates therefrom in accordance with the orders that the apostle had given about us. If anyone had a morsel of bread he gave it to me. I felt ashamed and returned it to one of them but he returned it to me untouched' (364).

The first to come to Mecca with news of the disaster was al-Haysumān b. 'Abdullah al-Khuzā'ī, and when they asked his news he enumerated all the Quraysh chiefs who had been killed. Safwān, who was sitting in the Hijr, said: 'This fellow is out of his mind. Ask him about me.' So they said: 'What happened to Safwān b. Umayya?' He answered, 'There he is sitting in the Hijr, and by God I saw his father and his brother when they [illegible]' (?).

Hamza b. 'Abdullah b. 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abbās from Thawba, freedman of Ibn 'Abbās, told me that Abu Rāfi', freedman of the apostle, said: 'I used to be a slave of 'Abbās. Islam had entered among us, the people of the house. * 'Abbās had become a Muslim,' and so had Umm Fadl, and so had I. But 'Abbās was afraid of his people and desisted to go against them, as he hid his faith. He had a great deal of money scattered among the

[illegible]

people. Abū Lahab had stayed behind from the Badr expedition sending in his stead al-'Āṣ b. Hishām, for that is what they did—any man who stayed behind sent another in his place. And when news came of the Quraysh massacre at Badr we had humiliated Abū Lahab and put him to shame while we found ourselves in a position of power and respect. Now I was a weak man and I used to make arrows, sharpening them in the tent of Zamzam; and by God I was sitting there with Umm al-Faḍl sharpening [illegible] delighted with the news that had come, up came Abū Lahab dragging his feet in ill temper and sat down at the end of the tent with his back to mine. As he was sitting there people said, "Here is Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib (385) just arrived." Abū Lahab said, "Come here, for you have news." So he came and sat with him while the people stood round, and when he asked his nephew for the news he said, "As soon as we met the party we turned our backs and they were killing [illegible] for that. We met men in white on piebald horses between heaven and earth, and by God they spared nothing and none could withstand them." So I lifted the rope of the tent and said, "Those were the angels." Abū Lahab struck me violently in the face. I leapt at him, but he knocked me [illegible] Umm'l-Faḍl went and got one of the supports of the tent and split his head with a blow which left a nasty wound, saying, "You think you can despise him now his master is away?" He got up and turned tail humiliated. He only lived for another week, for God smote him with pustules, from which he died.

(T. 1340. 10. His two sons left him unburied for two or three nights so that the house stank (for the Quraysh dread pustules and the like as men dread plague) until finally a man said to them, "It is disgraceful. Are you not ashamed that your father should stink in his house while you do not cover him from the sight of men?" They replied that they were afraid of those ulcers. He offered to go with them. They did not wash the body but threw water over it from a distance without touching it. Then they took it up and buried it on the high ground above Mecca by a wall and [illegible]

Ibn Ḥumayd said that Salamah b. al-Faḍl said that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said that al-'Abbās b. 'Abdullāh b. Ma'bad from one of his family on the authority of 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās said: "On the night of Badr when the prisoners were safely guarded, the apostle could not sleep during the first part of the night. When his companions asked him the reason he said: 'I heard the writhing of al-'Abbās in his prison.' So they got up and liberated him whereupon the apostle slept soundly."

On the same authority I heard that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said: "al-Ḥusayn b. 'Urfuṭa said the Banū al-Ḥusayn b. [illegible] quoted from Maymūn from Ibn 'Abbās: The man who captured al-'Abbās was Abū al-Yasar Ka'b b. 'Amr brother of the B. Salima. Abū'l-Yasar was a compact little man

while al-'Abbās was bulky. When the apostle asked the former how he had managed to capture him, he said that a man such as he had never seen before or afterwards had helped him, and when he described him, the apostle said, "A noble angel helped you against him."

(Yaḥyā b. al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥārith on the authority of Yūnus b. Bukayr recorded that the [illegible] was her [illegible] Umm'l-Faḍl, when she was a baby crawling before him and said, "If she grows up and I am still alive I will marry her." But he died before she grew up and Subay'a b. al-Aswad b. 'Abdu'l-Asad al-Makhzūmī married her and she bore him Ruqayyah and Zaynab.

They did not bury Abū Lahab, but he was put against a wall and stones were thrown upon him from behind the wall until he was covered. It is said that when [illegible] who passed the place she used to say here [illegible]

Yaḥyā b. 'Abbās b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr (from his father) Abbād told me that Quraysh hesitated there saying: "Then they said: 'Do not do this, for the news will reach Muḥammad and his companions and they will rejoice over your misfortune, and do not send messengers about your grievance but hold back so that Muḥammad and his companions may not demand successive ransoms.' Al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib had lost three of his sons: Zam'a, 'Aqīl, and al-Ḥārith b. Zam'a, and he wanted to bewail them. Nevertheless he heard a weeping woman, and as he was blind he said to servants to go and see whether lamentations had been permitted for Quraysh were weeping over their dead he might weep for Zam'a Abū Ḥakīma, but he was restrained by a burning sorrow. The servants returned to see what it was a woman weeping over a camel she had lost. Thereupon he said:

> Does she weep because she has lost a camel?
> And does that keep her awake all night?
> Weep not over a young camel
> But over Badr where hopes were dashed to the ground.
> Over Badr the home of the sons of Qusayy,
> And Makhzūm and the clan of Abu'l-Walīd,
> Weep if you must weep over 'Aqīl,
> Weep for Ḥārith the lion of lions,
> Weep unceasingly for them all,
> For Abū Ḥakīma had no peer
> Now they are dead, man loses rule
> Who lost his Badr would be of little account (386).

Among the prisoners was Abū Wadā'a b. Ḍubayra al-Sahmī. The apostle reported that in Mecca he had a son who was a shrewd and rich merchant and that he would soon come to redeem his father. When Quraysh considered delay in redeeming the prisoners on hope he prisoners should not be entertained al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadā'a—the man the apostle mentioned—said: "You are right. [illegible] I'm in a hurry." And he slipped away at night and came to Medina and recovered his father for 4,000 dirhams and took him away.

Then Quraysh sent to redeem the prisoners and Mikraz b. Hafs b. al-Akhyal came about Suhayl b. 'Amr who had been captured by Malik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of the B. Salim b. 'Auf, who said

> I captured Suhayl and I would not exchange him
> For a prisoner from any other people
> Khandif knows that in here is Suhayl
> When injustice is complained of,
> I struck with my keen sword until it bent.
> I forced myself to fight that hare-lipped man.

Suhayl was a man whose lower lip was split (187)

484 Muhammad b. 'Amr b. 'Ata', brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy, told me that 'Umar said to the apostle: 'Let me pull out Suhayl's two front teeth, his tongue will stick out and he will never be able to speak against you again.' He answered, 'I will not mutilate him, otherwise God would mutilate me though I am a prophet.'

I have heard that in this tradition the apostle said to 'Umar: 'Perhaps he will make a stand for which you will not blame him' (388).

When Mikraz had spoken about him and finally agreed on terms with them they demanded the money, and he asked that they would hold him as security and let Suhayl go to that he could send his ransom. They did so and imprisoned Mikraz in his stead. Mikraz said

> I redeemed with costly[1] abu-Qarrah a captive hero.
> (The payment is for a true Arab not for clients).
> I pledged my person, though money would be easier for me.
> But I feared being put to shame
> I said, 'Suhayl is the best of us, so take him back
> To our sons so that we may attain our desires' (389).

(T. 1344) Ibn Humid from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from al-Kalbi from Abu Salih from Ibn 'Abbas told me that the apostle said to al-'Abbas when he was brought to Medina, 'Redeem yourself, O 'Abbas, and your two nephews 'Aqil b. Abu Talib and Nawfal b. al-Harith and your ally 'Utba b. 'Amr b. Jahdam brother of the B. al-Hārith b. Fihr, for you are a rich man.' He replied, 'I was a Muslim but the people compelled me (to fight).' He answered, 'God knows best about your Islam. If what you say is true God will reward you for it. But to all outward appearance you have been against us, so pay us your ransom.' Now the apostle had taken twenty ukiya of gold from him and he said: 'O apostle of God, render me with them in my ransom.' He replied, 'That has nothing to do with it. God took that from you and gave it to us.' He said, 'I have no money.' 'Then where is the money which you left with Umm al-Fadl d. al-Harith when you left

[1] Lit. 'costly for Suhayl'; speech after the death of the prophet.
[2] Reading 'hands'. The variant 'therefore' is not likely because *khand* generally means from three to ten camels.

Mecca? You two were alone when you said to her, 'If I am killed so much so for al-Fadl.' Abdullah and Qutham and 'Ubaydullah.' 'By him who sent you with the truth,' he exclaimed, 'none but she and I knew of this and now I know that you are God's apostle.' He he redeemed himself and the three men named above.[1]

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that Abu Sufyan's son 'Amr whom he had by a daughter of 'Uqba b. Abu Mu'ayt (390) was a prisoner in the apostle's hands from Badr (p. 9): and when Abu Sufyan was asked to ransom his son 'Amr he said, 'Am I to suffer the double loss of my blood and my money? They have killed Hanzala and am I to ransom 'Amr? Leave him with them. They can keep him as long as they like!'

While he was thus held prisoner in Medina with the apostle Sa'd b. al-Nu'man b. Akkal, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, one of the B. Mu'awiya, 484
went forth on pilgrimage accompanied by a young wife of his. He was an old man and a Muslim who had sheep in al-Naqi'.[2] He left that place on pilgrimage without fear of any untoward events, never thinking that he would be detained in Mecca, as he came as a pilgrim, for he knew that Quraysh did not usually interfere with pilgrims, but treated them well. But Abu Sufyan fell upon him in Mecca and imprisoned him in retaliation for his son 'Amr. Then Abu Sufyan said

> O family of Ibn Akkal, answer his plea
> May you lose each other! Do not surrender the chief to his prison.
> The Banu 'Amr will be base and contemptible
> If they do not release their captive from his fetters.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him:

> If Sa'd had been free the day he was in Mecca
> He would have killed many of you ere he was captured.
> With a sharp sword or a bow of *nab'a* wood
> Whose string twangs when the arrow is shot.

The B. 'Amr b. 'Auf went to the apostle and told him the news and asked him to give them 'Amr b. Abu Sufyan so that they could let him go in exchange for their man and the apostle did so. So they sent him to Abu Sufyan and he released Sa'd.

Among the prisoners was Abu'l-'Ala b. al-Rabi' son-in-law of the apostle, married to his daughter Zaynab (391). Abu'l-'Ala was one of the important men of Mecca in wealth, respect, and merchandise. His mother was Hala d. Khuwaylid, and Khadija was his aunt. Khadija had asked the apostle to find him a wife. Now the apostle never opposed her. He was before revelation came to him—and so he married him to his daughter. Khadija used to regard him as her son. When God honoured the apostle 485

[1] All written on the Sira have drawn parallels in their [illegible] referring to the capture of 'Abbas, who [illegible] Ibn al-Ashad [illegible] the pre-Abbasid [illegible] of Bani b. 'Uqba, No. 4.
[2] A place near Medina.

[illegible] Khadīja and her daughters believed in him and testified that he had brought the truth and bestowed his religion, although Abū Lahab persuaded his sons [illegible] Then they went to 'Utba b. Abū Lahab with the same request and he said that if they would give him the daughter of Muhammad b. [illegible] the daughter of [illegible] he would divorce his wife and when they did so he divorced her and having consummated his marriage [illegible] Then God took her from him in his honour and his glorious [illegible] Khadīja afterwards married her.

Now the apostle had no quarrel of fighting and hunting in Mecca, but [illegible] Zaynab and her husband Abū [illegible] Muslim and unbeliever with the apostle imprisoned Abū [illegible] Khadīja had given her on her marriage to Abū'l-'Āṣ. When the apostle [illegible] have her [illegible] The people of Mecca agreed and they let him go and sent her among them.

ZAYNAB SETS OUT FOR MEDINA

Now the apostle had imprisoned a man from Mecca Abū'l-'Āṣ [illegible] Zaynab to return her father and she went out to make her preparations. [illegible] Zaynab was waiting for preparations to be made [illegible] Muhammad. [illegible]

[illegible] Khadīja and people [illegible] Zaynab [illegible] and they took her to the apostle.

[illegible] Khuzāʿī, brother of B. 'Abd b. 'Abd [illegible] of Zaynab [illegible]

Tidings reached me of their wicked treatment of Zaynab,
So criminal that men could not imagine it.
Muhammad was not put to shame when she was cast forth
Because of the result of the bloody war between us.
[illegible] Lamentation and he was with us
Abū Sufyān got but disappointment and remorse
We bound his son, Amr and his cousin fretted together
[illegible]
I swear we shall never turn aside,
Army leaders with many a champion,
Driving before us unfaithful Quraysh until we subdue them
With a halter shove their noses (and) with a branding iron
We will drive them to the ends of Najd and Nakhla.

If they drop to the lowland we will pasture them with horses and lances
[illegible]
We will bring upon them the fate of 'Ad and Jurhum.
A people that disobeyed Muhammad will regret it.
And what a time for showing repentance!
Tell Abu Sufyan if you meet him
'If you are not sincere in worship, and embrace Islam
[illegible]
And in hell you will wear a garment of molten pitch for ever!' (399)

Abu Sufyan's wife, Hind, was Sawa b. al-Harith[1] who was among the prisoners. Al-Harith was an ally of Harb b. Umayya (395).

When those who had gone out to Zaynab returned Hind d. 'Utba met them and said:[2]

> In peace are you wild asses—rough and coarse
> And as vile like women in their courses?

Kinana b. al-Rabi' when he handed Zaynab over to the two men said:

> I am astonished at Habbar and the paltry sons of his people
> [illegible] Muhammad's daughter.
> I care not for their numbers as long as I live
> And as long as my hand can grasp my trusty blade.

Yazid b. Abi Habib from Yazid b. 'Abdallah b. al-Arkam from Bukayr [illegible] Yazid from Abu Ishaq [illegible] the Prophet said: 'The apostle sent me among a number of raiders with orders that if we got round [illegible] Habbar b. al-Aswad or the other man who had got in Zaynab's way [illegible] the following day he sent me to [illegible] and I got hold of them; then I reflected that none has the right to punish by fire save God, so if you captured them had them.

ABU'L-AS B. AL-RABI' BECOMES A MUSLIM

When Ibn al-Ashwa' [illegible] Abu'l-As b. al-Rabi' [illegible] Zaynab lived in Makkah with the apostle's uncle [illegible] before the apostle's [illegible] Abu'l-As was trading with his own money and that of Quraysh which they entrusted to him, for he was a merchant. [illegible] Having completed his business he was on his way home when some of the apostle's raiding parties fell on them and took all he had. Though he himself escaped [illegible] Where the raiders came off with their booty Abu'l-As came to Zaynab's house [illegible] of night and asked her to grant him protection. She granted it and he asked that he [illegible] his property. When the apostle went out in morning prayer [illegible] Zaynab had [illegible]

[illegible] and Allah Akbar followed by all present. Zaynab cried from the gallery where the women sat 'O you men, I have given protection to Abu'l-'As b. al-Rabi'.' [illegible] the apostle turned round to face the men and asked them if they had heard what he had heard and when they said that they had he asked them if they knew anything about the matter and Zaynab made her declaration, adding, 'the meanest Muslim can give protection on their behalf.' The wife of the son has daughter and told her to behave her good but not to allow him to approach her for she was not lawful to him.

'Abdallah b. Abu Bakr told me that the apostle sent to the raiding party which had taken Abu [illegible] saying: 'Be sure to return to me as you know and you have taken property of mine. You think and be mistaken if we have not alarmed the [illegible] Quraysh has given you and you have the better right to it.' They replied that they would willingly give it back and have been no irregularities; they then brought back all there and little leather bottles and even a little piece of wood until everything was returned and nothing was lost. Then Abu'l-'As came to Makkah and paid everyone what was due, enquiring whether any had given him anything [illegible] any man on their behalf and asked them if in money of theirs that any further claim on them. [illegible] and returned saying 'we have found you perfectly honourable and generous.' Then said to [illegible] I hear rumours that there is no love lost between the Lord and his Muhammad, so has anyone said [illegible] would have converted a Muslim when [illegible] I feared that you would think that I only wished to rob you of your property and now that God has restored it to you and I am clear of it I [illegible] God. Then turning to the people of the apostle [illegible]

Yazid b. al-Mughira from Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbas said that the apostle restored Zaynab to him according to the first marriage "after six years had passed" without any new procedure (397).

Among the prisoners when I was being sent given their freedom without having to pay ransoms were Abu'l-'As whose the daughter and when Zaynab his daughter had sent his ransom, 'Amr b. al-Rabi' b. 'Abdallah b. al-Rabi' b. al-Mughira b. al-Ashwa' b. al-Harith b. Asad b. 'Abdal-'Uzza b. Qusayy who belonged to the captives of al-Ghabitha b. al-Khazraj. He was left as his friends said they would bring him and he came to his people. [illegible] Abu'l-'As b. al-Rabi' b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum. He was left in the hands of his captors and when no one came to ransom him they let him go on condition that he should send his companion, that he should be sent to Makkah. Hassan b. Thabit said in reference to this:

> Qayl[3] is now the man to fulfill his pledge
> The lack of a fine steed at times overtakes an adept[4]

and Abu 'Amr Ahmad b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umayr b. Hisham b. Ma'ziz b. Hudhaifa b.

1 Zaynab called out in a moment of complete silence at the beginning of prayer.
2 Jibalu L. The line is not clear to me. 3 Their words are not in W.

[illegible] female. He was a poor man whose female relatives consisted of daughters, and he used to the apostle. 'You know that I have no relatives [illegible] and with a large family, so let me go without ransom.' The apostle did so on condition that he should not fight against him again. Praising him and mentioning his kindness among his people Abū 'Azza said:

> Who will tell the apostle Muhammad from me
> You are true and the divine King is to be praised!
> You call men to truth and right guidance,
> God himself witnesses to you
> You are a man given a place among us
> To which there are steps hard and easy.
> Those who fight you die miserably.
> Those who make peace live happily
> When I am reminded of Badr and its people
> Sorrow and a sense of loss come over me (995).'

'UMAYR B. WAHB PROMISES A RUSE TO

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that [illegible] was sitting with Safwān b. Umayya in the Hijr [illegible] after Badr. Now 'Umayr was one of the leaders of Quraysh who used to revile the apostle and his companions and cause them distress while he was in Mecca, and his son Wahb was among the prisoners taken at Badr. [illegible] He mentioned those who were thrown into the well and Safwān said, 'By God, there is no good in life now they are dead.' 'You are right,' said 'Umayr, 'were it not for a debt outstanding against me which I cannot pay and a family I cannot afford to leave unprotected, for I would ride to Muhammad and kill him, for I have good reason against the life of him, my son being a prisoner in their hands.' Safwān [illegible] 'I will discharge your debt and take care of your family with my own as long as they live.' All that I have should be thrown [illegible] Umayr said he agreed to keep the matter secret.

Then 'Umayr called for his sword and sharpened it and smeared it with poison and went off to Medina. While [illegible] was talking with some of the Muslims about Badr and mentioning how God had bestowed them as giving them victory over their enemies he suddenly saw [illegible] stopping at the door of the mosque girt with his sword and said, 'This dog, the enemy of God, 'Umayr b. Wahb.' By God he's come for some evil purpose. It was he who made mischief among us and calculated what must befall us for the slaughter at Badr.' Then 'Umayr went into the apostle and said, 'O prophet of God, this enemy of God, 'Umayr b. Wahb, has come girt with his sword.' He said, 'Let him come in.' and 'Umayr advanced

and among his henchmen he grabbed him round the neck with a [illegible] He told the Ansār who were with him to come in and sit with the apostle and to

[illegible]

from heaven and we discussed the revelation you brought. But this is a matter to which only I and Safwān were privy, and none can have told you it but God. Praise be to God who has guided me to Islam and led me thus.' Then he mentioned to the men with the apostle, 'Let me go' [illegible] brother in his religion, read the Qur'ān to him, and free his prisoner for him, and they did so.

Then he said, 'I intend to be active in extinguishing the light of God and in persecuting those who believed God's religion.' I should like you to give me permission to go to Mecca to encourage them to God and His apostle and to hinder them perhaps God may guide them, and if not I will persecute them in their religion as I used to persecute your companions.' The apostle agreed and he went to Mecca. When 'Umayr had left, Safwān was asking, 'I will make some good news which will make you forget what happened at Badr.' Safwān began questioning others and came upon one who told him of 'Umayr's Islam, and he swore that he would never speak to him again nor do him a service. When 'Umayr came to Mecca he stayed there encouraging people to Islam and treating those who opposed him roughly so that through him many became Muslims.

[illegible] 'Umayr al-Ḥumaḥī who saw the devil when he turned on his heels on the day of Badr and said, 'Where are you going, O Suraqa?' And the enemy of God lay on the ground and disappeared.' So Gabriel went down concerning him. And when Safwān made there twelve extra good to them and Nawfal and companions were taken for I see your prisoners [illegible] the devil deserted them and took

the form of Suraqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum when they remembered the quarrel they had with B. Bakr. God said: And when the two armies saw each other, and the enemy of God saw the armies of angels by which God strengthened His apostle and the believers against their enemies, he turned on his heels and said, "I am quit of you, for I see what you do not see." The enemy of God spoke the truth for he did see what they could not see and said, "I fear God for God is severe in punishment." I was told that they used to see him in every camp whenever he appeared in the form of Suraqa not suspecting him until on the day of Badr when the two armies met he turned on his heels and betrayed them after he had led them on (401).

Hassān b. Thābit said:

My people it was who sheltered their prophet
And believed in him when all the world were unbelievers,
Except a chosen few who were forerunners
To the righteous, helpers with the Helpers,
Rejoicing in God's portion
Saying when he came to them, noble of race, chosen,
Welcome in safety and comfort.
Goodly the prophet the portion and the guest.
They gave him a home in which a guest of theirs
Need have no fear—an (ideal) home.
They shared their wealth when the refugees came
While the share of the stubborn opponent is hell.
475 To Badr we went—they to their death,
Had they known what they should have known they would not have gone
The devil deluded and then betrayed them.
Thus does the evil one deceive his friends.
He said I am your protector and brought them to an evil pass
Wherein is shame and disgrace
Then when we fought them they deserted their leaders,
Some fleeing to high ground others to the plain (402).

THE QURAYSH WHO FED THE PILGRIMS

The names of the Quraysh who used to feed the pilgrims are as follows:

From B. Hāshim: Al-'Abbās b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib.
From B. 'Abdu Shams: 'Utba b. Rabī'a.
From B. Nawfal: al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir and Ṭu'aymā b. 'Adiy by turns.
From B. Asad: Abū'l-Bakhtarī and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām by turns.
From B. 'Abdu'l-Dār: al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalda b. Aqrama (403).
From B. Makhzūm: Abū Jahl.
From B. Jumaḥ: Umayya b. Khalaf.

From B. Sahm: Nubayh and Munabbih sons of al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Āmir by turns.

From B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams (404).

THE COMING DOWN OF THE SŪRA ANFĀL[1]

When Badr was over, God sent down the whole *Sūra Anfāl* about it. With regard to their quarrelling about the spoils there came down: 'They will ask you about the spoils, say, the spoils belong to God and the apostle, so fear God and be at peace with one another, and obey God and His apostle if you are believers.

'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, so I have heard, when he was asked about this sūra said: It came down about us, the people of Badr, when we quarrelled about the booty on that day, and God took it out of our hands when we showed an evil disposition and gave it to the apostle, who divided it equally among us. In that there was the fear of God, and obedience to Him and to His apostle, and peace among us.

Then He mentions the army, and their journey with the apostle when they knew that Quraysh had come out against them, and they had only gone out making for the caravan because they wanted booty, and He said, 'As thy Lord brought thee out of thy house in truth when a part of the believers were unwilling, they disputed with thee about the truth after it had become plain, as though they were being driven to their death while they looked on.' i.e. Unwilling to meet the army and disliking to confront Quraysh when they were told of them.

'And when God promised you that one of the parties should be yours, and you wanted to have the one that was not armed.' i.e. Booty and not war.

'And God wanted to establish the truth by His words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers.' i.e. By the disaster which He brought upon the chiefs and leaders of Quraysh on the day of Badr.

'When you asked your Lord for help.' i.e. Their prayers when they looked at the multitude of their enemies and their own small numbers.

'And He answered you.' i.e. The prayer of His apostle and your prayers.

'I will reinforce you with a thousand angels, one behind another. When He made you slumber as a reassurance from Him.' i.e. I sent down reassurance upon you when you slumbered unafraid.

'And He sent down water from heaven upon you.' i.e. The rain that came upon them that night and prevented the polytheists from getting to the water first, and left the way clear to the Muslims.

'That He might cleanse you by it, and take from you the impurity of Satan, and strengthen your hearts, and confirm your steps.' i.e. To take from you the doubt of Satan when he made them afraid of the enemy, and the hardening of the ground for them so that they got to their halting-place before the enemy arrived.

Then God said: 'Then [illegible] and strengthen [illegible] I am with you so strengthen those that believe.' i.e. help those that believe [illegible]

[illegible]

Then He said, 'O you who believe, when you meet those who disbelieve [illegible]

[illegible] God having promised what He has promised.

Then God said concerning the apostle [illegible] terror into their hearts when He put them to flight.

[illegible]

'Then He said, If you sought a judgement, a judgement came to you.' i.e. [illegible] said, 'O God, he who is the worst in [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] is with the believers.' i.e. That your number and multitude will not [illegible] those that oppose them.

[illegible] when you hear him speak and while you assert that you are on his side [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] W. [illegible]

[illegible]

'O you who believe, respond to God and the apostle when he summons [illegible] you from your enemies after you had been overcome by them [illegible]

[illegible] O you who believe, betray not God and His apostle and betray not [illegible] your trust and treachery to yourselves.

[illegible] A distinction between true and false by which God shows your truth and extinguishes the falsehood of those who oppose you.

[illegible] deceived them with My firm guile so that I delivered you from them.

Then He mentions the folly of Quraysh in asking for a judgement against themselves when they said, 'O God, if this is the truth from Thee' i.e. what Muhammad has brought, 'then rain upon us stones from heaven' i.e. As you rained them upon the people of Lot.

'Or bring us a painful punishment.' i.e. Some of that by which You punished the peoples before us.

They used to say, God will not punish us when we ask for [illegible] and He will not punish a people whose prophet is with them [illegible] sent him away from them. That is what they said when the apostle was [illegible] punish them while they ask for forgiveness. i.e. When they said, 'We ask for forgiveness and Muhammad is among us.'

[illegible]

While they bar the way to the sacred mosque. i.e. Against those who believe in God and His servant. i.e. You and those who follow you

And they are not its guardians, its guardians are only the God-fearers, who observe its sanctity and perform prayer by it. i.e. You and those who believe in you

But most of them do not know and their prayer at the temple. i.e. By which they assert that evil is kept from them, 'Is nothing but whistling and clapping of hands' (405,

And that is what God does not approve of and does not like and what they were not ordered to do.

'So taste the punishment for what you are disbelieving. i.e. When He brought death upon them at the battle of Badr

Yahyā b. Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father Abbād from 'Ā'isha, who said that only a little time elapsed between the coming down of 'O thou that art enwrapt'[1] and the word of God about it, 'Leave Me to deal with the liars living at ease, and let them alone for a little. We have fetters and fire and food which chokes, and a painful punishment,' until God smote Quraysh on the day of Badr (406).

Then God said,

Those who disbelieve, spending their wealth to keep men from the way of God will expend it, then they will suffer loss, then they will be overcome, and those who disbelieve will be gathered to Hell. He means those who went to Abū Sufyān and to everyone of the Quraysh who had money in that merchandise, and asked them to help them with it in the war against the apostle, and they did so

Then He said, 'Say to those who disbelieve, if they cease, they will be pardoned for what is passed, and if they return', to fight you, 'the example of the ringleaders has been made.'[1] i.e. those who were killed at Badr

Then He said, 'Fight them so that there is no more persecution, and religion, all of it, shall belong to God. i.e. So that no believer is persecuted from his religion, and monotheism may be pure, God having no partner [illegible]

'If they cease, then God sees what they do, and if they turn away,' from thy commandment to their unbelief, 'then know that God is your friend' [illegible]

[illegible]

Then He taught them how to divide the spoil and His judgement about it when He made it lawful to them and said. 'And know that what you take as booty a fifth belongs to God and the apostle and next of kin and orphans and the poor and the wayfarer if you believe in God and what We sent down to Our servant on the day of *furqān* the day the two armies met and

[illegible]

God is able to do all things,' i.e. the day I divided between the true and the false by My power the day the two armies met—you and they when you were on the nearer side of the wadi and they on the further side' of the wadi towards Mecca 'and the caravan was below you,' i.e. the caravan of Abū Sufyān which you had gone out to capture and they had gone out to protect without an [illegible] between [illegible] Allāh arranged to meet you would have failed to meet, i.e. had you arranged to meet and there you had heard of the [illegible] you would not have met them. 'but that God might accomplish a thing that had to be done,' i.e. that He might accomplish what He willed in His power. [illegible] fighting hard [illegible] said: 'that he who died should die with a clear proof and he who lived should live by a clear proof. God is a Hearer, a Knower,' i.e. that he who disbelieved should disbelieve after the proof in the sign and example which he had seen and he who believed should believe by the same warrant

[illegible] showed thee in thy sleep that they were few, and if He had shown them to thee as many [illegible] but God saved you. He knows what is within the breasts.' What God showed him was one of His signs [illegible] and kept from them what would have frightened them because of their weakness, because He knew what was in their [illegible] And when you met there [illegible] you seem small in their eyes that God might accomplish a thing that had to be done [illegible] for war [illegible] and [illegible] to hear [illegible]

Then He admonished and instructed and taught them how they ought to conduct their wars and said 'O believers, when you meet an army whom you fight in the way of God 'Stand firm and remember God often' to [illegible] when you get [illegible] that you may prosper. And obey God and His apostle and wrangle not lest you fail,' i.e. do not quarrel so that your affairs become disordered and your spirit depart, i.e. your bravery go, 'and be steadfast. God is with the steadfast,' i.e. I am with you when you do that And be not like those who went forth from their houses boastfully to be seen of men,' i.e. do not be like Abū Jahl and his companions who said, 'We will not go back until we have been to Badr and slaughtered camels there and drunk wine and the singing girls have made music for us and the Arabs will hear of it, i.e. let not your affair be outward show and the subject of gossip nor concerned with men [illegible] for the victory of your religion and the help of your prophet [illegible] that and do not aim at anything else. Then He said. 'And when Satan made their deeds seem good to them and said, "No man can conquer you today for I am your protector"' (408)

Then God encourages the unbelievers and what they will meet when they die, and describes them, and with His prophet about them until He says: 'If you come upon them in war, deal with them so harshly as to terrify those who follow them, haply they may take warning,' i.e. make a severe example of them to them, so that those after them may be warned.

And prepare what strength you can against them, and cavalry by which you may strike terror into the enemy of God and your enemy' as far as His words, 'And whatever you spend in the way of God will be repaid you will not be wronged,' i.e. you will not lose your reward with God in the next life and a rapid recompense in this world. Then He said, 'And if they incline to peace incline thou to it,' i.e. if they ask you for peace on the basis of Islam then make peace on that basis, 'and rely on God, verily God will suffice thee, He is the Hearer the Knower' (409). 'And if they would deceive thee, God is sufficient for thee,' He being behind thee, 'He is it who strengthens thee with His help' after weakness 'and by the believers. And He made them of one mind' by the guidance with which God sent thee to them. 'Hadst thou spent all the world's wealth thou hadst not made them of one mind but God made them of one mind' by His religion to which He gathered them. He is mighty, wise.

Then He said: O prophet God is sufficient for thee and the believers who follow thee. O prophet, exhort the believers to fight. If there are twenty steadfast ones among you they will overcome two hundred, and if there are a hundred of you they will overcome a thousand unbelievers for they are a senseless people, i.e. they do not fight with a good intention for truth nor have they knowledge of what is good and what is evil.

Abdullah b. Abū Najīh from Atā' b. Abū Ribāh from 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās told me that when this verse came down it came as a shock to the Muslims who took it hard that twenty should have to fight two hundred and a hundred fight a thousand. So God relieved them and cancelled the [illegible] with another saying. 'Now has God relieved you and He knows that there is weakness amongst you, so if there are a hundred steadfast they shall overcome two hundred, and if there are a thousand of you they shall overcome two thousand by God's permission, for God is with the steadfast.' ('Abdullāh) said, 'When they numbered half of the enemy it was [illegible]

Then God reproached him about the prisoners and the taking of booty, no other prophet before him having taken booty from his enemy. Mutham mad Abū Ja'far b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn told me that the apostle said: 'I was helped by fear, the earth was made a place to pray, and clean. I was given [illegible] more than [illegible] and I was given the power to intercede, five privileges accorded to no prophet before me.'

God said: 'It is not for any prophet, i.e. believe this, to take prisoners from his enemy, until he has made slaughter in the earth,' i.e. slaughtered

his enemies until he drives them from the land.' 'You desire the lure of this world,' i.e. the goods, the treasures of the captives. 'But God desires the next world,' i.e. more is being there to strengthen the religion which He wishes to strengthen and by which the next world may be attained. 'Had there not previously been a book from God there would have come upon you for what you took,' i.e. prisoners and booty, 'a great punishment,' i.e. had it not been such your fate from Me that I would pardon only after a prohibition, and He had not prohibited them—'it would have punished you for what you did.' Then He made it lawful to him and to them as a mercy from Him and a gift from the Compassionate the Merciful. He said: 'So enjoy what you have captured as lawful and good, and fear God. God is Forgiving, Merciful.' Then He said: 'O prophet! Say to those captives in your hands, If Allāh knows any good in your hearts He will give you something better than that which has been taken from you and God will pardon you. God is Forgiving, Merciful.'

He united the Muslims to unity and made the Refugees and the Helpers friends in religion and he unbelievers friends one of another. Then He said: 'If you do not do so, there will be confusion in the land and a great corruption,' i.e. unless believer becomes friend of believer in the exclusion of the unbeliever even though he is of his kin. 'There will be confusion in the land,' i.e. doubt about the true and the false and the rule of corruption in the land of the believer from the side of the unbeliever against the believer.

Then He assigned inheritances as next of kin of those who became Muslims after the revelation between Refugees and Helpers and said: 'And those who believed afterwards and migrated and strove along with you they are of you,' and those who are akin are nearer to one another in Allāh's book,' i.e. in inheritance 'God knows all things.'

THE MUSLIMS WHO WERE PRESENT AT BADR

The names of those who were present at Badr are: 'Ubaydah b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. 'Abd Manāf b. Qusayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Nadr b. Kināna.

Muhammad, God's apostle the lord of the new moon, b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim. Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim, the lion of God and of His apostle, the apostle's uncle. 'Alī b. Abū Tālib b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim. Zayd b. Hārithah b. Sharāhīl b. Ka'b b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Imru'u al-Qays al-Kalbī. Anas, the apostle's freedman, and Abū Kabsha Sawwān. Abū Marthad Kunāz b. Hus[illegible]

Yarbū' b. 'Amr b. Yarbū' b. Khansha b. Sa'd b. Tarīf b. Jillān b. Ghanm b. Ghanī b. Ya'ur b. Sa'd b. Qays b. 'Aylān (412), and his son Martad b. Abū Martad, allies of Hamza, 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib, and his two brothers al-Ṭufayl and al-Ḥuṣayn, and Miṣṭaḥ whose name was 'Auf b. Uthātha b. 'Abbād b. al-Muṭṭalib. Total 12 men.

Of B. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf: 'Uthmān b. 'Affān b. Abu'l-'Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams: (He stayed behind on account of his wife Ruqayya the apostle's daughter, so the apostle assigned him his portion. He asked: 'And my reward (from God) as well?' 'Yes', said the apostle. [illegible] to march with the apostle, but fell sick and remounted on his camel. Abū [illegible] Afterwards Ṣubayḥ was present at all the apostle's battles.

Of B. 'Abdu Shams's allies, of B. Asad b. Khuzayma: 'Abdullāh b. [illegible]ahab b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mar b. Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Murra b. Kabīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān. 486 Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥurthān b. Qays b. Murra b. Kabīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān. Shujā' b. Wahb b. Rabī'a b. Asad b. Suḥayb b. Mālik b. Kabīr, &c., and his brother 'Uqba b. Wahb. Yazīd b. Ruqayṭ b. Ri'āb, &c. Abū [illegible] and his son Sinān b. Abū Sinān and Muḥriz b. Nadla b. 'Abdullāh b. Murra b. Kabīr, &c., and Rabī'a b. Akthum b. Sakhbara b. 'Amr b. Lukayz b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān.

Of the allies of B. Kabīr: Thaqf b. 'Amr and his two brothers Mālik and Mudlij (413). They belonged to the B. Ḥajr, a clan of B. Sulaym. Abū Makhshī an ally of theirs (415). Total 16 men.

Of B. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manāf: 'Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir b. Wahb b. [illegible] b. Qays b. 'Aylān and Khabbāb freedman of 'Utba. Total 2 men.

Of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy: al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad, Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a and Sa'd freedman of Ḥāṭib (416). Total 3 men.

Of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār b. Quṣayy: Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim b. 'Abdu Manāf and Suwaybiṭ b. Sa'd b. Ḥuraymila b. Mālik b. [illegible] b. al-Suwaybiṭ b. 'Abdu'l-Dār. Total 2 men.

Of B. Zuhra b. Kilāb: 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Auf b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. 'Abd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, whose name Mālik b. Wuhayb b. 487 'Abdu Manāf b. Zuhra, and his brother 'Umayr. Of their allies: al-Miqdād b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Mālik b. [illegible] b. Ma'rūf b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Zuhayr b. Thābir b. Tha'laba b. Mālik b. al-Sharīd b. Hunā b. Qā'iṭ b. Duraym b. al-Qayn b. Ahwad b. Bahrā' b. 'Amr b. al-Hāf b. Qudā'a [illegible] and Ṭalḥa b. Thābit and 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥārith b. Shamākh b. Makhzūm b. Sāhila b. Kāhil b. al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl: Mas'ūd b. Rabī'a b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Hunayla b. [illegible] b. Makhzūm b. [illegible] b. Subay' b. al-[illegible] b. Ka'b

[illegible] of al-Qara (417). Dhū'l-Shimālayn b. 'Abd 'Amr b. Nuḍla b. [illegible] b. Nuḍayla b. Ma'ādhir b. Abū b. Ḥārisha b. 'Amr b. 'Amr of Khuzā'a (418) and Khubayb b. al-Aratt (419). Total 8 men.

Of B. Taym b. Murra: Abū Bakr whose full name was 'Atīq b. 'Uthmān b. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym. [illegible] Bilāl has freedom, but a share among the B. Jumaḥ. Abū Bakr brought him from a master in Khalaf. His name was Bilāl b. Rabāḥ. He had no offspring. 'Āmir b. Fuhayra (420) and Dubayḥ b. Sinān from al-Namir b. Qāsit (421) and Ṭulayb [illegible] b. [illegible] b. 'Amr b. Ka'b. [illegible] were not present until the apostle had returned from Badr. Nevertheless, he assigned them a share in the booty as he had done in the case of 'Uthmān. Total 5 men.

Of B. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa b. Murra: Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad whose name was 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Asad b. Hilāl b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm, and Shammās b. 'Uthmān b. al-Sharīd b. Suwayd b. Harmī b. 'Amr (422) and al-Arqam b. Abū Arqam b. Asad, Asad being Abū Jundub b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm, and 'Ammār b. Yāsir (423) son of Mu'ādh b. 'Ans b. 'Anan b. al-Ḥārith b. Ṣā'id b. Kalada b. Hulayla b. Sālim b. Ka'b b. 'Amr, an ally of theirs from Khuzā'a, and his son Aylāsir. Total 5 men.

Of B. 'Adī b. Ka'b: Ma'mar b. al-Ḥārith b. Nuḍla b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Riyāḥ b. 'Abdullāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. 'Adī and his brothers Zayd and Mālik. Umayya freedman from the Yamāma, he was the first Muslim to fall 488 at Badr, being shot by an arrow (424) and 'Amr b. Suraqa b. 'Amr b. 'Adhī b. 'Abdullāh b. Qurṭ and his brother 'Abdullāh. Wāqid b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu Manāf b. 'Arīn b. Tha'laba b. Yarbū' b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, an ally of theirs, and Khawlī b. Abū Khawlī and Nāfi' b. Abū Khawlī, two allies of theirs (425) and 'Amr b. Ruba'a, an ally of the family of al-Khattāb from Asad b. Wā'ila (426) and 'Amr b. al-Bukayr b. 'Abdu Yālīl b. Nāshib b. Ghālib of the B. Asad b. Layth and Ṣā'ig and Khālid and Iyās sons of al-Bukayr, allies of B. 'Adī b. Ka'b and Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. 'Abdullāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. 'Adī b. Ka'b who came from Syria after the apostle's return from Badr and was given a share in the booty. Total 14 men.

Of B. Jumaḥ b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka'b: 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn b. Ḥabīb b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumaḥ and his son al-Sā'ib [illegible] Qudāma and 'Abdullāh. Ma'mar b. al-Ḥārith b. Ma'mar b. Ḥabīb b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumaḥ. Total 5 men.

Of B. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka'b: Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. 'Adī b. Sa'd b. Sahm. Total 2 men.

Of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy of the subdivisions of Malīḥ b. Ḥubshī b. Ḥārith b. Abū Ruhm b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Abū Qays b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl: 'Abdullāh b. Makhrama b. 'Abdu Yaghūth, the 489 'Abdullāh b. Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd, for the

[illegible] (429). Total 5 men.

Of B. al-Hārith b. Fihr: Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ who was 'Āmir b. [illegible]

[illegible] to whom the apostle allotted shares in the booty was 83 men (430).

THE BEDUINS AND THE B. ABDGHANM WHO WERE AT BADR

Of al-Aus b. Mu'ādh b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir of the subdivision B. [illegible] Nu'mān and al-Hārith b. Anas b. Rāfi' b. Imru'u-l-Qays [illegible] Total [illegible]

[illegible] 'Abdullāh b. Salāl (434). Total 25 men.

[illegible] Bilāl b. Sawād (435). Total 4 men.

Of B. 'Ajlān b. Rāziḥ b. Ka'b: Nāfi' b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd and Mu'attib b. 'Abd and 'Abdullāh b. Ṭāriq from their Bali allies. Total 3 men.

Of B. Ḥāritha b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. Aus [illegible] Nīyār b. Aus b. 'Ubayd b. Kilāb b. Dubayra b. Ghanm b. Dawsān b. [illegible] Total 3 men.

[illegible] Zayd b. Mālik [illegible] Total [illegible]

Abū'l-Ashja b. Jarra b. Mālik b. Aus b. Dubay'a and Ma'nān b. [illegible] Total 2 men.

[illegible] Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Hārith b. 'Adiy b. al-Ajlān, Zayd b. [illegible] fight but the apostle was with them, nevertheless giving them the shares of the booty. Total 7 men.

Of B. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Abdullāh b. Jubayr b. al-Nu'mān b. [illegible] Aus b. Qays (441); and Abū Dayyāh b. Thābit b. al-Nu'mān b. Umayya [illegible] Total [illegible]

[illegible] Bulī b. 'Amr b. al-Hārith b. Qudā'a (443). Total 2 men.

[illegible] Khaythama b. al-Hārith b. Mālik b. Ka'b [illegible] 'Ariqa (446), and al-Hārith b. 'Ariqa; and Tamīm freedman of the B. Ghanm (447). Total 5 men.

Of B. Mu'awiya b. Mālik b. Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Jābir b. 'Atīk b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. Hayyān b. al-Hārith b. Umayya b. Mu'āwiya [illegible] Total 3 men.

[illegible] apostle allotted shares of the booty [illegible]

Of Khazraj b. Hāritha b. Tha'laba b. Amr b. Āmir of the tribe of B

Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj Khidrija b. Zayd b. Abū Zuhayr b. Mālik b. Imru'ul-Qays Sa'd b. Rabī' b. 'Amr b. Abū Zuhayr, &c. 'Abdullah b. Rawāha b. Tha'laba b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Amr b. Imru'ul-Qays Khālid b. Suwayd b. Tha'laba b. Amr b. Hārina b. Imru'ul-Qays. Total 4 men.

Of B. Zayd b. [illegible] b. al-Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj Tha'laba b. Hātib b. Umayya b. Zayd and his brother Hātib. Total 2 men.

Of B. Adiy b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj Sulaym b. Qays b. 'Ayshān b. Umayya b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. 'Adiy; and 'Abbād b. [illegible] and 'Abdullah b. [illegible] [illegible]

Of B. [illegible] b. Hārithā b. [illegible] b. al-Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj Yazīd b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. Mālik b. Ajlān who was [illegible] Total 1 man.

Of B. Judhān b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj and Zayd b. al-Harith who [illegible] b. Judhān [illegible] and his brother Hārithā as they allege [illegible] Total 2 men.

Of B. Jadīra b. Auf b. al-Khazraj Tamīm b. Ya'ur b. Qais b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. Jadīra; 'Abdullah b. 'Umayr of the B. Hārithā [illegible] and 'Abdullah b. 'Urwa b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. Jadīra. Total 4 men.

Of B. [illegible] b. al-Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj Abū Ayyūb b. [illegible] b. Qays b. Amr b. 'Abbād b. al-Aḥyar. Total 1 man.

Of B. [illegible] b. al-Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj Mālik b. Sulīm b. [illegible] was a woman, the mother of Ubayy and Anas b. Khālid b. 'Abdullah b. al-Hārith b. Ubayd. Total 2 men.

Of B. Juʿ b. 'Adiy b. Mālik b. Ghanm: Zayd b. Wadī'a b. 'Amr b. Qays b. Juʿ [illegible] Mālik b. Sulīm b. [illegible] Umayya Ma'bad b. Abbād b. Qushayr b. al-Muqaddam b. Sālim b. [illegible] and [illegible] b. al-Bukayr [illegible] Total [illegible] men.

Of B. Sālim b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. [illegible] b. Zayd b. [illegible] b. al-'Ajlān. Total 2 men.

Of B. Anas b. Fihr b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Sālim b. 'Auf (458)

[illegible]

'Ubāda b. al-Sāmit b. Qays b. Asram and his brother Aus. Total 2 men.

Of B. Da'd b. Fihr b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm al-Nu'mān b. Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Da'd this man was known as Qurqul. Total [illegible] man.

Of B. Qurvāsh b. Ghanm b. Umayya b. Laudhān b. Sālim (459): Thābit b. Hazzāl b. Amr b. Qurvāsh. Total 1 man.

Of B. Mardakha b. Ghanm b. Sālim Mālik b. al-Dukhshum b. Mardakha (460). Total 1 man.

Of B. Laudhān b. Sālim. Rabī' b. Iyās b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Umayya b. [illegible] the Yamun (461). Total 3 men.

Of their allies from Balī of the clan of B. Ghuqayna (462): al-Mujaddhaʿ b. Amr b. Burayra b. Mashnū b. Qusr b. Taym b. Irāsh b. 'Āmir b. Umayla b. Qiyāfī b. Fārib b. Balī b. Amr b. al-Hāf b. Qudā'a (463): and 'Ubāda b. al-Khashkhāsh b. Amr b. Zumzuma, and Nabhān b. Tha'laba b. Hazzāza b. Asram b. Amr b. Umaila (464) and Abdullah b. Tha'laba b. Hazzāza b. Asram, and they allege that 'Utba b. Rabī'a b. Khālid b. Ma'awiya, an ally from Bahrā' was at Badr (465). Total 5 men.

Of B. Sā'ida b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. Tha'laba b. Sā'ida Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharasha (466): and al-Mundhir b. Amr b. Khunays b. Hārithā b. Laudhān b. Abdu Wudd b. Zayd b. Tha'laba (467). Total 2 men.

Of B. al-Badī b. [illegible] b. Auf b. Khazraj b. [illegible] b. al-Khazraj b. [illegible] and Mālik b. Mu'ādh who was stranded at al-Badī' (468). Total 2 men.

Of B. Tarīf b. al-Khazraj b. Sā'ida: Abū Rukhila b. Rāfi' b. Amr b. Waqsh b. Tha'laba b. Tarīf. Total 1 man.

Of B. [illegible] b. al-Khazraj b. Sā'ida [illegible] Tha'laba [illegible] and Qusayr and Zayd and Rafāʿa [illegible] and Abdullah b. 'Āmir from Balī. Total 5 men.

[illegible] al-Hārith b. Harām (471). Total [illegible] men.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] b. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd b. Adiy (474) and Ma'bad b. Qays b. Sakhr b. Harām b. Rabi'a b. Adiy b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salima (475); and Abdullah b. Qays b. Sakhr b. Harām b. Rabi'a b. 'Adiy b. Ghanm. Total 7 men.

Of B. al-Nu'mān b. Sinān b. 'Ubayd: 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu Manāf b. [illegible] b. Qays and al-Nu'mān b. Sinān their freedman. Total 4 men.

Of B. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salima, of the clan of B. Hadīda b. Anas b. Ghanm b. Sawād (476): [illegible] Sulaym b. 'Amr, Qutba b. 'Amir [illegible] 'Amr (477). Total 4 men.

Of B. 'Adiy b. Nābi b. 'Amr b. Sawād b. Ghanm: 'Abs b. 'Amir b. [illegible] b. al-Qays b. Ka'b b. Sawād, and 'Amr b. Ṭalq b. Zayd b. Umayya b. [illegible] b. Ka'b b. Ghanm; and Mu'ādh b. Jabal b. 'Amr b. Anas b. 'A'idh b. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. Adiy b. Udayy b. Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Asad b. Sārida b. Tarīf b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj b. Ḥāritha b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Amir (478). Total 6 men. Those who smashed the idols of B. Salima were Mu'ādh b. Jabal, 'Abdullah b. Unays and Tha'laba b. Ghanma, they being among B. Sawād b. Ghanm.

Of B. Zurayq b. 'Amir b. Zurayq b. Abdu Ḥāritha b. [illegible] Sa'd b. 'Uthmān b. Khālada b. Mukhallad and [illegible] 'Uthmān, &c., and Dhakwān b. Abdu Qays b. [illegible] and [illegible] Khālada b. 'Amir b. Mukhallad. Total 7 men.

[illegible] Total 1 man.

Of B. Khālada b. 'Amir b. Zurayq: Aus and Yazīd b. al-Fākih b. Zayd b. [illegible] 'Ali b. Qays b. Khālada and his brother 'A'idh and Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Khālada. Total 5 men.

Of B. al-'Ajlān b. 'Amr b. 'Amir b. Zurayq: Rifā'a b. Rāfi' b. al-'Ajlān [illegible] Total 1 man.

[illegible] Tha'laba b. [illegible] b. 'Adiy b. [illegible] Ḥāritha and Zayd b. 'Amr b.

[illegible] 'Adiy b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. 'Amir b. Fuhayra. Total 6 men.

[illegible] Zayda Manāt b. Habib. Total 1 man.

[illegible] Tha'laba b. [illegible] Kulayb b. Tha'laba. Total 1 man.

Of B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Auf b. Ghanm: Thābit b. Khālid b. al-Nu'mān b. [illegible] Total 1 man.

Of B. 'Amr b. Abdu Auf b. Ghanm: 'Uqba b. Nasr b. Zayd b. Lauḥān b. 'Amr, and Sarāqa b. Ka'b b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Ghanīya b. 'Amr. Total 2 men.

Of B. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm: Ḥāritha b. al-Nu'mān b. Zayd b. [illegible] Total 2 men.

[illegible] Tha'laba b. [illegible] Rifā'a b. Ghanm b. [illegible] Khuzayma b. Anas b. Zayd b. Aswad b. Zayd, and Rāfi' b. al-Ḥārith b. Sawād b. Zayd. Total 3 men.

Of B. Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanm: 'Auf and Mu'awwidh and Mu'ādh sons of al-Ḥārith b. Rifā'a b. Sawād by 'Afrā (480), and al-Nu'mān b. [illegible] Sawād and Abdullah b. Qays b. Khālid b. Khālada b. al-Ḥārith, and [illegible] an ally from Aslam, and Wadī'a b. Amr an ally from Juhayna and Thābit b. 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Adiy. They allege that Abū'l-Ḥamrā' freedman of al-Ḥārith b. 'Afrā' was at Badr (481). Total 10 men.

Of B. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, 'Amir being Mukhallad of the clan of B. [illegible] b. 'Amr b. Mabzūl b. 'Amr b. [illegible] and al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma b. [illegible] share in the booty. Total 3 men.

Of B. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, the B. Mudrila, of the clan of B. Qays b. [illegible] Ubayy b. Ka'b b. Qays; and Anas b. Mu'ādh b. Anas b. Qays. Total [illegible] 8 men.

[illegible] Zayda Manāt b. 'Adiy. Total 3 men.

Of B. 'Adiy b. al-Najjār of the clan of B. Adiy b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm b. al-Najjār: Hārisha b. Suraqa b. al-Hārith b. Adiy b. Mālik b. Adiy b. Āmir. Amr b. Thābit or Wahb b. Adiy b. Mālik b. Adiy b. Āmir known as Abu Haitha. Sālit b. Qays b. Amr b. Atīk b. Mālik b. Adiy b. Āmir. Abu Sālit, Lawrīa b. Amr, and Amr Abu Khārija b. Qays b. Mālik b. Adiy b. Āmir, Thābit b. Khansā' b. 'Amr b. Mālik, &c., Amr b. Umayya b. Zayd b. al-Ghulāb b. Mālik, &c., and Muqrin b. 'Āmir b. Mālik b. 'Adiy, and Sawād b. Ghaziya b. Uhayb an ally from Bali (494). Total 8 men.

Of B. Hārisa b. Tawālab b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Adiy b. al-Najjār: Abū Zayd Qays b. Sakan b. Qays b. Zu'ūra b. Fasām, and Abu l-A'war b. al-Hārith b. Zālim b. Abu b. Hārisa (495), and Sulaym b. Mālik and Hārisa his brother. Mālik's mother was Mālik b. Khālid b. Zayd b. Garām. Total 4 men.

Of B. Māzin b. al-Najjār of the clan of B. Auf b. Mabdhūl b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin b. al-Najjār: Qays b. Abū Sa'sa'a whose name was Amr b. Zayd b. Auf, and Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Amr b. 'Auf, and Umayma an ally from B. Asad b. Khuzayma. Total 3 men.

Of B. Khansā b. Mabdhūl b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin: Abū Dā'ūd 'Umayr b. 'Āmir b. Mālik b. Khansā', and Suraqa b. Amr b. Atiya. Total 2 men.

Of B. Tha'laba b. Māzin b. al-Najjār: Qays b. Mukhallad b. Tha'laba b. Sakhr b. Habīb b. al-Hārith b. Tha'laba. Total [illegible]

Of B. Dīnār b. al-Najjār of the clan of B. Mas'ūd b. 'Abdu' [illegible] Hārisha b. Dīnār: al-Nu'mān b. Abdu Amr b. Mas'ūd, and [illegible] b. Abdu Amr b. Mas'ūd, and Sulaym b. al-Hārith b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. Hārisa brother of al-Dahhāk and al-Nu'mān the sons of Abdu Amr by the same mother; Jābir b. Khālid b. Abdu'l-Ashhal b. Hārisa, and Sa'd b. Suhayl b. Abdu'l-Ashhal. Total 5 men.

Of B. Qays b. Mālik b. Ka'b b. Hārisa b. Dīnār b. al-Najjār: Ka'b b. Zayd b. Qays, and Bujayr b. Abū Bujayr an ally (496). Total 2 men.

The men of al-Khazraj who were at Badr number 170 (497).

Thus the total number of Muslims, emigrants, and Helpers who were at Badr and were allotted a share in the booty was 314, the emigrants providing 83, Aus 61, and Khazraj 170.

THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO DIED AS MARTYRS AT BADR[1]

Of Quraysh of the clan of B. al-Muttalib: 'Ubayda b. al-Hārith whom 'Utba b. Rabī'a slew by cutting off his leg. He afterwards died at al-Safrā'. Total 1.

Of B. Zuhra b. Kilāb: 'Umayr b. Abū Waqqās (498) and [illegible] Shamālaya b. 'Abdu 'Amr an ally from Khuzā'a of B. Ghubshān. Total 2.

[1] As these martyrs' names have already been given in full their genealogies are mentioned here.

Of B. Asad b. Ka'b: Ayāl b. al-Bukayr an ally from B. Sa'd b. Layth, and Mihja freedman of 'Umar. Total 2.

Of B. al-Hārith b. Fihr: Safwān b. Bayḍā'. Total 1, Grand total 8.

Of the Helpers, of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Sa'd b. Khaythama, and Mubashshir b. 'Abdu'l Mundhir b. Zanbar. Total 2.

Of B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj: Yazīd b. al-Hārith known as Ibn Fusḥum. Total 1.

Of B. Salama of the clan of B. Harām b. Ka'b b. Ghanm: 'Umayr b. al-Hamām. Total 1.

Of B. Habīb b. Abdu Hāritha b. Mālik b. Ghaḍb b. Jushamī: Rifā'a b. al-Mu'allā. Total 1.

Of B. al-Najjār: Hārisa b. Suraqa b. al-Hārith. Total 1.

Of B. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār: 'Auf and Mu'awwidh the two sons of al-Hārith b. Rifā'a by 'Afrā'. Total 2, Grand total 8.

THE NAMES OF THE POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE SLAIN AT BADR

The Quraysh losses at Badr were as follow:

Of B. 'Abdu Shams: Hanzala b. Abū Sufyān (499); al-Hārith b. al-Badrami and Āmir b. al-Hajrami, two allies of theirs (500); and 'Umayr b. Abū 'Umayr and his son two freedmen of theirs (501); and 'Ubayda b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya whom al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām [illegible] al-Walīd b. 'Utba whom Ali killed, and Āmir b. 'Abdullah, an ally from B. Ammār b. Baghīḍ whom Ali killed. Total 12.

Of B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manāf: al-Hārith b. Āmir whom Khubayb b. Iṣāf is said to have killed, and Tu'aymā b. Adiy b. Naufal whom Ali killed while others say Hamza killed him. Total 2.

Of B. Asad b. Abdu'l-'Uzzā: Zama'a b. al-Aswad (504), and al-Hārith b. Zama'a (505); and Uqayl b. al-Aswad (506), and Abu'l-Bakhtari who was al-'Āṣ b. Hishām whom al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād al-Balawī [illegible] of Khuzā'a: it was he who bound Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullah with a rope when they became Muslims and so were called the-two-tied-together (sic). He was one of the principal men of Quraysh. Ali killed his [illegible] men.

Of Abdu'l-Dār: al-Nadr b. al-Hārith whom they say that Ali executed in the presence of the apostle at al-Ṣafrā' (508), and Zayd b. Mulayṣ freedman of 'Umayr b. Hishām b. 'Abdu Manāf (509). Total 2.

Of B. Taym b. Murra: 'Umayr b. 'Uthmān (510), and 'Uthmān b. Mālik whom Suhayb b. Sinān killed. Total 2.

Of B. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa: Abū Jahl b. Hishām (Mu'ādh b. 'Amr

struck off his leg. His son Thawr struck off Mu'adh's hand and he threw it from him, then Mu'awwidh b. 'Afra' struck him so that he disabled him leaving him at the last gasp, then 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud quickly despatched him and cut off his head when the apostle ordered that search should be made among the slain for him), and al-'Ās b. Hishām whom 'Umar killed and Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh, an ally from B. Tawām (511); and Abū Musāfi' al-Ash'arī an ally (512) and Hermās b. 'Amr an ally (513), and Mas'ūd b. Abū Umayya (514) and Abū Qays b. al-Walīd (515), and Abū Qays b. al-Fākih (516) and Rifā'a b. Abū Rifā'a (517); and al-Mundhir b. Abū Rifā'a (518); and 'Abdullāh b. al-Mundhir (519); and al-Sā'ib b. Abū'l-Sā'ib (520) and al-Aswad b. 'Abdu'l-Asad whom Hamza killed and Hajib b. al-Sā'ib (521) and 'Uwaymir b. al-Sā'ib (522), and 'Amr b. Sufyān and 'Abir b. Sufyān, two allies from Tayyi' (523). Total 17.

Of B. Sahm b. 'Amr: Munabbih b. al-Hajjāj whom Abū'l-Yusr killed, and his son al-'Ās (524) and Nubayh b. al-Hajjāj (525), and Abū'l-'Ās b. Qays (526) and 'Āmir b. 'Auf (527). Total 5.

Of B. Jumah: Umayya b. Khalaf whom a Helper of B. Māzin killed (528), and his son 'Alī b. Umayya whom 'Ammār killed and 'Amr b. Mi'yar (529). Total 3.

Of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr, an ally from 'Abdu'l-Qays whom 'Alī killed (530), and Ma'bad b. Wahb, an ally from B. Kalb b. 'Auf whom Khālid and Iyās the two sons of al-Bukayr killed (531). Total 2.

Thus the total number of Quraysh slain at Badr as given to us is 50 men (532).

532 A LIST OF THE QURAYSH POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE TAKEN PRISONER AT BADR

From B. Hāshim b. 'Abdu Manāf: 'Aqīl b. Abū Tālib and Nawfal b. al-Hārith b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib.

From B. al-Muttalib b. 'Abdu Manāf: al-Sā'ib b. 'Ubayd b. 'Abdu Yazīd and Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. 'Alqama. 2.

From B. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf: 'Amr b. Abū Sufyān b. Harb b. Umayya and al-Hārith b. Abū Wajza b. Abū 'Amr b. Umayya (533), and Abū'l-'Ās b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā, and Abū'l-'Ās b. Nawfal; and of their allies Abū Rīsha b. Abū 'Amr and 'Amr b. al-Azraq and 'Uqba b. 'Abdu'l-Hārith b. al-Hadrami. 7.

[illegible] Hashimite or [illegible] but [illegible] Muslims and [illegible] Abū al-[illegible] prisoners. [illegible] a case in that one prisoner whose name is not mentioned is missing from the list.

From B. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manāf: 'Adiy b. al-Khiyār b. 'Adiy and 'Uthmān b. 'Abdu Shams nephew of Ghazwān b. Jābir, an ally of theirs from B. Māzin b. Mansūr and Abū Thawr, an ally. 3.

From B. 'Abdu'l-Dār b. Qusayy: Abū 'Azīz b. 'Umayr b. Hishām b. 'Abdu Manāf and al-Aswad b. 'Amr an ally. They used to say 'We are the B. al-Aswad b. 'Amir b. 'Amr b. al-Hārith b. al-Sabbāq.' 2.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Qusayy: al-Sā'ib b. Abū Hubaysh b. al-Muttalib b. Asad and al-Huwayrith b. 'Abīd b. 'Uthmān (534), b. Asad, and Sālim b. Shammākh an ally. 3.

From B. Makhzūm b. Yaqaza b. Murra: Khālid b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar, and Umayya b. Abū Hudhayfa b. al-Mughīra, and Walīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra; son 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar, and Sayfī b. Abū Rifā'a 534
b. 'Abd b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar and Abū'l-Mundhir his brother; and Abū 'Azza 'Abdullāh b. Abū'l-Sā'ib b. 'Ābid b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar, and al-Muttalib b. Hanta b. al-Hārith b. 'Ubayd b. 'Umar; and Khālid b. al-A'lam an ally who they say was the first to turn his back in flight. He it was who said,

> The arrows that bleed are not on our backs
> But the blood drops on to our feet. 9 (535).

From B. Salma b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka'b: Abū Wadī'a b. Dubayra b. Su'ayd b. Sa'd who was the first prisoner to be redeemed. His son al-Muttalib paid his ransom money. Farwa b. Qays b. Adiy b. Hudhāfa b. Sa'd, and Hanzala b. Qabīsa b. Hudhāfa b. Sa'd, and al-Hajjāj b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. 'Adiy b. Sa'd. 4.

From B. Jumah b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka'b: 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhāfa and Abū 'Azza 'Amr b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Uthmān b. Wuhayb b. Hudhāfa and al-Fākih, freedman of Umayya b. Khalaf. After this Rabīh b. al-Mughtarif claimed him asserting that he was of B. Shammākh b. Muhārib b. Fihr. It is said that al-Fākih was the son of Jarwal b. Hidhyam b. 'Adī b. 'Abdu b. Shammākh b. Muhārib b. Fihr; and Wahb b. 'Umayr b. Wahb b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhāfa: and Rabī'a b. Darraj b. al-'Anbas b. Lihbān b. Wahb b. Hudhāfa. 5.

From B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Mālik b. Hisl (Mālik b. al-Dukhshum brother of B. Salīm b. 'Auf took him prisoner), and 'Abd b. Zam'a b. Qays b. 'Abdu 535
Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Mālik b. Hisl, and 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Mashnū' b. Wahb b. Qays b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Mālik b. Hisl b. 'Āmir. 3.

From B. al-Hārith b. Fihr: al-Tufayl b. Abū Qusayy; and 'Uqba b. 'Amr b. Jahdam. 2.

The total number reported to me was 43 men (536).

SOME POETRY ABOUT THE BATTLE OF BADR

Of the poetry about the battle of Badr which the two parties handled between them in reference to what happened therein are the lines of Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib (537):

Surely one of time's wonders[1]
(Though roads to death are plain to see)
Is that a people should destroy themselves and perish[2]
By encouraging one another to disobedience and disbelief.
The night they all set out for Badr
And became death's pawns in its well.
We had sought but their caravan, naught else,
But they came to us and we met unexpectedly.[3]
When we met there was no way out
Save with a thrust from dun-coloured straight-fashioned shafts
And a blow with swords which severed their heads,
Swords that glittered as they smote.
We left the erring 'Utba lying dead
And Shayba among the slain thrown in the well,
'Amr lay dead among their protectors
And the leaning women rent their garments for him.
The noble women of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib
Who surpass the best of Fihr
Those were folk who were killed in their error
And they left a banner not prepared for victory—
A banner of error whose people Iblīs led.
He betrayed them (the evil one is prone to treachery).
When he saw things clearly he said to them,
'I am quit of you. I can no longer endure,[4]
I see what you do not see, I fear God's punishment
For He is invincible.
He led them to death so that they perished
While he knew what they could not know
On the day of the well they mustered a thousand,
We three hundred like excited white stallions.
With us were God's armies when He reinforced us with them
In a place that will ever be renowned.
537 Under our banner Gabriel attached with them
In the fray where they met their death,

[1] Lit. Did you see a thing that was one of time's wonders!
That a people, &c.
[2] Reading *fahiba* with C.
[3] *'alā qadrin*, lit. by (God's) decree.
[4] Cf. Sūra 8, 50. The preceding lines seem to be the work of the man who wrote the poem attributed to Hassān. Cf. W 475, line 2.

Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra answered them thus:

Help, O my people, in my longing and loss
My sorrow and burning heart!
Tears flow copiously from my eyes
Like pearls falling from the cord of the woman who strings them,
Weeping for the sweet-natured hero
Death's pawn at the well of Badr.
Bless you, Amr kinsman and companion of most generous nature,
If certain men chanced to meet you when your luck was out,
Well, time is bound to bring its changes.
In past times which are gone
You brought upon them a humiliation which is hard to bear,
Unless I die I shall not leave you unavenged.
I will spare neither brother nor wife's kin,
I will slay as many dear to them
As they have skin of mine.
Have strangers whom they have collected deceived them
While we are the pure stock of Fihr?
Help, O Lu'ayy, protect your sanctuary and your gods:
Give them not up to the evil man![1]
Your fathers handed them down and you inherited their foundations,[2]
The temple with its roof and curtain,
Why did the reprobate want to destroy you?[3]
Forgive him not, O tribe of Ghālib,
Fight your adversary with all your might and help one another.
Bear one another's afflictions with endurance,
You may well avenge your brother
Nothing matters if you fail to take revenge on 'Amr's slayers.
With waving swords flashing in your hands like lightning
Sending heads flying as they glitter,
As if were the tracks of ants on their blades
When they are unsheathed against the evil-eyed enemy (538).

'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib said:

Have you not seen how God favoured His apostle
With the favour of a strong, powerful, and gracious one;
How He brought humiliation on the unbelievers
Who were put to shame in captivity and death,
While the apostle of God's victory was glorious
He being sent by God in righteousness.
He brought the Furqān near down from God,

[1] The text has *fakki*. This must be one of the words which I.H. says that he altered. The change of a dot would give *fajr*, which is adopted here.
[2] Or 'columns'.
[3] Reading *dhawla* or *la'na* for *nakla* in the text.

Its signs[1] are plain to men of sense.
Some firmly believed in that and were convinced
And (thanks to God) became one people.[2]
Others disbelieved, their minds went astray
And the Lord of the throne brought repeated calamities upon them.
At Badr He gave them into the power of His apostle
And an angry army who did valiantly.
They smote them with their trusty swords,
Furbished well, and polished.
How many a hasty youngster,
Many a hardy warrior did they leave prone.
Their keening women spent a sleepless night,
Their tears now strong, now weak
They keen for erring 'Utba and his son,
And Shayba and Abū Jahl
And Dhū'l-Rijl[3] and Ibn Jud'ān also,
With burning throats in mourning garb displaying bereavement.
Dead in Badr's well lay many,
Brave in war generous in times of dearth.
Error called them and some responded
(For error has ways easy to adopt).
Now they are in Hell,
Too occupied to rage furiously against us.

Al-Hārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra answered him thus:

I wonder at folk whose fool sings
Of folly captious and vain,
Singing about the slain at Badr
When young and old vied in glorious endeavour,
The brave swordsmen of Lu'ayy, Ibn Ghālib,
Thrusting in battle, feasting the hungry in times of dearth.
They died nobly, they did not sell their family
For strangers alien in stock and homeland,
Like you who have made Ghassān your special friends
Instead of us—a sorry deed,
An impious, odious crime, and a severing of the ties of blood
Men of judgement and understanding perceive your wrongdoing.
True, they are men who have passed away,
But the best death is on the battlefield.
Rejoice not that you have killed them,
For their death will bring you repeated disaster.
Now they are dead you will always be divided,

[1] Or 'its messages'
[2] *shaml*, or 'lived in harmony'. See Lyall, *The Poems of 'Amr ibn al-Qami'ah*, Cambridge, 1904, p. 4.
[3] i.e. Abū Ayyūb whose leg Hamza hewed off, q.v.

Not one people as you desire.
By the loss of Ibn Jud'ān, the praiseworthy,
And 'Utba, and him who is called Abū Jahl among you.
Shayba and Al-Walīd were among them,
Umayya, the refuge of the poor, and Dhū'l-Rijl.
Weep for these and not for others,
The keening women will bewail their loss and bereavement,
Say to the people of Mecca, Assemble yourselves
And go to palmy Medina's forts,
Defend yourselves and fight, O people of Ka'b,
With your polished and burnished swords
Or pass the night in fear and trembling
By day meaner than the sandal that is trodden underfoot.
But know, O men that by Al-Lāt, I am sure
That you will not rest without taking vengeance
All of you, don your mail, take the spear,
The helmet, sharp sword and arrows.

Dirār b. al-Khattāb b. Murdās brother of Banū Muhārib b. Fihr said:

I wonder at the boasting of Aus when death is coming to them to-morrow
(Since time contains its warnings)
And at the boasting of the Banū'l-Najjār because certain men died there.
For all of them were steadfast men.
If some of our men were left dead
We shall leave others dead on the field.[1]
Our flying steeds will carry us among you,
Till we slake our vengeance, O Banū'l-Aus,
We shall return to the charge in the midst of the Banū'l-Najjār,
Our horses snorting under the weight of the spearmen clad in [illegible]
Your dead we shall leave with vultures circling round
To look for help but a vain desire
Yathrib's women will mourn them,
Their nights long and sleepless
Because our swords will cut them down,
Dripping with the blood of their victims
Though you won on the day of Badr
Your good fortune was plainly due to Ahmad
And the chosen band, his friends,
Who protected him in battle when death was at hand.
Abū Bakr and Hamza could be numbered among them

[1] Apparently al-Aswad the Makhzūmite whose leg was cut off as he tried to drink from the well at Badr is meant. See W 445.
[2] i.e. of the enemy. C and W differ in this line.

And Ali among those you could mention,
Abū Hab and 'Uthmān were of them,
Sa'd too, if anyone was present,
Those men—not the begettings of Aus and Najjār—
Should be the object of your boasting,
But their father was from Lu'ayy Ibn Ghālib,
Ka'b and 'Āmir when noble families are reckoned.
They are the men who repelled the cavalry on every frame,
The noble and glorious on the day of battle.

Ka'b b. Mālik brother of the B. Salima said

I wonder at God's deed, since He
Does what He wills, none can defeat Him.
He decreed that we should meet at Badr
An evil band (and evil ever leads to death),
They had summoned their neighbours on all sides
Until they formed a great host.
At us alone they came with ill intent,
Ka'b and 'Āmir and all of them.
With us was God's apostle with Aus round him
Like a strong impregnable fortress
The tribes of Banū Najjār beneath his banner
Advancing in light armour while the dust rose high.
When we met, here was every steadfast warrior
Ventured his life with his comrades
We testified to the unity of God
And that His apostle brought the truth.
When our light swords were unsheathed
'Twas as though fire flashed at their movement.
With them we smote them and they scattered
And the impious met death,
Abū Jahl lay dead on his face
And 'Utba our swords left in the dirt.[1]
Shayba and Al-Taymī they left on the battlefield,
Everyone of them denied Him who sitteth on the throne
They became fuel for Hell,
For every unbeliever must go there.
It will consume them, while the stoker
Increases its heat with pieces of iron and stone.[2]
God's apostle had called them to him
But they turned away, saying, 'You are nothing but a sorcerer.'
Because God willed to destroy them,
And none can avert what He decrees.

Reading ḍarb with some authorities for ḍirāb, though their verses sometimes interchange.

[1] Cf. Sūra xli. 44.

'Abdullāh b. al-Ziba'rā al-Sahmī (an ally of the B. 'Abdu'l-Dār),[1] bewailing the slain at Badr, said (539):

What noble warriors, handsome men, lie round Badr's battlefield.
They left behind them Nubayh and Munabbih and
The two sons of Rabī'a, best fighters against odds,
And the generous Hārith, whose face shone
Like the full moon illuminating night,
And al-'Ās b. Munabbih, the strong,
Like a long lance without a flaw.
His origin and his ancestors
And the glory of his father's and his mother's kin raise him high.
If one must weep and show great grief
Let it be over the glorious chief Ibn Hishām,
Out, lord of creatures, save Abū'l-Walīd and his family
And grant them special favour.

Hassān b. Thābit al-Ansārī answered him:

Weep, may your eyes weep blood,
Their rapid flow ever renewed.
Why weep for those who ran to evil ways?
Why have you not mentioned the virtues of our people
And our glorious, purposeful, tolerant, courageous one,
The prophet, soul of virtue and generosity,
The truest man that ever swore an oath?
One who resembles him and does his teaching
Was the most praised there not without effect.[2]

Hassān also said

A maiden disturbs thy mind in sleep
Giving the sleeper a drink with cool lips
Like musk mingled with pure water
Or red wine red as the blood of sacrifices
Wide in the rump, her buttocks ripples of fat,
Vivacious, not hasty in swearing an oath.
Her well-covered hips as she sits
Form a hollow in her back like a marble mortar.
So lazy she can hardly go to bed,
Of beautiful body and lovely figure.
By day I never fail to think of her,

[1] In deference to the text these words have been retained, but they occur after J.H.'s emendation as which he ascribes the poem to al-'Ās b. Zu'aibir, an ally of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, and al-'Abdullāh, though he belonged to Sahm, was in the *ahlāf* alliance with B. 'Abdu'l-Dār, could hardly be called a *halīf*. Therefore it seems as if the words refer to al-Ashhal. Whether al-'Ās quoted them because he knew that he differed from him, or whether someone else did for the same reason, is not ascertainable to say.

[2] The line is clumsy and the syntax questionable.

By night my dreams inflame my desire for her
I swear I will not forget to think of her
Until my bones lie in the grave.
O woman who foolishly blames me,
I refuse to accept blame on account of my love
She came to me at dawn after I woke
When life's troubles were at hand.
She told me that man is sad all his life
Because he lacks plenty of camels,
If you lied in what you said
May you escape the consequences as Al-Hārith b. Hishām did.
He left his friends fearing to fight in their defence,
And escaped by giving his horse free rein.
It left the swift steeds behind in the desert
As the weighted rope drops down the well.
His mare galloped away at full speed while
His friends remained in their evil plight
[His brothers and his family were in the battle
In which God gave the Muslims victory—
For God accomplishes His work—war ground them to powder,
In fire blazed (with them as fuel).
But for God and the animal's speed (our horses) had left him
A prey to wild beasts (trodden under their hoofs.)
Some of them firmly bound prisoners (though they were)
Hawks protecting (their young) when they met the spears,
Some prostrate never to answer to the call
Till the highest mountains cease to be,
In shame and plain disgrace when they saw
The sword blades driving every resolute chief before them.
Swords in the hands of noble valiant chiefs,
Whose noble ancestry is vindicated without searching inquiry.
Swords that strike fire from steel
Like lightning beath the storm clouds.

Al-Hārith answered him and said:

The people know well[1] I did not leave the fight until my steed was forming with blood
I know that if I fought alone I should be killed my death would not injure the enemy
So I withdrew and left my friends meaning to avenge them another day.

[1] These three verses are obviously a later interpolation. The sense requires that the positive one should follow the antecedent 'his friends'. Moreover, the extraneous party of these verses is foreign to Hassān.

[2] C. 'Are God knows best' but this is almost certainly wrong. I have followed the text of W.

[This is what Al-Hārith said in excuse for running away from the battle of Badr (540).]

Hassān also said:[1]

Quraysh knew on the day of Badr
The day of captivity and violent slaughter,
That when the lances crossed we were the victors
In the battle of Abū Wādiq.
We killed Rabī'a's two sons the day they came
Clad in double mail against us.
Hokām fled on the day that the Banū'l-Najjār
Advanced upon them like lions.
All the men of Fihr turned tail,
The miserable Hārith abandoned them from afar.
You met shame and death
Quick, decisive, under the neck vein
All the force turned tail together.
They paid no heed to ancestral honour

Hassān also said:[2]

O Hārith, you took a base decision in war
And the day when ancestral fame is shown.
When you rode a swift-footed noble mare,
Rapid-paced and long in flank,
Leaving your people behind to be slain,
Thinking only of escape when you should have stood fast
Could you not have shown concern for your mother's son
Who lay crucified by spears, his body stripped?
God hastened to destroy his host
In shameful disgrace and painful punishment! (541).

Hassān also said (542):[3]

A bold intrepid man—no coward—
Led those clad in light chain armour.
I mean the apostle of God the Creator
Who favoured him with piety and goodness above all:
You had said you would protect your caravan
And that Badr's waters could not be reached[4] by us,
There we had come down, not heeding your words so that
We drank to the full without stint.
Holding fast to an unseverable rope,
The well plaited rope of God that stretches far
We have the apostle and we have the truth which we follow

[1] *Dīwān* lxxx. [2] *Dīwān* [illegible] *Dīwān* xix
Reading *ruwwad* for *mirdā*. *Dīwān* includes [illegible] the [illegible] in [illegible]

To the death, we have help unlimited
Faithful to his promise, intrepid, a brilliant star,
A full moon that outs light on every noble man (543).

Hassān also said:[1]

The Banū Asad were disappointed and their raiders returned
On the day of the Well in misery and disgrace.
Abū'l-'Āṣ soon lay dead on the ground:
Hurled from the back of his galloping steed
He met his end with his weapons, good fighter as he was
When he lay still in death.
The man Zam'a we left with his throat severed,
His life blood flowing away.
His forehead cushioned in the dust.
His nostrils defiled with filth;
Ibn Qays escaped with a remnant of his tribe
Covered with wounds, at the point of death.

Hassān also said:[2]

Can anyone say if the Meccans know
How we slew the unbelievers in their evil hour?
We killed their leaders in the battle
And they returned a shattered force
We killed Abū Jahl and 'Utba before him,
And Shayba fell forward with his hands outstretched.[3]
We killed Suwayd and 'Utba after him,
Ju'ma also in the dust of combat.
Many a noble, generous man we slew
Of lofty line, illustrious among his people
We left them as meat for hyaenas
Later to burn in Hell fire.[4]
Faith Mālik's horsemen and their followers were no protection
When they met us at Badr (544).

Hassān also said:[5]

Hakīm's speed saved him on the day of Badr
Like the speed of a colt from al-'Awj or Aqrab.[6]
When he saw Ka'b's valley walls
Swarming with the black-mailed squadrons of Khazraj
Who do not retire when they meet the enemy,
Who march boldly in the middle of the beaten track.

[1] *Diwān* xxvii [2] *Diwān* xlii
[3] The true reading is *wāqi'*. *W. a rabb* is an obvious misprint. The widely different reading in H's *Diwān* is markedly inferior
[4] A reminiscence of Sūra 48 [5] *Diwān* lxxx
[6] A horse as famous in pagan Arabia as Black Bess in English legend

How many a valiant chief they have,
Heroes where the coward turns at bay,
Chiefs giving lavishly with open hand,
Crowned ones bearing the burden of blood-wite,
Ornaments at conclave, persistent in battle,
Smiting the bold with their all-piercing swords (545).

Hassān also said:

Thanks to God we fear not an army
How many they be with their assembled troops.
Whenever they brought a multitude against us
The gracious Lord sufficed us against their swords:
At Badr we raised our spears aloft,
Death did not dismay us.
You could not see a body of men
More dangerous to those they attack when war is stirred up,[1]
But we put our trust [in God] and said
'Our swords are our fame and our defence.'
With them we met them and were victorious
Though but a band against their thousands.

Hassān also said, mourning B. Jumah and those of them who were slain.

Banū Jumah rushed headlong to disaster[2] because of their unlucky star
(The mean man inevitably meets humiliation).
They were conquered and slain at Badr,
They deserted in all directions,
They rejected the scripture and called Muhammad liar.
But God makes the religion of every apostle victorious,
God curse Abū Khuzayma and his son,
The two Khālids and Sā'id b. 'Aqīl.

'Ubayda b. al-Hārith said about the battle of Badr, and the cutting off of his foot when it was smitten in the fight, when he and Hamza and 'Alī fought their enemies (546)

A battle will tell the Meccans about us:
It will make distant men give heed,
When 'Utba died and Shayba after him
And 'Utba's eldest son had no cause to be pleased with it.[3]
You may cut off my leg, yet I am a Muslim,
I hope in exchange for a life near to Allāh
With Houris fashioned like the most beautiful statues
With the highest heaven for those who mount there.

[1] The metaphor is that of the unlucky admixture of the he-camel to the cows.
[2] Here there is a pun on the name *Jumah*.
[3] 'Utba's brother al-Walīd was also slain at Badr.

I have bought it with a life of which I have tasted the best[1]
And which I have tried until I lost even my next-of-kin,
The Merciful honoured me with His favour
With the garment of Islam to cover my faults,
I did not shrink from fighting them
The day that men called on their peers to fight them,
When they asked the prophet he sought only us three
So that we came out to the herald
We met them like lions, brandishing our spears,
We fought the rebellious for God's sake,
We three did not move from our position
'Till their fate came upon them.[1a]

When 'Ubayda died of the wound in his leg at the battle of Badr, Ka'b b. Mālik, the Anṣārī, wrote this elegy on him:

O eye, be generous, not niggardly,
With thy true tears, spare them not
For a man whose death appalled us,
Noble in deed and in descent,
Bold in attack with sharpened sword,
Of noble repute and goodly descent.[2]
'Ubayda has passed away, we cannot hope
For good or evil from him,
On the eve of battle he used to protect our rearguard with his sword.

Ka'b also said:

Have Ghassān heard in their distant haunt
(The best intermediary is one with knowledge thereof),
That Mu'āwiyah shot their arrows at us,
The whole tribe of them were hostile,
Because we worship God, seeking in none other,
Hoping for heaven's gardens since their prophet has come to us,
A prophet with a glorious inheritance among his people,
And truthful ancestors whose origin made them pure,
Both sides advanced, and we met them like lions
Whose victims have nothing to hope for,
We smote there in the battle
'Till Lu'ayy's leader fell upon his face.
They fled, and we cut them down with our sharp swords,
Their allies and their tribesmen alike.

Ka'b also said:

By your father's life, ye sons of Lu'ayy,
Despite your deceit and guile,

[1] Binding in amulets.
Or making medicines, of sweet breath.

[1a] Lit. guarantee.

Your horsemen did not protect you at Badr.
They could not stand fast when they met us;
We came there with God's light
Clearing away the cover of darkness from us.
God's apostle led us, by God's order,
An order He had fixed by decree.
Your horsemen could not conquer at Badr
And returned to you in evil case
Do not hurry, Abū Sufyān, and watch
For the fine steeds coming up from Badr',[1]
By God's help the holy spirit is among them[2]
And Michael, what a goodly company!

Ṭālib b. Abū Ṭālib, praising the apostle and lamenting the men of Quraysh who were thrown into the pit at Badr, said:

My eye wept copiously
Over Ka'b, though it was there not
Ka'b deserted one another in the war, and
Fate destroyed them, they having greatly sinned.[3]
And 'Amir this morning are weeping for the misfortunes (that befell them).
Shall I ever see them closer (to each other)?
They are my brothers, their mother no harlot,
And never their guest suffered wrong
O our brothers 'Abdu Shams and Nawfal, may I be your ransom,
Put not war between us. After the love and friendship we had
Remove not (the subject of) stories in which all of you have something to complain of
Do you not know what happened in the war of Dabra
And when Abū Yakūm's army filled the ravine
Had not God the Sole Exalter saved you
You could not have protected your people.
We among Quraysh have done no great wrong
But merely protected the best man that ever trod the earth,
A standby in misfortunes, generous,
Noble in reputation, no niggard, no wrongdoer.
His door is thronged by those seeking his bounty,
A sea of generosity, vast, unfailing.
By God, my soul will ever be sad,
Restless, until you unite Khazraj well and truly.

Durayd b. al-Khattāb al-Fihrī lamenting Abū Jahl said:

Alas for my eye that cannot sleep
Watching the stars in the darkness of the night!

[1] A place near Mecca. Cf. W. Sag. line 8.
[2] The language is reminiscent of SQM 4j. 30

[3] i.e. Gabriel.

It is as though a note were in it,
But there is naught but flowing tears.
Tell Quraysh that the best of their company
The noblest man that ever walked
At Badr lies imprisoned in the well
The noble one, not base-born and no ruffian
I swear that my eyes shall never weep for any man
Now Abū'l-Hakam our chief is slain
I weep for him whose death brought sorrow to Lu'ayy b. Ghālib,
To whom death came at Badr where he remains.
You could see fragments of spears in his horse's chest
Scraps of his flesh plainly intermingled with them.
No lion lurking in the valley of Bisha,
Where through jungled vales the waters flow,
Was bolder than he when lances clashed.
When the cry went forth among the valiant 'Dismount'[1]
Grieve not overmuch, Mughira's kin, be resolute
(Though he who so grieves is not to be blamed).
Be strong, for death is your glory
And thereafter if life's end there is no regret
I said that victory will be yours
And high renown—no man of sense will doubt it (548).

550 Al-Hārith b. Hishām, bewailing his brother Abū Jahl, said

Alas my soul for 'Amr
But can grief avail one whit?[2]
Someone told me that 'Amr
Was the first of his people to go into the old abandoned pit.
I have always thought it right (that you should be the first),
Since your judgement in the past was sound.
I was happy while you were alive;
Now I am left in a miserable state.
At night when I cannot see him I feel
A prey to indecision and full of care.
When daylight comes once more
My eye is weary of remembering 'Amr (549).

Abū Bakr b. al-Aswad b. Shu'ūb al-Laythī, whose name was Shaddād, said

Umamu Bakr gave me the greeting of peace;
But what peace can I have now my people are no more?
In the pit, the pit of Badr,
What singing girls and noble home companions!

[1] Or, perhaps, 'To battle'
[2] A happy suggestion of the editors of C. is to read *ḥaṭṭ*, a Talmudic figure for complete [illegible]. This is much to be preferred to the obvious *qaṭṭ* of the MSS

In the pit, the pit of Badr,
What platters piled high with choicest camel-meat!
In the well, the well of Badr
How many camels straying freely were yours!
In the well, the well of Badr,
How many flags[1] and sumptuous gifts!
What friends to the noble Abū 'Alī,
Brother of the generous cup and loyal companions!
If you were to see Abū 'Aqīl
And the men of the pass of Ni'lān
You would mourn over them like the mother of a new-born camel
Yearning over her darling.
'The apostle tells us that we shall live,
But how can bodies and wraiths meet again?'[2] (550)

Umayya b. Abī'l-Salt, lamenting those who died at Badr, said:

Would'st thou not weep over the nobles,
Sons of nobles, praised by all,
As the doves mourn upon the leafy boughs,
Upon the bending branches,
Weeping in soft dejected notes
When they return at nightfall
Like them are the weeping women,
The keeners who lift up their voices.
He who weeps them weeps in real sorrow,
He who praises them tells the truth.
What chiefs and leaders
At Badr and al-'Aqanqal,
At Madāhi'u'l-Barqayn and Al-Hannān,
At the end of al-Awdashīh,
Grey-beards and youths. Bold leaders.
Raiders impetuous!
See you not what I see
When it is plain to all beholden,

Or, possibly, 'great intentions'
[2] *Hadā*. The old Arabs believed that when a man had been killed and his slayer was still at large a bird like an owl came forth from his head crying, 'Give me to drink, give me to drink' (the slayer's blood). The word *ṣ-ṣ-d* (*ṣarward*) seems to be applied to the head or brain, and to the corpse itself, which seems to be the meaning here. Nöldeke (ZDMG 1904, p. 1) proposes the head of a man or the bird emerging therefrom which could be conceived as a wraith. For the sign of our text Bukhārī III, 45 [illegible] reads *ḥaqq* 'petition' while Shahrastānī (Milal, 43) has the reading quoted by [illegible]. A poem that is appropriately another version, will be found in the *Ḥadīth al-Ghāshiya* (J.R.A.S. 1905, p. 8 ff.) by Fritz Krenkow. Abū Ḥātim (Tarīkh Bakhsha) promises us that we shall live! The muse [illegible] because such a dramatic [illegible] of the prophet would hardly have been allowed at that time. Commentators explain that the prophet was called the Bakhsha (for Abū Kabsha), after a man of that name who during the pagan era abandoned the religion of his fathers.

That the vale of Mecca has altered,
Become a valley deserted
By every chief son of a chief,
Fair-skinned, illustrious,
Constantly at the gate of kings,
Crossing the desert, victorious,
Strong-necked, stout of body,
Men of eminence, successful in enterprise,
Who say and do and order what is right,
Who feed their guests on fat meat
Served on broad white as a lamb's stomach,
Who offer dishes and yet more dishes
As large as water pools
The hungry finds them not empty
Nor wide without depth.
To guests after guests they send them
With broad open hand,
Givers of hundreds from hundreds of milch camels
To hundreds of their guests,
Driving the camel herds to the herds,
Returning from Bajjūn
Their nobles have a distinction
Outweighing the nobility of others
As the weights send down the scale
As the balancer holds it.
A party deserted them, while they protected
Their women from disgrace,
Men who smote the front ranks of the enemy
With broad-bladed Indian swords
Their voices pained me as they
Called for water crying aloud
How fine were the sons of 'Ali all of them![2]
If they do not raid such a raid
As would send back every barking dog to its lair
With horses trained to long rides,
With proudly raised heads, kept near the tents,
As young men on fine horses
Against fierce menacing hosts
Each man advances to his enemy
Walking as though to shake hands,

Sirīj satirized his rule little more than an honorary rule in the Eastern Empire. This would have been well known to the Arabs by such occurrences frequently in early life at the Ghassānid colleague. Professor Jawād suggests that Sirīj b. Ibrāhīm was appointed phylarch and patricius of Ghassān in 529.

[2] The reference to the death of Ḥusayn at Karbala and the call to the Arabs to die and avenge themselves is unmistakable.

About a thousand or two thousand
Mailed men and spearmen (551).

Umayya also said, lamenting Zama'a b. al-Aswad and the B. Aswad who were slain 553

O eye, weep with overflowing tears for Abū'l-Ḥārith
And hold not thy tears for Zama'a.
Weep for 'Aqil b. Aswad, the bold lion,
On the day of battle and the dust of war
These Banū Aswad were brothers like the Gemini
No treachery and no deceit was in them,
They are the noblest family of Ka'b,
The very summit of excellence.
They produced sons as many as the hairs of the head
And established them in impregnable positions.[2]
When misfortune visited their kinsmen
Their hearts ached for them.
They gave their food when rain failed,
When all was dry and no cloud could be seen (552).

Abū Uskūra Mu'awiya b. Zuhayr b. Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Dubay'a b. Māzin b. 'Adiy b. Judham b. Mu'āwiya, an ally of B. Makhzūm (553), passed Hubayra b. Abū Wahb as they were running away on the day of Badr. Hubayra was exhausted and threw away his coat of mail and Mu'awiya picked it up and went off with it. He composed the following ditty 554. 554

When I saw the army panic,
Running away at top speed
And that their leaders lay dead,
Methought the best of them
Were like sacrifices to idols.
Many of them lay there dead,
And we were made to meet our fate at Badr.

Abū Uskūra is an interesting one here as a mawlā going back to Abū Ṭayyiḥ which reads thus: "The speaking [illegible] parts of the pagan era except the odes to [illegible] Abū al-Salt [illegible] and the race of Abū which became [illegible] tribe lines to Kinda. Abū al-Dissected [illegible] which has many [illegible]. The speech [illegible] the recitation of the odes [illegible] it lamented the death [illegible] and at [illegible] the reputation of the prophet's companions [illegible] was only so that [illegible] from [illegible] Similarly al-[illegible] passed Ann [illegible] and [illegible] b. [illegible] the [illegible] Algama [illegible] Muslim [illegible] the king of the Byzantine [illegible] about the apostle he spoke well of him [illegible] the prophet [illegible] and [illegible] him. Some [illegible] say that the prohibition of [illegible] in the early [illegible] was because of the feeling between Muslims and [illegible] but [illegible] was generally accepted and [illegible] and [illegible] the way to [illegible] in [illegible].

Mawāqi' is explained by the Tāj al-'Arūs as the plural form of [illegible] and strongholds. Al-[illegible] is a mountain in Al-Shaḥr territory and [illegible] is high ground in the Tayyi' the general meaning seems [illegible].

We left the way and they overtook us
In waves, like an overwhelming flood,
Some said, "Who is Ibn Qays?"
I said, 'Abū Usāma, without boasting,
I am the Jushamite, that you may know me,
I will announce my lineage,
Answering challenge by challenge.
If you are of the best born of Quraysh,
I am from Mu'āwiya ibn Bakr[1]
Tell Mālik, when we were attacked,
For you, O Mālik know of me,
Tell Hubayra of us if you meet him,
For he is wise and influential,
That when I was called to Ufayd[1]
I returned to the battle with undaunted heart,
The night the hapless were left unheeded
Old friends and mother's kindred.
So that is your brother, O B. Lu'ayy,
And that is Mālik, O Umm 'Amr;[2] for
Had I not been there striped hyaenas,
Mothers of cubs would have had him,
Digging at the graves with their claws,
Their faces as black as a cooking-pot
I swear by Him Who is my Lord
And by the blood-stained pillars of the stoning places
You will see what my true worth is
When men become as fierce as leopards.[3]
No lion from his lair in Tay—
Bold, menacing, fathering cubs in the jungle,
Who has made his den taboo against intruders
So that none can approach him even with a force.[4]
In the sand, heads of men are helpless
He leaps upon all who try to drive him away—
Is swifter than I
When I advance roaring and growling at the enemy
With arrows like sharp lances
Their points like burning coals.
And a round[5] shield of bull's hide
And a strongly fashioned bow, and
A glittering sword which 'Ummyr, the polisher,
Whetted for a fortnight

[1] Commentators differ as to whether Ufayd is the name of a place, or a man, or a body of men, the leaders of an attack.
[2] Lit. 'when shine are changed to leopards' skins'. See note on 354.
[3] Reading ḥadīd.
[4] Or, reading ḥālik, 'black'.
[5] Or, reading ḥālik, 'black'.

I let its lanyard trail and strode proudly forward
With body at full stretch, as a lion walks.
So'd the warrior said to me, Here is a gift,[1]
I answered, Perhaps he is bringing treachery,
And I said, O Abū 'Adly, do not go near them
If you will obey my orders today
As they did with Farwa when he came to them
And he was led away bound with cords (555).

Abū Usāma also said

Who will send a messenger from me
With news that a shrewd man will confirm?
Do not you know how I kept returning to the fight at Badr
When the swords flashed around you,
When the army's leaders were left prostrate,
Their heads like slices of melon?
A gloomy fate, to the people's hurt,
Came upon you in the valley of Badr
My resolution saved them from disaster
And God's help and a well-conceived plan,
I returned alone from al-Abwā'
When you were surrounded by the enemy,
Helpless, if anyone attacked you,
Wounded and bleeding by the side of Kurzah.[2]
Whenever a comrade in distress called
For my aid in an evil day,
A brother or ally in such case,
Much as I love my life I answered his call.
I returned to the fray, dispelling gloom,
And shot when faces showed hostility.
Many an adversary have I left on the ground
To rise painfully like a broken twig,
When battle was joined I dealt him a blow
That drew blood—his arteries murmured aloud.
That is what I did on the day of Badr,
Before that I was resourceful and steadfast,
Your brother as you know in war and famine
Whose evils are ever with us,
Your champion undaunted by darkest night or superior numbers.
Out into the bitter black night I plunged[3]
When the freezing wind forces dogs to shelter (556).

[1] A, Dh. says that 'a prisoner' is meant here.
[2] A mountain on the territory of Hudhayl. Yāq. iv. 243. Bakrī, 675.
[3] Lit. 'with cliff from which the fruit has been plucked'.
[4] *Sirra* means (a) multitude, (b) intense cold. As Suh. says, the latter must be the meaning because of the mention of the cold wind in the second hemistich.

Hind d. 'Utba b. Rabi'a bewailing her father on the day of Badr said.

O eyes, be generous with dry tears
For the best of Khindif's sons
Who never returned (home).
His clan fell upon him one morning,
The sons of Hishim and the sons of al-Muttalib
They made him taste the edge of their swords,
They attacked him again when he was helpless,
They dragged him stripped and spoiled
With the dust upon his face
To us he was a strong mountain,
Grass-clad, pleasing to the eye
As for al-Harit I do not mention him,
May he get the good he counted on.

She also said:

Fate is against us and has wronged us,
But we can do naught to resist it
After the slain of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib,
Can a man care about his death or the death of his friend?
Many a day did he ob himself of wealth
By lavishing gifts morning and evening.
Give Abu Sufyan a message from me
If I meet him one day I will reprove him.
'Twas a war that will kindle another war
For every man has a friend to avenge (517).

She also said:

What an eye which saw a death like the death of my men!
How many a man and woman tomorrow
Will join with the keening women
How many did they leave behind on the day of the pit,
The roaring of that tumultuous cry
All generous men in years of drought
When the stars withheld their rain.
I was afraid of what I saw
And now my fear is realized.
I was afraid of what I saw
And today I am beside myself.
How many a woman will say tomorrow
Ayna Umm Mu'awiya (558)

The women Arabs thought that the stars brought rain.

Hind also said:

O eye, weep for 'Utba, the strong-necked chief,
Who gave his food in famine
Our defence on the day of victory,
I am grieved for him, broken-hearted, demented."
Let us fall on Yathrib with an overwhelming attack
With horses kept hard by,
Every long-bodied charger.

Safiya d. Mustir b. Abu 'Amr b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf bewailing the slain in the pit of Badr, said.

Alas for my eye painful and bleared
The night far spent, the rising sun still hid!
I was told that the noble chieftains
Fate had seized for ever,
That the riders fled with the army and
Mothers neglected their children that morning.
Arise, Safiya, forget not their relationship,
And if you weep, it is not for those who are distant.
They were the supports of the tent
When they broke, the roof of the tent was left unsupported (559).

Safiya also said:

Alas my eye, weeping has exhausted its tears
Like the two buckets of the waterman
Walking among the trees of the orchard.
No lion of the jungle with claws and teeth,
Father of cubs, leaping on his prey
Exceeding fierce and angry,
As equal to my love when he died
Facing people whose faces were changed in anger,
In his hand a sharp sword of the finest steel
When you thrust with a spear you made great wounds
From which came hot foaming blood (560).

Hind d. Uthatha b. Abbad b. al-Muttalib lamenting 'Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib said.

Al-Safra[1] holds glory and authority
Deep-rooted culture, ample intelligence.
Weep for 'Ubayda, a mountain of strength to the strange guests,
And the widow who cuddles a dishevelled baby:

[1] [illegible] for the meaning clad in mourning [illegible] but as all the adjectives are personal such a proper name may not place here.
[2] [illegible] reading name
A space between Medina and Medina.

To the people in every winter
When the skies are red from famine;
To the orphans when the wind was violent
He heaped the pot which foamed with milk as it seethed,
When the fire burned low and its flame died
539 He would revive it with thick breshwood.
Mourn him for the night traveller or the one wanting food,
The wanderer lost whom he put at his ease (561).

Qutayla d. al-Ḥārith, sister of al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, weeping him said

O Rider, I think you will reach Uthayl[1]
At dawn of the fifth night if you are lucky.
Greet a dead man there for me
Swift camels always carry news from me to thee.
(Tell of) flowing tears running profusely or ending in a sob,
Can al-Naḍr hear me when I call him,
How can a dead man hear who cannot speak?
O Muhammad, finest child of noble mother,
Whose sire a noble sire was,
'Twould not have harmed you had you spared him.
(A warrior oft spares though full of rage and anger.)
Or you could have taken a ransom,
The dearest price that could be paid.[2]
Al-Naḍr was the nearest relative you captured
With the best claim to be released
The swords of his father's sons came down on him.
Good God, what bonds of kinship there were shattered!
Exhausted he was led to a cold-blooded death,
A prisoner in bonds, walking like a hobbled beast (562).[3]

The apostle left Badr at the end of the month of Ramaḍān or in Shawwāl.

THE RAID ON B. SULAYM IN AL-KUDR

540 The apostle stayed only seven nights in Medina before he himself made a raid against B. Sulaym (563). He got as far as their watering place called al-Kudr and stayed there three nights, returning to Medina without any fighting. He stayed there for the rest of Shawwāl and Dhū'l-Qa'da, and during that time he accepted the ransom of most of the Quraysh prisoners.

[1] A place near Medina between Badr and Wādī Ṣafrā.
[2] Nöldeke's *Delectus*, p. 67, has a different text here.
[3] Some MSS., followed by Suh. and W., make I.H. responsible for its inclusion in the *sīra*.

THE RAID OF AL-SAWĪQ

Abū Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Hishām from Ziyād b. Abdullāh al-Bakkā'ī from Muhammad b. Isḥāq al-Muṭṭalibī said: Then Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb made the raid of Sawīq in Dhū'l-Ḥijja. The polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage that year. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr and Yazīd b. Rūmān and one whose veracity I do not suspect from Abdullāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik who was one of the most learned Helpers told me that when Abū Sufyān returned to Mecca and the Quraysh fugitives returned from Badr he swore that he would not practise ablution until he had raided Muhammad. Accordingly he sallied forth with two hundred riders from Quraysh to fulfil his vow. He took the Nejd road and stopped by the upper part of a watercourse which led to a mountain called Thayb about one post distance from Medina.[1] Then he sallied forth by night and came to the B. al-Naḍīr under cover of darkness. He came to Huyayy b. Akhṭab and knocked upon his door, but as he was afraid of him he refused to open the door, so he went to Sallām b. Mishkam, who was their chief at that time, and keeper of the public purse. He asked permission to come in and Sallām entertained him with food and drink, and gave him secret information about the Muslims. He rejoined his companions at the end of the night and sent some of them to Medina. They came to an outlying district called Al-'Urayḍ and there they burnt some young palm-trees and finding one of the Helpers and an ally of his working the fields there, they killed them and returned. People got warning of them and so the apostle went out in pursuit (564). He got as far as Qarqarat'l Kudr[2] and then returned because Abū Sufyān and his companions had eluded him. They saw some of the provisions which the raiders had thrown away in the fields to lighten their baggage so as to get away quickly. When the apostle brought the Muslims back they asked, 'Do you hope that this will 544
count (with God) in our favour as a raid?' and he replied, 'Yes' (565).

When he went away Abū Sufyān said of Sallām's treatment of him.

I chose one man out of Medina as an ally,
I had no cause to regret it, though I did not stay long.
Sallām ibn Mishkam gave me good wine,
He refreshed me in full measure despite my haste.
When the raiders turned back I said
(Unwilling to burden him).
'Look forward to raiding and booty.
Consider, for the people are the pure stock of Lu'ayy,
Not a mixed rabble of Jurhum
It was no more than (spending) part of the night by a traveller
Who came hungry though not needy and destitute

[1] A euphemism for abstaining from sexual intercourse.
[2] About eight posts distance from Medina.

T 1365 [Abū Sufyān had composed some verses to incite Quraysh when he got ready to march from Mecca to Medina.

> Return to the attack on Yathrib and the lot of them,
> For what they have collected is booty for you
> Though the battle of the citizens went in their favour
> The future will restore your fortunes.
> I swear that I will not come near women
> Nor shall I use the water of purification
> Until you destroy the tribes of Aus and Khazraj.
> My heart is burning for revenge.*

Ka'b b. Mālik answered him.

> 'The Muslims' are sorry for Ibn Harb's army.
> So little is the *hawra*
> When those who were sick of their provisions cast away the burden[2]
> Climbing up to the top of the mountain.
> The place where their camels knelt can be compared
> Only with the hole of foxes,
> Bare of gold[3] and wealth and of
> The warriors of the vale and their spears.]

THE RAID OF DHŪ AMARR

When the apostle returned from the raid of al-Sawīq he stayed in Medina for the rest of Dhū'l-Hijja, or nearly all of it. Then he raided Najd, making for Ghatafān. This is the raid of Dhū Amarr (566). He stayed in Najd during the month of Ṣafar or nearly all of it and then returned to Medina without any fighting. There he remained for the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, or a day or two less.

THE RAID OF AL-FURU' OF BAHRĀN

Then he made a raid on Quraysh as far as Bahrān, a mine in the Hijaz in the neighbourhood of Al-Furu'.[4] He stayed there for the next two months and then returned to Medina without fighting (567).

[1] T omit the poem in the *Sira* and in Ib. where has the lines above.
[2] 'Lo, the preacher of those who pray' Cf. verse 37 43
[3] The meaning is in the corrigenda. I take al-jayra to be the pl. of *jā'ir*. See Lane, 2908–2909
[4] The scribe is not very Ass. The glossary to Tab. 2 53 tentatively suggests that the enemy dare not pitch camp there
[5] I follow de Tinge's conjecture and read al-mujr for al-ayra.
A village near Medina

THE AFFAIR OF THE B. QAYNUQĀ'[5]

Meanwhile there was the affair of the B. Qaynuqā'. The apostle assembled them in their market and addressed them as follows: 'O Jews, beware lest God bring upon you the vengeance that He brought upon Quraysh and become Muslims. You know that I am a prophet who has been sent—you will find that in your scriptures and God's covenant with you.' They replied, 'O Muhammad, you seem to think that we are your people. Do not deceive yourself because you encountered a people with no knowledge of war and got the better of them, for by God if we fight you, you will find that we are real men!'

A freedman of the family of Zayd b. Thābit from Sa'īd b. Jubayr or from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās told me that the latter said the following verses came down about them.

'Say to those who disbelieve: you will be vanquished and gathered to Hell, an evil resting place. You have already had a sign in the two forces which met' i.e. the apostle's companions at Badr and the Quraysh. 'One force fought in the way of God, the other disbelievers, thought they saw double their own force with their very eyes. God strengthens with His help whom He will. Verily in that is an example for the discerning.'

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda said that the B. Qaynuqā' were the first of the Jews to break their agreement with the apostle and to go to war, between Badr and Uhud (568), and the apostle besieged them until they surrendered unconditionally. 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl went to him when God had put them in his power and said, 'O Muhammad, deal kindly with my clients' (now they were allies of Khazraj), but the apostle put him off. He repeated the words, and the apostle turned away from him, whereupon he thrust his hand into the collar of the apostle's robe (569) the apostle was so angry that his face became almost black. He said, 'Confound you, let me go.' He answered, 'No, by God, I will not let you go until you deal kindly with my clients. Four hundred men without mail and three hundred mailed protected me from all more enemies would you cut them down in one morning? By God, I am a man who fears that circumstances may change.' The apostle said, 'You can have them' (570).

My father Ishāq b. Yasār told me from 'Ubāda b. al-Wālid b. 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit who said: when the B. Qaynuqā' fought the apostle 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy espoused their cause and defended them, and 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who was one of the B. 'Auf, who had the same alliance with them as had 'Abdullāh, went to the apostle and renounced all responsibility for them in favour of God and the apostle, saying, 'O apostle of God, I take God and His apostle and the believers as my friends, and I renounce my agreement and friendship with these unbelievers.' Concerning him and 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy, this passage from the chapter of the Table came down.'

'O you who believe, take not Jews and Christians as friends. They are friends one of another. Who of you takes them as friends is one of them. God will not guide the unjust people. You can see those in whose heart
347 there is sickness (i.e. Abdullah b. Ubayy) when he said, 'I fear a change of circumstances.' Acting hastily in regard to them they say we fear that change of circumstances may overtake us. Peradventure God will bring victory or an act from Him so that they will be sorry for their secret thoughts, and those who believe will say, Are these those who swore by God their most binding oaths? 'that they were with you', so far as God's words, 'Verily God and His apostle are your friends and those who believe, who perform prayer, give alms and bow in homage,' mentioning 'Ubada taking God and His apostle and the believers as friends, and renouncing his agreement and friendship with the B. Qaynuqa'. 'Those who take God and His apostle and the believers as friends, they are God's party, they are the victorious.'

THE RAID OF ZAYD ON HARITH'S CARAVAN

The story of the foray of Zayd who captured the caravan of Quraysh, in which was Abu Sufyan b. Harb, when the apostle sent him to al-Qarada, a watering-place in Najd, is as follows.

Quraysh were afraid to follow their usual route to Syria after what had happened at Badr, so they went by the Iraq route. Some of their merchants went out, among whom was Abu Sufyan, carrying a great deal of silver which formed the larger part of their merchandise. They hired a man from the B. Bakr b. Wa'il called Furat b. Hayyan to conduct them by that route (571). The apostle duly sent Zayd, and he met them by that watering-place and captured the caravan and its contents, but the men got away. He brought the spoil to the apostle.

Hassan b. Thabit after I had concerning the last raid of Badr taunted Quraysh for taking the Iraq road thus:

> You can say good-bye to the streams of Damascus, for in between
> Are swords like the mouths of pregnant camels who find no ark trust
> In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord
> And His true helpers and the angels,
> 348 If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley
> Say to them, 'There is no road here (572).'

THE KILLING OF KA'B B. AL-ASHRAF

After the Quraysh defeat at Badr the apostle had sent Zayd b. Haritha to the lower quarter and Abdullah b. Rawaha to the upper quarter to tell the Muslims of Medina of God's victory and of the polytheists who had been killed. Abdullah b. al-Mughira b. Abu Burda al-Zafari and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. Amr b. Hazm and Aws b. Umar b. Qatada

and Salih b. Abu Umama b. Sahl each gave me a part of the following story. Ka'b b. al-Ashraf who was one of the Tayyi' of the subsection B. Nabhan whose mother was from the B. al-Nadir, when he heard the news said, 'Is this true? Did Muhammad actually kill these whom these two men mention (i.e. Zayd and Abdullah b. Rawaha)? These are the nobles of the Arabs and kingly men by God, if Muhammad has slain these people 'twere better to be dead than alive.'[1]

When the enemy of God became certain that the news was true he left the town and went to Mecca to stay with al-Muttalib b. Abu Wada'a b. Dubayra al-Sahmi who was married to Atika d. Abu'l-'Is b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf. She took him in and entertained him hospitably. He began to inveigh against the apostle and to recite verses in which he bewailed the Quraysh who were thrown into the pit after having been slain at Badr. He said:

> Badr's mill ground out the blood of its people
> At events like Badr you should weep and cry
> The best of the people were slain round their cisterns,
> Don't think it strange that the princes were left lying.
> How many noble handsome men,
> The refuge of the homeless were slain,
> Liberal when the state gave no rain,
> Who bore others' burdens, ruling and taking their due fourth.
> Some people whom anger pleases say
> 'Ka'b b. al-Ashraf is utterly depressed'
> They get right. O that the earth when they were killed
> Had split asunder and engulfed its people,
> That he who spread the report had been thrust through
> Or lived covering blind and deaf.
> I was told that all the Banu'l-Mughira were humiliated
> And brought low by the death of Abu'l-Hakam
> And the two sons of Rabi'a with him,
> And Munabbih and the others did not attain (such honour) as those who were slain.[2]
> I was told that al-Harith ibn Hisham
> Is doing well and gathering troops
> To visit Yathrib with armies,
> For only the noble, handsome man protects the infamous[3] reputation (573).

Hassan b. Thabit answered him thus:

> Does Ka'b weep for him again and again
> And live in humiliation hearing nothing?[4]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 The reading [illegible] is doubtful, because [illegible] governs the accusative.
3 The [illegible] means, 'let him weep if he wants to.' The text of this passage is defective.

In the vale of Badr I saw some of them, the slain,
Eyes pouring with tears for them,
Weep ['Ātika], for you have made a mean slave weep
Like a pup following a little bitch.
God has given satisfaction to our leader
And put to shame and prostrated those who fought him.
Those whose hearts were torn with fear
Escaped and fled away (574).

590 A Muslim woman of B. Murayd, a clan of Bali who were allied attachments of B. Umayya b. Zayd, called al-Ja'dira answered Ka'b (575)

The slave shows great concern
Weeping over the slain unavingly
May the eye that weeps over the slain at Badr weep on
And may La'nayy b. Ghālib weep double as much!
Would that those weltering in their blood
Could be seen by those who live between Mecca's mountains!
They would know for certain and would see
How they were dragged along by hair and beard.

Ka'b b. al-Ashraf answered her

Drive off that fool of yours that you may be safe
From talk that has no sense
Do you taunt me because I shed tears
For people who loved me sincerely?
As long as I live I shall weep and remember
The merits of people whose glory is in Mecca's houses.
By my life Murayd used to be far from hostile
But now they are become as jackals.
They ought to have their noses cut off
For insulting the two clans of La'nayy b. Ghālib.
I give my share in Murayd to Ja'dar
In truth, by God's house, between Mecca's mountains.

(T. Then Ka'b returned to Medina and composed amatory verses about Umm al-Fadl d. al-Hārith, saying:

Are you off without stopping in the valley
And leaving Umm al-Fadl in Mecca?
Our world came what she bought from the pedlar of bottles,
Henna and hair dye.
What lies 'twixt ankle and elbow is in motion[a]
When she tries to stand and does not.

[a] Or, reading mahsūrahan, the sword cuts above their boards and upbrown.
Presumably her bracelets are meant; they would be between her ankle and her elbow as she reclined. Large and heavy bracelets were marks of female beauty among the pre-Arabs.

Like Umm Hakīm when she was with us
The link between us firm and not to be cut
She is one of B. Amir who bewitches the heart
And if she wished she could cure my sickness.
The glory of women and of a people in their father,
A people held in honour true to their oath.
Never did I see the sun rise at night till I saw her
Display herself to us in the darkness of the night!)

Then he composed amatory verses of an insulting nature about the Muslim women. The apostle said—according to what Abdullāh b. al-Mughīth b. Abū Burda told me—Who will rid me of Ibnu'l-Ashraf? Muhammad b. Maslama, brother of the B. Abdu'l-Ashhal, said, 'I will deal with him for you, O apostle of God, I will kill him.' He said, 'Do so if you can.' So Muhammad b. Maslama returned and waited for three days without food or drink apart from what was absolutely necessary. When the apostle was told of this he summoned him and asked him why he had given up eating and drinking. He replied that he had given him an undertaking and he did not know whether he could fulfil it. The apostle said, 'All that is incumbent upon you is that you should try.' He said, 'O apostle of God, we shall have to tell lies.' He answered, 'Say what you like, or you are free in the matter.' Thereupon he and Silkān b. Salāma b. Waqsh who was Abū Nā'ila, one of the B. Abdu'l-Ashhal, foster brother of Ka'b, and Abbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh, and al-Hārith b. Aus b. Mu'ādh of the B. Abdu'l-Ashhal and Abū 'Abs b. Jabr of the B. Hāritha conspired together and sent Silkān to the enemy of God, Ka'b b. Ashraf, before they came to him. He talked to him some time and they recited poetry one to the other, for Silkān was fond of poetry. Then he said, 'O Ibn Ashraf, I have come to you about a matter which I want to tell you of and wish you to keep secret.' 'Very well,' he replied. He went on, 'The coming of this man is a great trial to us. It has provoked the hostility of the Arabs, and they are all in league against us. The roads have become impassable so that our families are in want and privation, and we and our families are in great distress.' Ka'b answered, 'By God, I kept telling you, O Ibn Salāma, that the things I warned you of would happen.' Silkān said to him, 'I want you to sell us food and we will give you a pledge of security and you deal generously in the matter.' He replied, 'Will you give me your sons as a pledge?' He said, 'You want to insult us. I have friends who share my opinion and I want to bring them to you so that you may sell to them and act generously, and we will give you enough weapons for a good pledge.' Silkān's object was that he should not take alarm at the sight of weapons when they brought them. Ka'b answered, 'Weapons are a good pledge.' Thereupon Silkān returned to his companions, told them what had happened, and ordered them to take their arms. Then they went away and assembled with him and met the apostle (576).

[illegible] hour.' He replied, 'It is Abū Nā'ila. Had he found me [illegible] not have woken me.' She answered, 'By God, I can for [illegible] Ka'b answered, 'Even if the call were for a stab a brave man must answer [illegible] he answered, so they went off walking together, and after a time Abū [illegible] 'I have never smelt a scent finer than this.' They walked on further and he did the same so that Ka'b suspected no evil. Then after a space he did it [illegible] hem, and their swords clashed over him with no effect. Muhammad b. Maslama said, 'I remembered my dagger when I saw that our swords were useless, and I seized it. Meanwhile the enemy of God had made such a [illegible] tracks. We carried him and brought him to the spoils at the end of the [illegible] wounds, and both he and we returned to our families. Our attack upon [illegible] who did not fear for his life."

Ka'b b. Mālik said

> Of them Ka'b was left prostrate there
> (After his fall al-Nadir were brought low).

> Bound in hand we cut him down
> By Muhammad's order when he went secretly by night
> [illegible]
> He begged him and brought him down with guile
> Mahmūd was trustworthy, bold (577)

[illegible] the killing of Ka'b and of Sallām b. [illegible], said

> What a fine hand you met, O Bani'l-Shaqiya,
> And you too, Banu'l-Ashraf,
> Travelling by night with their light swords
> Bold as lions in their jungle lair
> Until they came to you in your quarter
> And made you taste death with their deadly swords,
> Seeking victory for the religion of their prophet
> Counting their lives and wealth as nothing (578)

THE AFFAIR OF MUḤAYYIṢA AND ḤUWAYYIṢA

[illegible] Muhayyisa answered, 'Had the one who ordered me to kill him [illegible] I would have done so. By God, a religion which can bring us to this [illegible] I was then, who [illegible] the daughter of [illegible]

Muhayyisa composed the following lines on the subject

> My mother's son [illegible] I would smite his nape with a sharp sword,
> A blade white as salt from polishing
> My downward stroke never misses its mark
> It would not please me to kill you voluntarily
> Though we owned all Arabia from north to south (580).

[illegible] the raid of Uḥud in Shawwāl, A.H. 3

I have pieced together the following story about the battle of Uhud, from

Yahyā b. Hibbān and 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and al-Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and other learned traditionists. One or the other or all of them is responsible for the following narrative. When the unbelieving Quraysh met disaster at Badr and the survivors

'Abdullāh b. Abū Rabī'a and 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl and Ṣafwān b. Umayya walked with the men whose fathers, sons, and brothers had been killed

may hope to get our revenge for those we have lost,' and they did so.

of God, and they will spend it, then they will suffer the loss of it, then

this, and the owners of the caravan, with their black troops, and such of

Now Abū 'Azza al-Jumaḥī had been spared by the apostle at Badr because he was a poor man with a large family.[2] He had been taken prisoner, and said, 'I am a poor man with a large family and great need, as you know, so spare me,' and the apostle let him go. Ṣafwān said to him, 'Now, Abū 'Azza, you are a poet so help us with your tongue and go forth with us.' He replied, 'Muḥammad spared me and I do not want to go against him.' He said, 'No, but help us with your presence, and God is my witness that

Ka'ab and saying:

> Listen, son of 'Abdu Manāf, the swordless,
> You are about warriors like your father.
> Do not promise me your help a year hence,
> Do not hurry me, for betrayal is not right.'

Shaqīq b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Wahb b. Hudhāfa b. Jumaḥī went out to the B. Malik b. Ka'ab carrying them up and calling them to fight the apostle, saying:

> O Malik, Malik, forward in honour,
> I ask in the name of hardness and confusion,

> Those who are men-of-him and those who are not,
> In the name of the alliance in the midst of the holy city,
> At the wall of the venerable Ka'ba.

Ṭulayḥ b. Mālik [illegible] of the called Wahb, who [illegible] the apostle, saying, 'Go forth with the army, and if you kill Ḥamza, Muḥammad [illegible] 787

with Hind d. 'Utba, and 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl went with Umm Ḥakīm d. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra and [illegible] of 'Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya (581). 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ went with Rayṭa d. Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj who was Umm 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa who was 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdu'l-Dār went with Sulāfa d. Sa'd b. Shuhayd al-Anṣāriya who was mother of the sons of Ṭalḥa, Musāfi', al-Julās and Kilāb, they were killed [illegible] women of the B. Mālik b. Ḥifl went with her son Abū 'Azza b. 'Umayr. She [illegible] of the B. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Kināna went out. Whenever Hind passed Wahshī on his present [illegible] the valley of al-Sabkha of Qanāt by the side of the wadi opposite Medina.

[illegible] 788

martyrdom at Uhud and others who were not present at Badr said, 'O [illegible]

[illegible]

inside the city they would not oppose him. The apostle said, 'It is not [illegible] man.' So he returned with the wavering and doubters who followed him, [illegible] saying, 'O people, I adjure you by God not to abandon your people as [illegible] his sheath (584). The apostle, who liked surprises, though he did not [illegible] sword, for I can see that swords will be drawn today.'

[illegible] Sirrih, undertook to do so, and he took [illegible] their property until he came out in the territory of Mirba' b. Qayzi who was a blind man, a disaffected [illegible] of dust and said, 'By God, Muhammad, if I could be sure that I

[illegible] 'The people [illegible] Abdu'l-Ashhal, rushed at him before the apostle had forbidden this and hit him on the head with his bow so that he split it open.

[illegible] of the wadi towards the mountain. He put his muzzle and away towards Uhud and said, 'Let none of you fight until we give the word [illegible] the wings of the [illegible] archers Abdullah b. Jubayr brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf who was dis- [illegible] Mus'ab b. 'Umayr, brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dar (586).

The Quraysh mustered their troops about 3,000 men with 200 horses which they had brought along with them. The cavalry on the left flank was commanded by Khalid b. al-Walid and on the right by 'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl.

[illegible] right?'[illegible] Some men got up to take it but he withheld it from them until [illegible] etc.] He asked, 'What is its right, O Apostle of God?' He answered, [illegible] sword from the apostle's hand [he began to walk in the fight saying

> I'm the man who took the sword
> When 'Use it right' was the prophet's word
> For the sake of God, of all the Lord
> Who doth to all their food afford,

And he began to move up and down between the lines.

Ja'far b. 'Abd-Allah b. 'Asim, client of [illegible] al-Khattab, told me on the day [illegible] of the Ansar at Bi'r Maunah [illegible] the spear-point and when he saw Abu Dujana strutting, 'This is a gait which Allah hates except on an occasion like this.'

[illegible] Now the Nabi had sent a messenger saying, 'You men of Aus and Khazraj, come out to deal with our enemies and we will depart from you, but we have no need to fight you', but they gave him a rude answer.

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that Abu 'Amir 'Abdu 'Amr b. Sayfi b. Malik b. al-Nu'man, one of the B. Dubay'a who had separated from the people and gone off to Mecca along with thirty young men of the Aus. The leading [illegible] was 'Uthman b. Hudayr, though some people say there were more than [illegible] of them, was promising. Just as they met the men he [illegible] and when the battle was joined the first one to meet them was Abu 'Amir with the black wings and the slaves of the Meccans and he [illegible] of Aus, [illegible] Abu 'Amir. I have replied, 'I have lost dearness, your night, you abominable rascal.' In the pagan period he was called the monk, the apostle called him the impious. When he heard these words he said, 'A evil has befallen my people since I left them.' Then he fought with all his might, pelting them with stones.

Abu Sufyan had sent to the standard-bearers of the B. 'Abdu'l-Dar saying, 'Come to battle.' [illegible] 'Abdu'l-Dar [illegible] pagan the day of Badr [illegible] happened. Men are dependent on the fortunes of their flags, so neither flag must guard our standard [illegible] There [illegible] the matter and [illegible] Abu Sufyan [illegible] the flag to them. He said, 'Men of Quraysh, have we should act when battle is joined and that was just what Abu Sufyan wanted. When each side drew near to the other Hind b. 'Utba came up with the women that were with her and took [illegible] which they had brought with them to incite them while Hind was saying

> On ye sons of 'Abdu'l-Dar
> On protectors of our rear:
> Smite with every sharpened spear.

She also said

> If you advance we hug you,
> Spread soft rugs beneath you
> If you retreat we leave you,
> Leave not no room love you (186).[1]

The people were so fighting until the lances grew hot and Allah sent the hosts of men to Hell advanced for men the enemy's ranks (187).

In M. (96) the name given by I.I. 463 follows here.

[1] Almost the same words were said by a woman of B. Ijl at the battle of Dhu Qar. Cf. Aghani [illegible]

Whenever he met one of the enemy he killed him. Now among the pagans there was a man who despatched every man he wounded. 186
[illegible] I prayed that God He would make them meet. They did meet and exchanged blows, and the pagan was at Abu 'Amir's mercy when suddenly he [illegible] he raised his sword sank into the shield so that he could not withdraw it, and Abu Dujana struck him and killed him. Then I saw him as his sword hovered over the head of Hind d. 'Utba. Then he turned it aside from her. Al-Zubayr said, 'And I said, "God and His apostle know best."'[1]

Abu Dujana said, 'I saw a person smiting the enemy, shouting vehemently, and I made for him, and when I lifted my sword against him, he shrieked, and lo, it was a woman. I respected the apostle's sword too much to use it on a woman.'

Hamza fought until he killed Arta b. 'Abdu Shurahbil b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf b. 'Abdu'l-Dar who was one of those who were carrying the standard. Then Sibā' b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā al-Ghubshani, who was known as Abu Nayfir, passed by him, and Hamza said, 'Come here, you son of a female circumcisor.' Now his mother was Umm Anmar, freedwoman of Shariq b. [illegible] al-Thaqafi, a female circumcisor in Mecca. When they closed Hamza smote him and killed him.

Wahshi, the slave of Jubayr b. Mut'im, said, 'By God! I was looking at the Hamza while he was killing men with his sword, sparing no one, like a huge camel, when Sibā' came up to him looking for [illegible] Hamza said, 'Come here, you son of a female circumcisor,' and he struck him a blow so swiftly that it seemed to have his head. I poised my spear until I was sure that it would hit the mark, and launched it at him. It pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs. He came on towards me, but collapsed and fell. I left him there until he died, when I came and withdrew my javelin. Then I went off to the camp, for I had no business with anyone but him.'

'Abdullah b. al-Fadl b. 'Abbas b. Rabi'a b. al-Harith from Sulaymān b. Yasar from [illegible] Anas b. Mālik al-Ansari told me, 'I was one day with 'Ubaydullah b. 'Adiy b. al-Khiyar brother of the B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf on the mine of Wa'ilan b. Abi Ha'ila and we made an examination [illegible] Wahshi we passed by them where Wahshi had taken up his abode. When we arrived there he said to me, "Shall we go and not Wahshi and ask him how he killed Hamza?" "If you like," I said. So we began to inquire about him in Hims. While we were doing so a man said to us, "You will find him in the courtyard of his house. He is a man much addicted to wine, and if you find him drunk you will find an Arab and will get what you want from him in answer to your question." [illegible] We hastened off to find him, and there he was in the courtyard of his house upon a

[1] I.e. 'don't mourn'. Cf. [illegible] the [illegible] spoken when [illegible] [illegible]

carpet, an old man like a *baghāth* (589). He was quite sober and normal. We saluted him, and he lifted his head to look at 'Ubaydullah, and said, "Are you the son of Adly b. al-Khuyār?" and when he said he was, he said, "By God, I have not seen you since I handed you to your Sa'dite mother who nursed you in Dhū Ṭuwā." I handed you to her when she was on her camel, and she clasped you round your body with her two hands. You kicked[1] me with your feet when I lifted you up to her. By God, as soon as you stood in front of me I recognized them." We sat down and told him that we had come to hear his account of how he killed Hamza. He said, "I will tell you as I told the apostle when he asked me about it. I was a slave of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, whose uncle Ṭu'aymā b. Adly had been killed [illegible] killed Hamza, Muhammad's uncle, in revenge for his uncle, I should be free. So I went out with the army, a young Abyssinian, skilful like my countrymen in the use of the javelin—I hardly ever missed anything with it. When the fight began I went out to look carefully for Hamza, until I [illegible] [illegible] I was growing ready for him, wanting to come to him and looking around behind rocks or tree or any thing else that might screen me from him, [illegible] go to him first, and when Hamza saw him he said, [illegible] and struck him a blow on another that it crushed in upon his head [illegible] my javelin and [illegible] that it went to the mark and succeeded in his hits. It pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs, and he began to stagger towards me. Then he collapsed and I left him with the javelin until he died, then I came back and recovered my javelin, and returned to the camp and stayed there. For I had no further interest, and my only object in killing him was that I might be freed. When I returned to Mecca I was freed and lived there until the apostle conquered Mecca, when I fled to al-Ṭā'if, and stayed there for some time. When the envoys of Ṭā'if came out to the apostle to surrender I was in an anxiety and thought that I would go to Syria or the Yemen, or any place in anxiety, and while I was in that anxiety a man said to me, "Good heavens, what is the matter? He does not ask anyone who enters his religion and pronounces the shahāda." On hearing that I went out of the town to the apostle at Medina, and the first thing he [illegible] was to see my shoulder at his head, surrendering to the truth of God and the apostle. He looked at me and he said, "Is it Waḥshī?" "Yes, O apostle of God," I said. He replied, "Sit down and tell me how you killed Hamza." So I sat down and told him as I have told you. When I had finished he said, "Woe to you, hide your face from me and never let me see you again." So I used to avoid the apostle wherever he was so that he should not see me, until God took him.

[1] A phrase in Nabaṭī.

[2] [illegible] "Is this anyone who prays? He does not [illegible] a fact authenticated.

"When the Muslims went out against Musaylima, the false prophet, lord of the Yamāma, I accompanied them, and I took the javelin with which I had killed Hamza, and when the armies met I saw Musaylima standing with a sword in his hand, but I did not recognize him. I made ready for him and so did one of the Anṣār from the other side, both of us intending to kill him. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark, and launched it at him, and it pierced him, and the Anṣārī rushed at him and smote him with his sword, so your Lord knows best which of us killed him. If I killed him, then I have killed the best man after the apostle and I have also killed the worst man.

[When he came to Medina the men said 'O apostle, this is Waḥshī' so [illegible] dearer to me than the killing of a thousand unbelievers.']

Abdullah b. al-Fadl from Sulaymān b. Yasār from Abdullah b. 'Umar [illegible] 'The black slave has killed him' (590)

Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr fought in the defence of the apostle until he was [illegible] was the apostle, so he returned to the Quraysh and said, 'I have killed Muhammad.' When Muṣ'ab was killed the apostle gave the standard to Alī, and Alī and the Muslims fought on (591)

[illegible] and laid his head in her lap. She said, 'Who has hurt you, my son?' and he replied, 'I heard a man saying as he shot me, "I am Ibn Abū'l-Aqlaḥ, take that!"' She swore an oath that if God ever let her get the head of 'Āṣim she would drink wine from it. It was 'Āṣim who had taken God to witness that he would never touch a polytheist or let one touch him.

[illegible] b. Abū Ṭālib said that day as he was carrying the standard of the polytheists:

> It is the duty of standard-bearers
> To blunt their spears until they are broken to pieces.

Hamza killed him.

Hamza b. Abū [illegible] the washed son, and Abū Ḥuḍayfa went in another, and when [illegible] got the better of him, [illegible] killed him. The apostle said, [illegible] companion, Hamza, is being washed by the angels [illegible] and when the news was noised abroad she said, 'Was he that gave out to battle where he heard the cry while in a state of ritual impurity (592)'

The apostle said: 'For this reason the angels washed him.' Shaddād said about his killing Ḥanẓala:

> I protect my friend and myself
> With a thrust that pierces like the rays of the sun,

Abū Sufyān, mentioning his hardihood on that day and the help that Ibn Sha'ūb gave him against Ḥanẓala, said:

> Had I wished it my swift bay could have saved me,
> And I should owe no thanks to Ibn Sha'ūb.
> It remained but a stone's throw off
> From early morn till set of sun,
> I fought them and cried, 'On, Ghālib!'
> I beat them from me with firm strength,
> Heed not the remonstrances of others,
> Grow not weary of tears and sighs.
> Weep for thy father and his brothers who have passed away,
> Their fate deserves thy tears
> My former sorrow is relieved
> Because I killed the best men of Najjār
> And Hishām's noble stallion and Muṣ'ab
> Who was not cowardly in war
> Had I not slaked my vengeance on them,
> My heart had been seared and scarred.
> 369 They retired their (Meccan) vagabonds dead[1]
> Thrust through, bleeding, prostrate.[2]
> Those not their equals in blood smote them
> And those who were beneath them in rank (593).[3]

Ibn Sha'ūb, mentioning the way he helped Abū Sufyān and defended him, said:

> Had I not been there and defended you, Ibn Ḥarb,
> You would have been left speechless for ever at the mountain foot

Jalūd is said to mean 'leather aprons or coverings' as though it were the plural of *jild*. Though Meccans exported leather, that can hardly have been proper for reproach because leather was sent to the Negus as a gift known to be highly prized in Abyssinia. Moreover, why should Abū Sufyān reproach his fellow townsmen for wearing garments which presumably differed in no way from those worn by other Meccans. It is clear that the word is an insult, and the question is why? Ḥassān's poem (W. 73k, *Dīwān* 61) mentioning the wedding begins:

> 'The Aslamis have become powerful and numerous
> [illegible]

and [illegible] dislike of the emigrants. Therefore it seems that the origin of the insult is to be sought in [illegible] something derived or borrowed from [illegible] and imported there [illegible] Quraysh [illegible]: [illegible] as near as we can get to the meaning are al-'Arafat. The Poem mentioned is [illegible] Abū Ṭālib [illegible] Negus [illegible] people [illegible] Long Arabs.

The [illegible] would appear to be that the mushrikūn were killed as captives and brought [illegible] to Medina, though there may be a reference [illegible] killing of [illegible] by Wahshī.

> Had I not brought my horse back there,
> Hyaenas or jackals would have devoured your flesh (594).

Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, answering Abū Sufyān, said:

> Had you seen what they did at Badr's pool
> You would have returned with fear in your heart as long as you live,
> (Or you would have been killed and I should have caused
> Weeping women to weep for you,
> And you would not have felt sorrow for the loss of a dear one).
> I paid them back in kind for Badr
> On a spurred galloping prancing horse (595).

Then God sent down His help to the Muslims and fulfilled His promise. They slew the enemy with the sword until they cut them off from their camp and there was an obvious rout.

Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father from 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from Zubayr said: I found myself looking at the anklets of Hind d. 'Utba and her companions, tucking up their garments as they fled. There was nothing at all to prevent anyone seizing them when the archers turned aside to the camp when the enemy had been cut off from it (i.e. making for the spoil). Thus they opened our rear to the cavalry and we were attacked from behind. Someone called out: Ha, Muḥammad has been killed. We turned back and the enemy turned back on us after we had killed the standard-bearers so that none of the enemy could come near it (596). 370

A traditionist told me that the standard lay on the ground until 'Amra the Ḥārithite d. 'Alqama took it up and raised it aloft for Quraysh so that they gathered round it. It had been with Ṣu'ab, a slave of B. Abū Ṭalḥa, an Abyssinian. He was the last of them to take it. He fought until his hands were cut off; then he knelt upon it and held the flag between his breast and throat until he was killed over it, saying the while 'O God, have I done my duty?'[1] He could not pronounce the *dhāl*.

Ḥassān b. Thābit said about that:

> You boasted of your flag, the worst (ground for) boasting
> Is a flag handed over to Ṣu'ab.
> You have made a slave your boast,
> The most miserable creature that walks the earth.
> You supposed (and only a fool so thinks,
> For it is anything but the truth)
> That fighting on the day we met
> Was like your selling red leather sacks in Mecca.
> It gladdened the eye to see his hands reddened,
> Though they were not reddened by dye (597).

[illegible] Ibn [illegible] excavated

Hassān also said about 'Amra and her raising the standard

When 'Adal were driven to us
They were like forms of Shirk[1]
With strongly marked eyebrows.
We attacked them thrusting, slaying, chasing,
Driving them before us with blows on every side
Had not the Hārithī woman raised their standard
They would have been sold in the markets like chattels.

The Muslims were put to flight and the enemy slew many of them. It was a day of trial and testing in which God humiliated several with martyrdom, until the enemy got at the apostle who was hit with a stone so that he fell on his side and one of his teeth was shattered. His face was cut, and his lip injured. The man who wounded him was 'Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ.

Humayd al-Ṭawīl told me from Anas b. Mālik. The prophet's incisor was broken on the day of Uḥud and his face was scarred. The blood began to run down his face and he began to wipe it away saying, he said, 'How can a people prosper who have stained their prophet's face with blood while he summoned them to their Lord?' So God revealed concerning that, 'It is not your affair whether He relents towards them or punishes them, for they are wrongdoers'[2] (598).

Hassān b. Thābit said of 'Utba[3]

When God recompenses a people for their deeds
And the Rajīmīs punishes them
May my Lord disgrace you, 'Utayba b. Mālik,
And bring you a deadly punishment before you die
You stretched out your hand with evil intent against the prophet,
You blacked his mouth. May your hand be cut off
Did you forget God and the place you will go to
When the final punishment overtakes you (599).

According to what al-Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh told me on the authority of Mahmūd b. 'Amr, when the enemy harassed him, the apostle said, 'Who is well aware of his foe on us?' and Zayd b. al-Sakan, one of the Ansār, said, 'I have, my lord,' (Others say it was 'Amāra b. Yazīd b. al-Sakan.) They fought in defence of the apostle man after man, all being killed until only Zayd (or 'Amāra) was left fighting until he was disabled. At that point a number of the Muslims returned and drove the enemy away from him. The apostle ordered them to bring him to him and made his face a cushion for his head and he died with his cheek on the apostle's foot (600).

[1] A Ms. gives the below Shirk and Shirk. These gives Shirk the name of a place at the Hajar [illegible] the name of a mountain or [illegible] made all his mountains in the Qaysīn in Anzal territory. 'Adal is a tribe of Khuzāʿa.

[2] Sūra 3, 128.

[3] Reading wajnatahum with C.

[illegible] the apostle. Arrows [illegible] on his back as he leaned over him, until there were many stuck in it. Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ shot his arrows in defence of the apostle. He said, 'I have [illegible] mother be your ransom' until he would even hand me an arrow that had no head, saying 'Shoot with that.'

Aslam b. 'Umar b. Qatāda said that the apostle went on shooting from his [illegible] it. That day his eye was so injured that it lay exposed upon his cheek [illegible] became his best and keenest eye afterwards.

Qīsūm b. Abū'l-Raḥmān b. Rāfi', brother of the Banū Adī b. al [illegible] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullāh with men of the Muhā[illegible] has died. Then he went towards the enemy and fought until he was slain. Anas b. Mālik was named after him.

Humayd al-Ṭawīl told me from Anas, 'We found seventy cuts (?) and thrusts) in Anas b. al-Nadr that day and no one recognized him except his sister who knew him by the tips of his fingers (601).'

The first man to recognize the apostle after the rout when men were [illegible] his helmet, and I called out at the top of my voice "Take heart, you Mus[illegible]

When the Muslims recognized the apostle they took him up towards [illegible] took it from him he shook himself free from us so that we [illegible]

Then, turning to face him, he thrust him in the neck so that he swayed [illegible]

answered, 'He said to me in Mecca that he would kill me, and, by God, if he had spat on me he would have killed me.' The enemy of God died in Sarif as they were taking him back to Mecca.

In reference to that Hassān b. Thābit said:

> Ubayy showed the disbelief inherited from his father
> The day the apostle met him in battle.
> You came to him carrying a mouldering bone
> And threatened him, ignorant of his office
> Banū'l-Najjār killed Umayya from among you
> When he called on 'Aqīl for help.
> Rabī'a's two sons perished when they obeyed Abū Jahl
> Their mother became childless.
> Hārith escaped when we were busy taking prisoners.
> To capture him was not worth while (604).[1]

176 Hassān b. Thābit also said

> Who will give a message from me to Ubayy?
> You have been cast into the nethermost hell:
> Long have you pursued error,
> Sworn vows that you would win.
> Long have you indulged in such hopes,
> But unbelief leads to disappointment
> A thrust from an angry warrior found you
> One of a noble house, no miscreant,
> Who surpasses all other creatures
> When misfortunes befall.

When the apostle reached the mouth of the glen 'Alī came out and filled his shield with water from al-Mihrās[2] and brought it to the apostle, who refused to drink it because its evil smell repelled him. However, he used the water to wash the blood from his face and as he poured it over his head he said: 'The wrath of God is fierce against him who bloodied the face of His prophet.'

Sālih b. Kaysān told me from an informant who got it from Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās that the latter used to say: 'I was never more eager to kill anyone than I was to kill 'Utba b. Abū Waqqās: he was, as I know, of evil character and hated among his people. It was enough for me (to hate him) that the apostle should say: "The wrath of God is fierce against him who bloodied the face of His prophet".'

While the apostle was in the glen with a number of his companions suddenly a troop of Quraysh came up the mountain (605). The apostle said, 'O God, it is not fitting that they should be above us,' as 'Umar

[1] Reading *ammāhu* for *amrahu* (so Dr. Atfeh)
[2] According to some commentators this is the name of a well at Uhud. The word itself can mean a stone trough beside a wall

and a number of emigrants fought until they drove them down the mountains.

The apostle made for a rock on the mountain to climb it. He had become heavy by reason of his age, and moreover he had put on two coats of mail, so when he tried to get up he could not do so. Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh 177
squatted beneath him and lifted him up until he settled comfortably upon it.

Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father from Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from al-Zubayr said: 'That day I heard the apostle saying "Talha earned paradise when he did what he did for the apostle 'both'."'

The army had fled away from the apostle until some of them went as far as al-Munaqqā near al-A'wa.[1] 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda from Mahmūd b. Labīd told me that when the apostle went out to Uhud Husayl b. Jābir, who was al-Yamān, Abū Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and Thābit b. Waqsh were sent up into the fortress with the women and children. They were both old men and one said to the other: 'What are you waiting for, confound you? Neither of us will live much longer.[2] We are certain to die today or tomorrow, so let us take our swords and join the apostle. Perhaps God will grant us martyrdom with him.' So they took their swords and sallied out until they mingled with the army. No one knew anything about them. Thābit was killed by the polytheists and Husayl by the swords of the Muslims, who killed him without recognizing him. Hudhayfa said, 'It is my father.' They said, 'By God, we did not know him,' and they spoke the truth. Hudhayfa said, 'May God forgive you, for He is most compassionate.' The apostle wanted to pay his blood-money, but Hudhayfa gave it as alms to the Muslims and that increased his favour with the apostle.

'Āsim also told me that a man called Hātib b. Umayya b. Rāfi' who had 178
a son called Yazīd, was grievously wounded at Uhud and was brought to his people's settlement at the point of death. His kinsmen gathered round and the men and women began to say to him, 'Good news of the garden (of paradise), O son of Hātib.' Now Hātib was an old man who had lived long in the heathen period and his hypocrisy appeared then, for he said, 'What good news do you give him? Of a garden of rue?[3] By God, you have robbed this man of his life by your deception (and brought great sorrow on me).' Tab.

'Āsim told me: 'There was a man among us, a stranger of unknown origin called Quzmān. The apostle used to say when he was mentioned, "He belongs to the people of hell." On the day of Uhud he fought fiercely and killed seven or eight polytheists single-handed, being a stout warrior. He was disabled by wounds and carried to the quarter of Bānū Zafar. The Muslims began to say to him, "You have done gallantly, Quzmān, be of good cheer." "Why should I?" he said, "I only fought for the honour of my people, but for that I should not have fought." And when

[1] A place near Medina.
[2] Only as long as a donkey's drink.
[3] The dead were buried with rue at their feet in the time. See Wright, B.M. MS. A, 22177, fol. 63a.

the pain of his wounds became unbearable he took an arrow from his quiver (T: cut the veins of his wrist, and bled to death. When the apostle was told of this he said "I testify that I am truly God's apostle").[1]

Among those killed at Uhud was (T: the Jew) Mukhayriq who was one of the B. Tha'laba b. al-Fityūn. On that day he addressed the Jews saying 'You know that it is your duty to help Muhammad,' and when they replied that it was the Sabbath day, he said, 'You will have no Sabbath,' and taking his sword and accoutrements, he said that if he was slain his property was to go to Muhammad, who could deal with it as he liked. Then he joined the apostle and fought with him until he was killed. I have heard that the apostle said, 'Mukhayriq is the best of the Jews.'

Al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd b. Ṣāmit was a hypocrite. He went out with the Muslims to Uhud, and when the armies met he attacked al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād al-Balawī and Qaṭaḥ b. Zayd, one of the B. Dubayʿa, and killed them. Then he joined the Quraysh in Mecca. Now the apostle, as they say, had ordered 'Umar to kill him if he got the better of him, but he escaped him and was in Mecca. Then he went to his brother al-Julās desiring forgiveness so that he might return to his people, and God sent down concerning him, as I have heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: 'How can they have testified that the apostle is true and proofs have been given to them. God will not guide an evil people'[2] to the end of the passage (607).

Mu'adh b. 'Afrā' had killed Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit treacherously in some other battle. He shot him with an arrow and killed him before the day of Uhud.

Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh from Abū Sufyān client of Ibn Abī Aḥmad from Abū Hurayra said that he used to say: 'Tell me about a man who entered paradise never having prayed in his life,' and when the people did not know, they asked him who it was and he said, 'Uṣayrim of the B. Abdu'l-Ashhal, 'Amr b. Thābit b. Waqsh.' Al-Ḥusayn asked Maḥmūd b. Labīd what were the facts of Uṣayrim, and he replied that in spite of his people he had refused to accept Islam, but on the day that the apostle marched out to Uhud he accepted it. He took his sword, plunged into the heart of the battle, and fought until he was overcome by wounds. While the B. Abdu'l-Ashhal were looking for their dead in the battle suddenly they came upon him and marvelled that he should be there when they had left him showing his dislike for Islam. They asked

[1] For the words in brackets I.H. has merely 'and killed himself with it'.
[2] Sūra 3 [illegible]

him what had brought him, whether it was concern for his people or good-will towards Islam. He replied that it was the latter: 'I believed in God and the apostle and became a Muslim. Then I took my sword and fought with the apostle until I got the [illegible] wounds. Soon afterwards he died in their hands. When they mentioned him to the apostle he said, 'Verily he belongs to the people of paradise.'

My father Isḥāq from Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān b. Sahl al-Anṣārī told me that Ashʿab b. al-Ashʿab was a man who was very [illegible]. He had four [illegible] who were present at the apostle's battles. On the day of Uhud they wanted to detain him among [illegible] but he refused and escaped from them. He came to the apostle and said to him: 'Are the men minded to keep both back and prevent me joining the army? Yet by God, I hope to wed the heavenly houris despite my lameness.' The apostle said: 'And this you will wed.' And [illegible] was martyred on that day. And he has been [illegible] he said, 'You wed that perverse [illegible] with twenty houris, as he went along with him and was killed as [illegible].

According to what Nāfiʿ b. Kaysān told me, Hind d. [illegible] and the other women with her mutilated the apostle's dead companions. They cut off their noses and ears, and Hind made them into anklets and collars and gave her anklets and collars and ornaments to Wahshī, the slave of Jubayr b. Muṭʿim. The cut off [illegible] a vow and claimed it, but she was not able to swallow it and threw it away. Then she mounted a high rock and shrieked at the top of her voice:

We have paid you back for Badr
And a war that follows a war is always violent.
I could not bear the loss of Utba
Nor my brother and his uncle and my first-born.
I have slaked my vengeance and fulfilled my vow.
You, O Wahshī, have assuaged the burning in my bosom.
I shall thank Wahshī as long as I live
Until my bones rot in the grave.

Hind d. Utbatu b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib answered her:[1]

You were disappointed at Badr and after Badr
O daughter of a despicable man, great only in disbelief.
God brought on you in the early dawn
Tall and white-skinned men from Hishām,
Everyone striking with his sharp sword
Hamza my lion and 'Alī my falcon
When Shayba and your father planned to attack me
They reddened their hands with blood.
Your evil vow was the worst of vows (608).

[1] This poem is a parodied of traditional elements. Its [illegible] is simply [illegible] to show how bad it should be strength.

Hind d. 'Utba also said:

I slaked my vengeance on Hamza at Uhud.
I split his belly to get at his liver.
This took from me what I had felt
Of burning sorrow and exceeding pain.
War will hit you exceeding hard
Coming upon you as lions advance.

Salih b. Kaysan told me that he was told that 'Umar said to Hassan, 'O Ibnu'l-Furay'a (Furay'a was Hassan's mother), I wish you had heard what Hind said and seen her arrogance as she stood upon a rock uttering her taunts against us, reminding us of what she had done to Hamza.' Hassan replied, 'I was looking at the lance as it fell while I was on the top of Fari'—meaning his fort—and I realized that it was not one of the weapons of the Arabs. It seemed to me as though it was directed at Hamza, but I was not sure. But recite me some of her verse: I will rid you of her.' So 'Umar quoted some of what she said and Hassan said:

The vile woman was insolent: her habits were vile;
Seeing that disbelief accompanied her insolence. (610)

Al-Hulays b. Zabban, brother of the B. al-Harith b. 'Abdu Manat, who was then chief of the black troops, passed by Abu Sufyan as he was striking the side of Hamza's mouth with the point of his spear saying, 'Taste that, you rebel.' Hulays exclaimed, 'O B. Kinana, is this the chief of Quraysh acting thus with his dead cousin as you see?' He said, 'Confound you. Keep the matter quiet, for it was a slip.'

When Abu Sufyan wanted to leave he went to the top of the mountain and shouted loudly saying, 'You have done a fine work; victory in war goes by turns. Today in exchange for the day (T. of Badr). Show your superiority, Hubal,' i.e. vindicate your religion. The apostle told 'Umar to get up and answer him and say, 'God is most high and most glorious. We are not equal. Our dead are in paradise; your dead in hell.' At this answer Abu Sufyan said to 'Umar, 'Come here to me.' The apostle told him to go and see what he was up to. When he came Abu Sufyan said, 'I adjure thee by God, 'Umar, have we killed Muhammad?' 'By God, you have not, he is listening to what you are saying now,' he replied. He said, 'I regard you as more truthful and reliable than Ibn Qami'a,' referring to the latter's claim that he had killed Muhammad (611).

Then Abu Sufyan called out, 'There are some mutilated bodies among your dead. By God, it gives me no satisfaction, and no anger. I neither prohibited nor ordered mutilation.' When Abu Sufyan and his companions went away he called out, 'Your meeting place is Badr next year.' The apostle told one of his companions to say, 'Yes, it is an appointment between us.'

Then the apostle sent 'Ali to follow the army and see what they were

doing and what their intentions were. 'If they are leading their horses and riding their camels they will be making for Mecca; but if they are riding the horses and driving the camels they will be making for Medina. By God, if they make for Medina I will go to them there and fight them.' 'Ali said that he followed them to see what they were doing. They were leading their horses, riding their camels and going towards Mecca. (T. The apostle had said 'Whatever they do keep silent about it until you come to me.' When I saw they had set out for Mecca I came back shouting. I could not hide the fact as the apostle had ordered me because of my joy at seeing them going to Mecca and thus avoiding Medina.) T. 1419

The people searched for their dead, and the apostle said, according to what Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abu Sa'sa'a al-Mazini, brother of the B. al-Najjar told me, 'Who will find out for me what has happened to Sa'd b. al-Rabi'? Is he alive or among the dead?' One of the Ansar volunteered and found him lying wounded among the slain, at the point of death. He told him that the apostle had ordered him to see if he was alive or among the dead. He said, 'I am among the dead. Convey my greetings to the apostle and say, Sa'd says to you, May God reward you, for us better than he has rewarded any prophet for his people; and give your people a greeting from me and say: You have no excuse with God if anything has happened to your prophet while you can flutter an eyelid.'¹ And straightaway he died. He said, 'I came to the apostle and delivered his message' (612).

I have been told that the apostle went out seeking Hamza and found him at the bottom of the valley with his belly ripped up and his liver missing, and his nose and ears cut off. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that when he saw this the apostle said: 'Were it not that Safiya would be miserable and it might become a custom after me I would leave him as he is, so that his body might find its way into the bellies of beasts and the crops of birds. If God gives me victory over Quraysh in the future I will mutilate 30 of their men.' When the Muslims saw the apostle's grief and anger against those who had thus treated his uncle, they said, 'By God, if God gives us victory over them in the future we will mutilate them as no Arab has ever mutilated anyone' (613).

Burayda b. Sufyan b. Farwa al-Aslami from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi, and a man I have no reason to suspect from Ibn 'Abbas told me that God sent down concerning the words of the apostle and his companions: 'If you punish, then punish as you have been punished. If you endure patiently, that is better for the patient. Endure thou patiently. Thy endurance is only in God. Grieve not for them, and be not in distress at what they plot.'² So the apostle pardoned them and was patient and

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[1] [illegible] conformity suggests that the prophet was aware that his enemy [illegible] words of the Quran can have been altered.

[2] Sūra 16. [illegible]

[illegible] meaning on us disagreeing and forbidding revelation

[illegible] Abbas' seven dirhams. Then the dead were brought and placed beside Hamza and he prayed over them all until he had prayed sixty-two prayers.

According to what I have been told Safiya d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib came [illegible] she does not see what has happened to her brother. He said to her, [illegible] and patient if God will.' When Zubayr returned to the prophet and [illegible] his liver had not been taken out, asserted that the apostle turned him in the same place with Hamza [illegible]

Now some Muslims had carried their dead to Medina and buried them [illegible] Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from 'Abdullah b. Tha'laba b. Su'ayr al-Udhri, an ally of the B. Zuhra, told me that the apostle said when he [illegible] day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of blood, the smell like musk, look for the one who has collected most of the Quran and put him in front of his companions in the grave.' They were burying two and three

My uncle Musa b. Yasar told me that he heard Abu Hurayra say, Abu Qitam said, 'There is none wounded for God's sake but God will raise him on the resurrection day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of blood, the smell like musk.'

[illegible] out for 'Amr b. al-Jamuh and 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram, they were [illegible] the same grave. [illegible]

[illegible] to Medina and there met Hamna d. Jahsh, as I have been told. As she [illegible] exclaimed, 'We belong to God and to God we return,' and asked forgiveness for him. Then she was told of the death of her maternal uncle Hamza, and uttered the same words. Then she was told of the death of her husband [illegible] 'The woman's husband holds a special place with her, as you can see from [illegible]

The apostle passed by one of the sanctuaries of the Ansar of the B. [illegible] over the dead. The apostle's eyes filled with tears and he wept and said, 'But there are no weeping women for Hamza.' When Sa'd b. Mu'adh and [illegible] girl themselves and go and weep for the apostle's uncle.

Mahmud b. Hamza b. 'Abdullah b. Yusuf from a man of the B. 'Abdu'l-[illegible] mosque he said "Go home, may God have mercy on you, you [illegible]

'Abdu'l-Wahid b. Abu 'Aun from Isma'il b. Muhammad from Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas told me that the apostle passed by a woman of the B. Dinar whose husband, brother and father had been killed at Uhud, and when she was told of their death she asked what had happened to the apostle. [illegible] might see him for herself. When he was pointed out to her she said, 'Every [illegible]

When the apostle [illegible] Fatima, saying, 'Wash the blood from this, daughter, for by God it has [illegible] you, wash the blood from it, for by God it has served me well today.' The [illegible] fought well with you' (646).

[illegible] and on the [illegible] down to go in pursuit of the enemy and announced that none should go out [illegible] he had been present at the battle on the preceding day [illegible] was behind to look after my seven sisters, saying that it was not right for me [illegible] the precedence in fighting with the apostle. So I stayed behind to look [illegible] him. The apostle merely marched out as a demonstration against the

[illegible]

[illegible] more and more about until we came up to where the Muslims had halted.

[illegible] Muslims [illegible] He [illegible] the Muslim [illegible] and polytheists and then returned to Medina.

[illegible] Ma'bad was a polytheist and he said, 'Muhammad, we are distressed at what has happened to you [T: with your companions] and we wish that God would preserve you among them.' Then he went out while the apostle was in Hamra'u'l-Asad until he met Abū Sufyān and his men in al-Rauhā when they had determined to come back to the apostle and his companions. They said, 'We have killed the best of his companions, their leaders and their nobles. Shall we then go back before we have exterminated them? Let us return to the survivors and make an end of them.' When Abū Sufyān saw Ma'bad he said, 'What is the news?' He replied, 'Muhammad has come out with his companions to pursue you with an army whose like I have never seen, burning with anger against you. Those who stayed behind when you fought them have joined him; they are sorry for what they did and are violently enraged against you. Never have I seen anything like it.' He said, 'Confound you, what are you saying?' He answered, 'By God, I do not think that you will move off before you see the forelocks of the cavalry.' He replied, 'But we have determined to attack them to exterminate their survivors.' He answered, 'By God, I advise you against that. I urge you to return and I have seen some shaking about them.' When he heard what they were saying he said:

My servant shows fell with fright at the dawnear
When the ground flowed with troops of men
[illegible]
Eager for the fray, firm in the saddle,* fully armed

[illegible]

I continued to run, thinking the very earth was moving.
When they came up with the prince who never looks supposer
I said, 'Woe for Ibn Harb when he meets you
When the plain is surging with men.'
I warn the people of the sanctuary plainly
Every prudent and sensible man among them
Of Ahmad's army—no pokeroots his sides
And the warning I gave is true.

These words turned back Abū Sufyān and his followers.

[illegible] stopping in Ukāz, when you arrive there.' They agreed, and he said, 'Then [illegible] him, listen to his commands and obey them.' Then he used to sit down [illegible] 'Sit down, you enemy of God. You are not worthy of [illegible]

The day of Uhud was a day of trial, calamity, and heart-searching on [illegible] in which God honoured with martyrdom those whom he willed.

[illegible]

Abū Muhammad [illegible] Muhammad [illegible]

[illegible] in "The Family of Imran" which God [illegible] and the blame of those who merited His rebuke.

[illegible] were concealing.

[illegible] the two parties were the B. Salima b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj and the B. Haritha b. al-Nabit of al-Aus, they being the two wings [illegible] their weakness and feebleness and stuck to their prophet (fas).

[illegible] them him and strengthen him in his purpose.

[illegible] when thou didst say to the believers, "Is it not enough for you that your [illegible] steadfast and fear God and they come on you suddenly your Lord will [illegible]

Then He said: that He may cut off a part of those who disbelieve or [illegible] polytheists in a fight in which He will take [illegible] them back in disgrace, i.e. that those who survive may [illegible] fugitives having achieved nothing that they hoped to [illegible]

[illegible] gives for that is my prerogative, 'for they are evil-doers,' i.e. they have deserved that for their disobedience to Me. And God is forgiving, merciful [illegible]

Then He said: 'O ye who believe, take not usury, doubling and quadrupling [illegible] which has been made a dwelling for those who disbelieve in Me.

Then He said: And obey God and the apostle, haply you will [illegible] them that day and at other times. Then He said: 'And vie with one [illegible] to men, for God loves those who do well,' i.e. that is well doing and I love those who [illegible] belief while they know that I have prohibited the worship of any but [illegible] beneath which run rivers, in which they will abide for ever—a fine reward for working,' i.e. the reward of the obedient.

[illegible] tempest which came upon them and the wind (of the North) [illegible] i.e. vengeance came from me upon those who gave the lie to My apostles [illegible] in like case with them, for I was forbearing to them purely for the reason [illegible]

[illegible]

Then He said 'This is a plain statement to men and guidance and admonition to those that fear God' i.e. this is an explanation to men if [illegible] and guidance and admonition [illegible] to those who [illegible] My [illegible] victory 'if you believe,' i.e. if you had believed in what My prophet brought from Me. 'If you have received a wound [illegible] search, 'and that God may know those who believe and may choose [illegible] between believers and hypocrites and to honour some of the faithful with martyrdom. 'And God loves not wrongdoers,' i.e. the hypocrites who profess obedience with their tongues while their hearts are firm in disobedience, 'and that God may try those who believe,' i.e. put to the test those who believe, so that He may purify them by the misfortune which came upon them, and their constancy and certainty 'and confound the disbelievers,' i.e. bring to naught what the hypocrites say with their tongues that is not in their hearts until He brings to light their disbelief which they [illegible]

Then He said 'Or do you think that you will enter the garden when God does not yet know those of you who are energetic and steadfast?' i.e. Do you think that you will enter the garden and receive the honour of My reward when I have not tested you with hardship and tried you with misfortune so that I may know your loyalty by faith in Me and steadfastness in what has befallen you through Me. 'And you used to wish' for martyr[illegible] means those who urged the apostle to take them out against their enem[illegible] longing for the martyrdom which they had escaped there. He said 'And [illegible] seen it with your eyes?' i.e. death by swords in the hands of men with nothing between you and them while you looked on. Then He kept [illegible] back from you. 'And Muhammad is nothing but an apostle [illegible] passed away before him. Will it be that if he dies or is killed you will [illegible] back on your heels? He who so turns back will not harm God at all, and God will reward the thankful' in reference to the men saying 'Muhammad has been killed' and their flight thereat and breaking away from their enemy. 'Will it be if he dies or is killed' you will go back from your religion [illegible] God's book and what His prophet will have left behind of his religion with [illegible]

[illegible] back,' i.e. turns back from his religion 'will not harm God at all,' i.e. he [illegible] 'And God will reward the thankful,' i.e. those who obey Him and do what He has commanded.

'And no soul can die but by God's permission in a term that is written,' i.e. [illegible] of this world We will give him it; and he who desires the reward of the next world We will give him it and We shall reward the thankful,' i.e. he [illegible] him his allotted portion of sustenance and nothing more and he has no share in the next world; [illegible] We will give him what he has been promised together with his reward of sustenance in this world. That is the reward of the thankful, i.e. the pious.

[illegible] and they waxed not faint at what befell them in the way of God and were not weak nor humiliated for God loves the steadfast,' i.e. how many a [illegible] God loves the steadfast. 'All that they said was, Forgive us our sins, O Lord, and our wasted effort in our affair, make our feet firm and give us [illegible] as they did against a disbelieving people. For all that they said actually happened [illegible] loves those who do well.

'O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve they will turn you back on your heels and you will return as losers,' i.e. from your enemy, and [illegible] best of helpers.' If what you say with your tongues is true in your hearts [illegible] you through sins which you committed whereby you went against [illegible]

[illegible] **carried out My promise to give you victory over your enemy when** [illegible] giving you power over them and keeping them from you (624). 'Until you [illegible]

My order, i.e. you abandoned the order of your prophet and what he had told you to do, meaning the archers. After He had shown you what you were desiring, i.e. victory about which there was no doubt and the flight [illegible]

this world,' i.e. those who desired the spoil in this world and abandoned their orders which carried the reward of the hereafter, 'and some of [illegible] desired the hereafter,' i.e. those who fought for God's sake and did [illegible] transgress in going after what they had been forbidden for an accident[5] of this world out of desire for it hoping for the fine reward that is with God hereafter i.e. those who fought for religion and did not transgress in going after what they had been forbidden for an accident[5] of this world. 'To try you for some of your sins. God pardoned the great sin in that He did [illegible] destroy you for having disobeyed your prophet. But I restored My kindness to you. And thus God favours the believers. He punished some sins at once in this world by way of discipline and admonition, but He did [illegible] exterminate all for the debt they owed Him because they suffered for disobeying Him, out of mercy to them and as a reward for such faith as they had.

Then He reproached them for running away from their prophet and paying no heed when he called to them. 'When you climbed up and paid no heed to any one while the apostle was calling behind you, He rewarded you with grief for grief, that you might not be sad for what you missed and for what befell you,' i.e. grief after grief by the killing of some of your brethren and your enemy getting the better of you, and what you felt when someone said your prophet had been killed. That was what brought grief [illegible]

missed after you had seen him with your own eyes, nor over the death of your brethren until I gave you ease of that sorrow. 'And God is informed of what you do.' God comforted them from the sorrow and grief which they suffered in rebutting the lie of Satan that their prophet had been killed, and when they saw the apostle alive among them what they had missed from the Meccans after the victory over them and their disaster in [illegible]

Then after grief He sent down safety for you, as a sleep. It came upon [illegible]

[illegible] **the matter?** Say, the whole matter belongs to God. They hide in themselves what they do not reveal to you. They say, If we had had anything [illegible] **thoughts of heathen days, were afraid of death because they had no hope** [illegible] **result. God mentioned their recriminations and sorrow at what befell them. Then He said to His prophet, 'Say "Had you been in your** [illegible] **your secret thoughts** [illegible] **'and prove what was in their hearts, for God knows what is in the breasts,'** [illegible] **from Him.**

Then He said, 'O you who believe, be not like those who disbelieved [illegible] **Had they been with us, they would not have died or been killed that God** [illegible] **God as a cause of what you do.'"** i.e. be not like the apostates who forbad **their brethren to war for God's sake and to travel through** [illegible] **obedience to God and His apostle and say when they die or are killed,** [illegible] **their Lord. 'God gives life and causes death,'** i.e. their earthly stay is **shortened or prolonged by His power as He wishes. Then God said: 'If you are slain for God's sake or die, pardon from God and mercy are better than what you amass.'** i.e. there is no escape from death, so death for God's **sake or death in battle is better** [illegible] **If they had known and been certain** [illegible] **fighting in fear of death and battle because of what they have amassed from the splendour of this world, not desiring the hereafter. 'If you die or are slain, whichever it may be, 'surely to God will you be gathered,** i.e. to [illegible] **weighs with you than that.**

[illegible] **Hadst thou been harsh and rough, they would have dispersed and have** [illegible] **longer around you,** i.e. they would have left you. **'So forgive them'** i.e. [illegible]

overlook their offence, 'and ask pardon for them and consult them about the matter. When thou art resolved put thy trust in God, for God loves those who trust.' He reminded His prophet of his leniency to them, and his patience with them in their weakness and their lack of patience had he treated them harshly for all their oppositions when there was laid upon

i.e. overlook their offence 'and ask pardon' for their sins, the people of faith [illegible]

listen to them and ask their help, even if you are independent of them, thereby making their religion agreeable to them. And when thou art resolved' on a matter which has come from Me and a matter of religion concerning fighting your enemy when only that will bring you and them advantage, then do as you have been ordered despite the opposition of those who oppose you and in agreement with those who agree with you.

'If God helps you none can overcome you; if He forsakes you, who thereafter can help you?' i.e. so that you do not leave My command for men, and forsake men's orders for Mine. On God, not on men, let believers [illegible]

Then He said: 'It is not for any prophet to deceive. Whoso deceives will bring his deceit with him on the day of resurrection. Then every soul will be paid in full what it has earned and they will not be wronged.' It is not for a prophet to conceal from men what he has been ordered to reveal either out of fear or desire to please them. Whoso does that will bring it with him on the day of resurrection; then he will be repaid what he has earned not wronged nor defrauded. 'Is one who follows the pleasure of God' whether men like it or not 'like one who has incurred God's displeasure?' by pleasing or displeasing men. He says, Is one who obeys Me whose reward is the garden and the goodwill of God like one who has incurred God's anger and deserves His anger, whose home is hell and a miserable end? Are the two examples the same? So know 'There [illegible] degrees with God and God is a seer of what they do' of all the degrees of [illegible]

Then He said: 'God showed favour to the believers when He sent among them an apostle from among themselves who recited to them His verses and purified them and taught them the Book and wisdom though before they were in obvious error.' God favoured you, O people of the truth, when He sent among you an apostle of your own, reciting to you His verses concerning what you did, and teaching you good and evil that you might know the good and do it and [illegible] against it and telling you of the pleasure of God [illegible] that you might gain much from obeying Him and avoid the wrath proceeding from [illegible] that thereby you might escape His vengeance and obtain the reward of His garden. 'Though before you were in obvious error,' i.e. in

the blindness of paganism not knowing what was good nor taking precaution [illegible] to guide [illegible] to the right [illegible]

Then He mentioned the catastrophe that befell them: 'And was it so when a calamitous befell you, though you had smitten [illegible] with a disaster twice as great you say: "Whence has this come?" Say: It is from yourselves. God is able to do all things.' Though a catastrophe befell you at the hands of your brethren because of your sins, believe that you had smitten your enemy with double that on the day of Badr in slaying and taking prisoners. And you have forgotten your disobedience and your opposition to what your prophet commanded you. You have brought this on yourselves. 'God is able to do all things.' God is able to do what He wills with [illegible] His servants in taking vengeance or pardoning. 'And what befell you on the day the two armies met was by God's permission and that He might prove the believers.' What befell you when you and your enemy met was by My permission. This happened when you acted in vain did after My help had come to you and I had fulfilled my promise to you to disperse your enemy before you and humiliate and to know those who were hypocrites among you, or to distinguish them from those who were sincere. 'And it was said to them: "Come, fight for God's sake or defend," meaning Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions who went back from the ignominy when he went against his patriotic sentiment [illegible] and their words: "If we knew that you were going to fight we did not would go with you; you would defeat us; but we do not think that there will be a fight." So he showed what they were hiding within them.

'Good men.' 'They were nearer to disbelief' than to faith that day among such those whose what was not in their hearts, i.e. showing with faith which was not in their hearts, 'but God knows best about what they conceal,' i.e. what they hide, 'who said of their brethren, who belonged to their families and people who were killed in your company: "Had they obeyed us they would not have been killed." Say: "Avert death from yourselves if you are truthful." i.e. there is no escape from death. "If you are able to keep death away from yourselves." Thus was because they were hypocrites and left fighting for God's sake, eager to survive in this world and fleeing from death.

Then He said to His prophet to make the believers weak to fight and desire battle: 'And do not think that those who were killed for God's sake are dead, nay, they are alive with their Lord being nourished,' glad with the bounties that God has brought them and rejoicing at those who have not yet joined them that they have nothing to fear or grieve over, i.e. Do not think that those who were killed for God's sake are dead, i.e. I have brought them to life again and they are with Me being nourished in the way and bounties of the Garden, rejoicing in the bounties that God has brought them for their suffering on His account, and happy about those who have not yet joined them, i.e. glad when those of their brethren join them on account of their effort in war that there will share with them in the reward that God has given them, God having removed from them fear and sorrow

God says: [illegible] in the favour and bounty of God and that God does not waste the wages of the believers. Moreover they have seen the fulfilment of the promise and the great reward.

[illegible] I myself told me from Abu'l-Zubayr from Ibn 'Abbas: 'The spirits of your brothers were slain at Uhud, and God put their spirits in the crops of green birds which come down to the rivers of the Garden: they eat of its fruits and come home to where there are golden candlesticks in the shadow of the throne, and when they experience the goodly food and rest and their beautiful resting place they say, "Would that our brethren knew what God has done with us that they might not decline fighting and shrink from war." And God sent down to His apostle these verses: "And do not think [illegible]

[illegible] al-Khayr told me from Mahmud b. Labid al-Ansari from Ibn 'Abbas: [illegible] at Bir Ma'una, a river at the gate of the Garden, in a green tent that provides from the Garden coming out to them morning and evening.

One whom I do not suspect told me from 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud that he was asked about these verses 'Do not think', etc., and he said, We asked about them and we were told that when your brethren were slain at Uhud God put their spirits in the crops of green birds which come down to the rivers of the Garden and eat of its fruits and come home to where there are golden candlesticks in the shade of the throne and God takes one look at them and says, 'Do you wish that I should give you more?' And they say, 'O our Lord, there is nothing beyond the Garden which Thou hast given us from which we eat what we please.' After the question has been put three times they say the same thing, except that we should like our spirits to return to our bodies and then return to the earth and fight for Thee until we are killed again.'

One of our companions told me from 'Abdullah b. Muhammad b. 'Aqil from Jabir b. 'Abdullah: The apostle said to me, 'I will give you good news, Jabir. God has restored to life your father who was killed at Uhud.' Then He asked him what he would like Him to do for him and he said that he would like to return to the world and fight for Him and be killed a second time.

'Amr b. [illegible] told me from al-Hasan that the apostle said that there was no believer who had parted from the world and wished to return to it for a single hour even if he could possess it with all it has except the martyr who would like to return and fight for God and be killed a second time.

Then God said, 'Those who responded to God and His apostle after harm had befallen them,' i.e. wounds. They are the believers who went with the [illegible] on the fourteenth of [illegible] to Hamra al-Asad in spite of the pain of their wounds, for those of them who do well and are pious there is a great reward: those to whom men said, 'The men of Mecca have gathered against you so fear them,' and that but increased their faith and

they said, 'Allah is sufficient for us and a fine one in whom to trust.' The men who said that were a number of 'Abdu'l-Qays to whom Abu Sufyan spoke. They said, 'Abu Sufyan and his company are certainly coming back to you.' God says, 'So they returned with God's grace and favour. Harm [illegible] bounty, in that He turned away their enemy so that they did not meet him. 'It is only the devil,' i.e. those men and what Satan put into their mouths, 'who would make men fear his adherents,' i.e. frighten you by [illegible] Let not those who vie in running to disbelief grieve you,' i.e. the hypocrites, 'they can in no wise injure God. God wills not to assign them a portion in the next world where they will have a painful punishment. Those who buy infidelity with faith will in no wise injure God: they will have a painful punishment. Let not those who disbelieve think that the respite We give them is good for them. We give them a respite only that they may increase in iniquity. There is an ignominious punishment. It is [illegible] the evil from the good,' i.e. the hypocrites. 'And it is not God's purpose to [illegible] take heed of what comes to you. But God chooses whom He will of His messengers,' i.e. He lets him know that 'So believe in God and His messengers and if you believe and are pious,' i.e. return and repent 'then you will have a great reward.'

THE NAMES OF THE MUSLIMS WHO WERE MARTYRED AT UHUD

The Muslims who were martyred at Uhud in the company of the apostle were as follows:

Emigrants from Quraysh: of the B. Makhzum: Hisham whom Waqidi has shown at Jabiya; Mas'ud killed; of B. Umayya b. Abdu Shams: Abdullah b. Jahsh, an ally from B. Asad b. Khuzayma. Of B. Abdu'l-Dar: Mus'ab b. 'Umayr whom Ibn Qami'a al-Laythi killed. Of B. Makhzum: b. Tuqan: Shammas b. 'Uthman. Total 4.

Of the Ansar: of B. Abdu'l-Ashhal: 'Amr b. Mu'adh; al-Harith b. Anas b. Rafi', and 'Uqba b. Zayd b. al-Salum (Sic). Salama b. Thabit b. Waqish and 'Amr his brother ('Amr b. 'Umar b. Qatada narrated to me that the father Thabit was killed that day, and Rifa'a b. Waqish and Hubab b. Qur Ab, Hudhayfa who was al-Yaman (the Abyssinian killed him unwittingly and Hudhayfa forewent his blood-wit accordant on the slayer) and Aus [illegible] of Qayzi and Abbad b. [illegible] and al-Harith b. Anas b. Mu'adh. Total 12.

Of the sons of Rifi': Tufa b. Ana b. 'Atik b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu'l-Aziz b.

Za'ūrā' b. Jushum b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, and 'Ubayd b. al-Tayyihān (6th) and Habīb b. Yazīd b. Taym. 3.

Of B. Ẓafar: Yazīd b. Hirith b. Unayf b. Rāfi'. 1

Of B. 'Amr b. Auf of the subdivision B. Jubar: 'Ubād b. Zayd, Abū Salīma b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. Zayd, Hamza b. Abū 'Amr b. Sayfī b. Nu'mān b. Milḥa b. Ḥarām, the man marked by the angels whom Shaddād b. al-Aswad b. Shu'ūb al-Laythī killed (617). 5.

Of B. 'Ubayd b. Zayd: Lawḥ b. Qīthā. 1.

Of B. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. Auf: Abū Ḥayya, brother to Sa'd b. Khaythama by his mother (6th), and 'Abdullāh b. Jubayr b. al-Nu'mān who commanded the archers. 2.

Of B. al-Sālim b. Ḥarb'al-Qays b. Mālik b. al-Aus: Khaythama Abū Sa'd b. Khaythama. 1.

Of the clan of B. al-'Ajlān: 'Abdullāh b. Salama. 1

Of B. Mu'āwiya b. Mālik: Subay' b. Qays b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. Hayyān (619). 1.

Of B. al-Najjār of the clan of B. Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanm: 'Amr b. Qays and his son Qays (625) and Thābit b. 'Amr b. Zayd and 'Amr b. Mukhlad. 4.

Of B. Mabdhūl: Abū Hubayra b. al-Hārith b. Aqyam b. 'Amr b. Thaqf b. Mālik b. Mabdhūl and 'Amr b. Mu'ārid b. Aqyam b. 'Amr. 2.

Of B. 'Amr b. Mālik: Anas b. Thābit b. al-Nu'mān (633). 1

Of B. 'Adī b. al-Najjār: Anas b. al-Nadr b. Damdam b. Zayd b. Haram b. Jundub b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār (625). 1

Of B. Māzin b. al-Najjār: Qays b. Mukhallad and Ḥamza a client of theirs. 2.

Of B. Dīnār b. al-Najjār: Subayr b. al-Hārith, and Nu'mān b. 'Abdu 'Amr. 2.

Of B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj: Khārija b. Zayd b. Abū Zuhayr, and Sa'd b. al-Rabī' b. 'Amr b. Abū Zuhayr who were buried in one grave, and Aus b. al-Arqam b. Zayd b. Qays b. Nu'mān b. Milḥa b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b. 3.

Of B. al-Abjar: the B. Khudra: Mālik b. Sinān b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd b. al-Abjar the father of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (633); and Sa'd b. Suwayd b. Qays b. 'Amr b. Abjad b. al-Abjar, and 'Utba b. Rabī' b. Rāfi' b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd. 3.

Of B. Rifā'a b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj: Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Mālik b. Khālid b. Tha'laba b. Hārisha b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Sā'ida: and Thābit b. Farwa b. al-Badī. 2.

Of B. Ṭarīf the family of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda: 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. Wahb b. Tha'laba b. Waqsh b. Tha'laba b. Ṭarīf, and Dubāra, an ally from B. Jahjabā. 2.

Of B. Auf b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. Sālim of the subdivision of B. Mālik b. al-'Ajlān b. Zayd b. Ghanm b. Sālim: Nawfal b. 'Abdullāh, Abbād b. 'Ubāda b. Nadla b. Mālik b. al-'Ajlān, Nu'mān b. Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Fihr b. Ghanm b. Sālim, al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād, an ally from Balī, and 'Ubāda b. al-Ḥasḥās, the last three being buried in one grave. 5.

Of B. al-Ḥublā: Rifā'a b. 'Amr. 1.

Of B. Salima of the clan of B. Ḥarām: 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām b. Tha'laba b. Ḥarām, 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ b. Zayd b. Ḥarām who were buried together, Khallād b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ, &c., and Abū Ayman a client of 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ. 4.

Of B. Sawād b. Ghanm: Sulaym b. 'Amr b. Hadīda and his client 'Antara; and Sahl b. Qays b. Abū Ka'b b. al-Qayn. 3.

Of B. Zurayq b. 'Āmir: Dhakwān b. 'Abdu Qays; and 'Ubayd b. al-Mu'allā b. Laudhān (634). 2.

The total number of Muslims killed including both Emigrants and Anṣār was 65 men (615).

THE NAMES OF THE POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE KILLED AT UḤUD

Of the Quraysh from B. 'Abdu'l-Dār b. Quṣayy who carried the standard: Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdu'l-Dār whom 'Alī killed; and Abū Sa'īd b. Abī Ṭalḥa whom Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ killed (616); and 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥa whom Ḥamza killed; and Musāfi' and al-Julās sons of Ṭalḥa whom 'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abū'l-Aqlaḥ killed; and Kilāb and al-Ḥārith sons of Ṭalḥa killed by Quzmān an ally of B. Ẓafar (625); and Arṭāt b. Abū Shurāḥbīl b. Hāshim b. Abū Manāf b. Abdu'l-Dār whom Ḥamza killed; and Abū Zayd b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim, &c., whom Quzmān killed; and Sa'īd an Abyssinian slave of his also killed by Quzmān (625); and al-Qāsiṭ b. Shurayḥ b. Hāshim b. Abū Manāf whom Quzmān also killed. 1

Of B. Asad b. Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy: 'Abdullāh b. Humayd b. Zuhayr b. al-Hārith b. Asad whom 'Alī killed. 1.

Of B. Zuhra b. Kilāb: Abū'l-Ḥakam b. al-Akhnas b. Sharīq b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafī, an ally of theirs whom 'Alī killed; and Sibā' b. Abdu'l-'Uzzā—the latter's name was 'Amr b. Nadla b. Ghubsha b. Salūl b. Malīka b. Afīq—an ally from Khuzā'a whom Ḥamza killed. 2.

Of B. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa: Hishām b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra whom Quzmān killed; and al-Walīd b. al-'Āṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra whom Quzmān killed; and Abū Umayya b. Abū Ḥudhayfa b. al-Mughīra whom 'Alī killed; and Khālid b. al-A'lam an ally whom Quzmān killed. 4.

Of B. Jumaḥ b. 'Amr: 'Amr b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umayr b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumaḥ who was Abū 'Azza whom the apostle killed when a prisoner; and Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumaḥ whom the apostle killed with his own hand. 2.

Of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: 'Ubayda b. Jābir; and Shayba b. Mālik b. al-Muḍarrib both of whom were killed by Quzmān (624). 2.

Thus God killed on the day of Uḥud as polytheists.

POETRY ON THE BATTLE OF UHUD

The following wrote verses on the subject:

Hubayra b. Abū Wahb b. Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. Abd b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm (640):

Why does this painful anxiety afflict me at night?
My love for Hind beset by cares.
672 Hind keeps blaming and reproaching me
While war has distracted me from her.
Gently now, blame me not: 'tis my habit
As you know I have never concealed it.
I help the B. Ka'b as they demand
Struggling with the burdens they impose
I bore my arms bestride a noble horse
Long of pace, smooth in gait, keeping up with the cavalry's gallop,
Running like a wild ass in the desert which
Pursued by hunters keeps close to the females.[1]
Sired by A'wag, which rejoices men's hearts
Like a branch on a thick lofty palm.
I got him ready and a sharp choice sword
And a lance with which I meet life's crisis.
Thus and a well-cut coat of mail like a wavy pool
Fastened on me clear of blemishes.
We brought Kināna from the confines of yonder Yemen
Across the land driving them hard.
When Kināna asked where we were taking them
We told them Medina,[2] so they made for it and its people.
We were the true knights that day on Uhud's slope.
Ma'add were in terror so we said we would come to their aid
They feared our strokes and thrusts well aimed and cutting
Which they beheld when their outposts had drawn together.
Then we came like a cloud of hail,
The B. al-Najjār's bird of death hemmed them.
Their skulls in the battle were like ostrich eggs
Split open (by the chicks) and cast aside,
Or a colocynth on a withered shoot
Loosened by the sweeping winds.
We spent our wealth lavishly without reckoning
And we stab the horsemen in their eyes right and left.

So A. Dh. but Jāḥiẓ (p. 74): [illegible] means troops and it may well be that love and war are mingled in his thoughts.

Cf. Ahlwardt, Chats. el-Ahmar's Gedichte (Greifswald 1859) but a comparison with Amr b. Qamī'a (ed. Vollers, Cairo 1910, p. [illegible]) suggests that we should read [illegible] (actively) bringing in (certain) their pasture, protects their rear.

[1] Al-Nukhayb. A watching-place near Medina.

Many a night when the host warms his hands in the belly of a slaughtered camel
And invites only wealthy guests,[1]
Many a night of Jumādā with freezing[2] rain
Have I travelled through the wintry cold.
Because of the frosts the dogs bark but once
And the vipers leave not their holes.
I kindled then a blaze for the needy
Bright as the lightning that illumines the horizon.
Amr and his father before him bequeathed me this example
He used to do this again and again.
They vied with the courses of the stars.
Their deeds never fell below the highest standard

Hassān b. Thābit answered him:

You brought Kināna in your folly (to fight) the apostle,
For God's army was (bound to) disgrace them.
You brought them to death's cisterns in broad daylight.
Hell was their meeting-place, killing what they met with.
You collected them, black slaves, men of no descent
O leaders of infidels whom their insolent ones deceived.
Why did you not learn from those thrown into Badr's pit
Slain by God's horsemen?
Many a prisoner did we free without ransom,
Many a captive's forelock did we, his masters, cut[3] (641)

Ka'b b. Mālik also answered Hubayra:

Have Ghassān heard about us though
Wide desert land where travel is uncertain separates them?
Deserts and mountains looking black in the distance
Like pillars of dust dotted here and there.
Strong camels there become feeble
The yearly rains pass over it to make other lands fertile.[4]
There the skeletons of exhausted camels
Look like merchants' linen dotted with figures.
The wild oxen and gazelles walk in file
And broken ostrich eggs lie strewn abroad.
Our warriors who fight for their religion are all troops
Skilled in war with helmets[5] shining.

[1] The meaning seems to be that the host does not throw the meat open to all and sundry, but invites only those who can return his hospitality.

[2] *jumādā*. S. points out that the old names of the months indicated their position in the solar year and that these names persisted when the months fell in different seasons after the lunar calendar was adopted, thus Ramadān, the scorcher, could begin in January and Rabī'a, the Spring, begin in November.

[3] Or 'The yearly rain clouds are empty and pass swiftly on'.

[4] Properly the tops of the Pickelhaubes.

Every coat of mail preserved in store is
When donned as a well-filled pool
614 But ask any man you meet about Badr;
News you are ignorant of will be profitable.
Had other men been in that land of fear
They would have decamped at night and fled away.
When a rider of ours came he said,
'Prepare to meet the force Ibn Harb has collected.'
In misfortunes that would distress others
We showed greater calmness than all.
Had others been beset by a multitude
They would have given up and lost heart.
We fought them; no tribe could stand against us
But feared and fled in dread.
When they made their home in Tirf[1] our leader said,
'Why do we plant grain if we do not protect it?'
Among us was God's apostle whose command we obey,
When he gives an order we do not examine it.
The spirit[2] descends on him from his Lord
Brought down from the midst of heaven and taken up again.
We consult him as our wishes, and our desire
Is to obey him in all that he wants.
The apostle said when they appeared,
'Cast off the fear of death and desire it,
Be like one who sells his life
To draw near to a King by Whom he will be restored to life
Take your swords and trust in God
To Whom belongs the disposal of all things.'
We made for them openly as they rode their camels
Bearing swords and mailed
In a compact force with lances and spears
When our steeds planted their feet they kept them firm.
Into a sea of foemen we plunged,
Their blade in the centre some in armour some unprotected,
They were three thousand while we were three hundred alone
Or four hundred at the most.
The battle went to and fro while death ran between us.
We tried to get to the cistern of death before them and did so.
Bows of Iwa wood exchanged presents[3] between us
All of them cut from Yathrib[4] wood
And Meccan arrows made by Sa'd

[1] Or, reading tanazzu'u, 'dispersed'
[2] A place outside Medina.
[3] Lit. Gabriel.
[4] A.Dh. explains Yathrib as 'bow strings' cut in Medina, but the context implies that arrows were exchanged

Sprinkled with poison at the time they were made
Sometimes hitting men a bodies,
Sometimes glancing off shields with a clang,
And horsemen in the plain looking like locusts
Which the east wind brings, moving briskly in the cold,
When we met them and the battle was fierce
(For there is no defence against God's decree)
We smote them until we left their leaders
Lying in the hollow like fallen trees.
From morn till eve until we recovered our strength
Our zeal was like a fire burning all in its path.
They fled in haste hurrying away
Like a cloud wisp that the wind robs of rain.
We went on, our rearguard coming slowly,
Like strong lions seeking meat in Bisha.
We inflicted loss on you and you on us,
Perhaps we should have won, but what is with God is more generous.
The battle waged hot between us
And all were made to get their fill of evil.
We are men who see no blame in him who kills
To guard and protect his protégés.
Firm in misfortunes, you will never see
Our eyes weeping over a comrade slain;
Warriors who do what we say
Nor become despondent in war's trials;
Warriors who commit no atrocities in victory
Nor complain of war's scratches.
We are a flame whose heat men ward off,
Those near it withdraw with scorched faces.
You trust me, Ibn al-Ziba'rā,[1] yet a party went after you
Searching for you at nightfall.
Ask about yourself in the summit of Ma'add and elsewhere
Who is the lowest and most shameful of men?
Whom did war leave shorn of glory
His face humiliated on the day of war?
We attached you with God's help and succour
Our spearheads directed at you.
Our lances made gaping wounds among you
Like the mouths of waterskins where the water gushes forth.
We attached the standard-bearers, and he who hastens to mention the

[redacted]

Is the first in giving praise.[2]

[1] The reading is doubtful.
[2] But the poem is said to be a reply to Hubayra who is not even mentioned!
[3] The text of this verse is difficult and is probably corrupt.

But they were treacherous, surrendered, and deserted.
Only God's will can prevail and He is the greatest doer (642).

'Abdullah b. al-Ziba'rā:

O raven, you have made men hear, then speak.
You can say only what has happened.
(To good and evil there is an end and both befall men.
Gifts are mean among them
And the graves of the rich and the poor are equal.
Every comfortable and pleasant life comes to an end
And the blows of fate play with us all.)
Give Hassān a message from me,
For composing poetry cures inward pain.
How many skulls on the mountain slope did you see,
How many hands and feet cut off
Fine armour stripped from the brave
Who had perished in the battle?
How many noble chiefs did we slay,
Their descent doubly glorious, intrepid warriors
Truly courageous, noble, conspicuous,
No weaklings when the spears fell
Ask al-Mihrās who inhabits it.
Between skulls and brains, like partridges?
Would that my elders in Badr had seen
The fear of Khazraj when the spears fell;
When (war) rubbed its breast in Qubā
And the slaughter waxed hot among the 'Abdu'l-Ashhal.
Then they were nimble in flight
Like young ostriches running up a hill.
We killed a double number of their nobles
And adjusted the inequality of Badr
I do not blame myself, but
Had we returned we should have made a clean sweep of them
With Indian swords above their heads
Delivering blow after blow.

Hassān b. Thābit answered him:

The battle is over, O Ibn Ziba'rā[1]
(Had he been fair he would have admitted our superiority).
You inflicted loss on us and we on you.
The fortunes of war often change.
We thrust our swords between your shoulders
Where they drank blood again and again.

[1] War is compared to a camel.
[2] But the reading of the *Dīwān*, ii, A battle ran away with Ibn Ziba'rā is better

We made liquid to run from your arses
Like the ordure of camels that have eaten 'ajwa.
When you took to your heels[1] in the pass
And fled like sheep one behind the other,
When we attacked you boldly
And drove you to the bottom of the mountain
With companies like vast objects (?) in the plain[2]
Whoever meets them is terrified.
The pass was too narrow for us when we traversed it
And we filled its heights and depths
With men you cannot equal
Strengthened by Gabriel's help who came down.
We conquered at Badr by piety,
Obeying God and believing the apostles.
We killed all their chiefs
And we killed every long-robed noble
We left in Quraysh a lasting shame that day of Badr
An example to be talked of.
While the apostle of God witnessed truly,
While the short fat people among Quraysh
Got together by them were as
Camels collected in herbage and left shepherdless[3].
We and not men like you, children of your mother's arse,
Meet the fetters[4] when adversity comes (643).

Ka'b mourning Hamza and the Muslim dead:

You weep, but do you want one to stir you to tears?
You who are lost in grief when you remember them,[5]
Remembering a people of whom
Stories have reached me in this crooked age.[6]
Your heart palpitates at the memory of them
In longing and tearful sadness.
Yet their dead are in lovely gardens
Honoured in their exits and entrances.
Because they were steadfast beneath the flag,
'The flag of the apostle in Dhū'l-Adwa,[7]
'The morning when the B. Aus and Khazraj
All responded with their swords
And Ahmad's supporters followed the truth,

[1] The language is Quranic
[2] This reading is uncertain. A.Dh. gives 'Ibna' as an alternative reading.
[3] These two lines are difficult. A.Dh. makes several suggestions as to the meaning
[4] It would be tempting to read ka... for ala hum
[5] The poet is apostrophising himself.
[6] A clear indication of the comparatively late date of this poem. Cf. also W. 638, Ibn S
[7] A place near Uhud. Yāq. i. 375.

The light-giving straight way.
They continually smote the warriors
As they passed through the clouds of dust
Till at last the King summoned them
To a garden with thick trees at its entrance,
All of them proved pure in the trial,
Died unflinchingly in God's religion
Like Hamza when he proved his loyalty
With a sharp well-wheeled sword.
The slave of the B. Naufal met him
Muttering like a huge black camel
And pierced him with a lance like a flame
That burns in a blazing fire
And Nu'mān fulfilled his promise
And the good Hanzala turned not from the truth
Until his spirit passed
To a mansion resplendent in gold.
Such are (true men) not those of your company
Who lie in nethermost hell with no escape.

Dirār b. al-Khattāb al-Fihrī answered him:

Does Ka'b grieve over his followers
And weep over a crooked age
Crying like an old camel who sees his companions
Returning at even while he is kept back?
The water camels pass on and leave him
Grumbling of ill-treatment while he is not even saddled for women.
Say to Ka'b, 'Let him double his weeping
And let him suffer pain therefrom.
For the death of his brothers when the cavalry charged
In clouds of rising dust.'
Would that 'Amr and his followers
And 'Utba had been in our flaming meeting-place
That they might have slaked their vengeance
On those of Khazraj who were slain
And on those of Aus who died on the battlefield,
All of them slain in Dhū'l-Adwa,
And the killing of Hamza under the flag
With a pliant death-dealing lance.
And where Mus'ab fell and lay
Smitten by a sword's quick stroke
In Uhud when our swords flashed among them
Flaming like a roaring fire
On the morn we met you with swords

Like lions of the plains who cannot be turned back.
All our steeds like hawks,
Blood horses fiery, well-saddled.
We trod them down there until they fled
Except the dying or those bemoaned in (644).

'Abdullāh b. al-Ziba'rā:

Surely tears flowed from your eyes[1]
When youth had fled and the loved one was far away.
Far off and gone is she whom you love and
The camp, now removed, has robbed me of a dear one.
The ardent lover cannot recover what is gone
However long he weeps.
But let be: Has Umm Milk news of my people
Since news spreads far and wide
Of our bringing horses to the men of Medina,
Fine handsome horses, some reared with us, some outborn,
The night we went forth in great force
Led by one, the dread of his enemies, the hope of his friend
All were clad in coats of mail
Which looked like a well-filled pool where two valleys meet.
When they saw us they were filled with awe,
A dreadful plight confronted them:
They wished that the earth would swallow them,
Their stoutest hearted warriors were in despair
When our swords were drawn they were like
A flame that leaps through brushwood,
On their heads we brought them down
Bringing swift death to the enemy
They left the slain of Aus with kinsmen hard at them and
Hungry vultures lighting on them.
The Banū Najjār on every height
Were bleeding from the wounds on their bodies.
But for the height of the mountain pass they would have left Ahmad lead,
But he climbed too high though the spears were directed at him,
As they left Hamza dead in the attack
With a lance thrust through his breast.
Nu'mān too lay dead beneath his banner,
The falling vultures busy at his bowels.[2]

[1] Or the poet may be crying himself to sleep.
[2] This unpleasant version is probably the original. For *yajfu* C follows the MSS. which have *yahjū* and so mean 'fall upon', which seems meaningless here. Another variant quoted by C is *yajmū* 'hover', while Nöl. Delecus 68 read *yajū'u* 'hunger for', which again is unnatural. All these variants can be accounted for by the assumption that editors wished to tone down the ghastly description of the early Muslim's death.

The spears of our warriors came on them in Uhud (as swiftly)
As a wall devours the ropes of the bucket.

Hassān b. Thābit

Do the spring camps make you long for Umm al-Walīd,
The waste lands deserted by their people
The winds of summer and the rain of Aquarius,
The torrential cloudbringer, has effaced them,
Naught remains but the place where the fire was,
Round it on the ground are the firestones like doves.
Mention no more the camp whose people distance separates
Severing the strongest ties, and say
If there was a battle in Uhud which a fool counts a victory
The real truth will some day be known.
All the Banū Aus stood firm that day
High renown was theirs
The Banū Najjār were steadfast in defence,
None was fainthearted in the fight
In front of the apostle of God, they did not desert him,
They had a helper from their Lord and an intercessor
They were faithful when you, Quraysh,[2] denied your Lord,
(The loyal and the disloyal slave are never equal)
Wild swords in their hands when the battle was hot
He whom they smote could not but die.
They left 'Utba and Sa'd lying in the dust
As the spears found their mark
They left Ubayy laid beneath the dust by the apostle's own hand,
His shirt wet with blood
When the dust they stirred up covered the people.
These were chiefs from your leading families,
For every army has chiefs.
By them[3] we help God when[4] He helps us
Even if things are terrible, O Quraysh.
Mention not the slain since Hamza is among them,
Dead for God's sake in true obedience
Paradise eternal he lives in now
(The commands of Him who decrees is swift).

[1] [illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible] [4] [illegible] Asad.

While your dead are in hell, their best food
Thorns and boiling water to fill their bellies (645).[1]

'Amr b. al-'Ās.

We went forth from the barren desert against them
Forming as it were a streaked girdle to Raqwā in the morning.
B. Najjār foolishly wished to meet us
By the side of Sal' and hopes are sometimes realized.
What scared them suddenly in the valley was
Squadrons of horse coming forth to the battle.
They wanted to plunder our tents,
But protecting those tents that day were shattering blows.
They were tents that have always been protected,
If a people made for them they would be foolish and meet our rage.
The heads of the Khazraj that morning
By the side of Sal' were like sliced melons
And their hands holding Yamani swords were like forwas[2] (646).

Di'ār b. al-Khattāb

By thy grandfather,[3] had I not advanced my horse
When the cavalry wheeled between the slope and the low ground
On the side of Uhud's slope, there had not ceased
The voices of your wives calling for vengeance, their cause well known,
And a horseman, his forehead split by a sword,
His skull in pieces like a shepherd's cloak.[4]
By thy grandfather I am always girded with a sharp sword white as salt
On the saddle of a mare thrusting forward to the one who calls for help
As long as the cry for aid is raised.
I am not reckoned the son of weaklings and non-combatants
Or masterly cowards on the day of battle,
But of those who smite the treasty helms when they reach them,
Warriors of proud descent on the day of battle,
Proud leaders bearing long swords who advance to death unfaltering.

He also said:

When there came from Ka'b a squadron
And the Khazrajiya with glittering swords
And they drew their Khashrajiya swords
And displayed a flag fluttering like the wings of an eagle

[1] [illegible] [2] A battle plant ending in small excrescences like cockspurs; a simile of sagginess and weakness. [illegible] [3] [illegible] [4] The point of this simile would seem to be that the mare's skin, [illegible] and marked with blood, reminded the poet of a shepherd's cloak which has been made of odd pieces of fur.

I said, This will be a battle worth many a battle,
It will be talked of as long as leaves fall.
Every day they have been accustomed to gain the victory in battle
And the spoils of those they encountered.
643 I forced myself to be steadfast when I felt afraid[a]
And I was certain that glory could only be got in the forefront.
I forced my steed to plunge into their ranks
And drenched him with their blood.
My horse and my armour were coloured
With blood that spurted from their veins and coagulated.
I felt sure I should stay in their dwellings
For ever and a day
Do not despair O Banū Makhzūm, for you have men
Like Ar-Mughīra, men without blame.
Be steadfast, may my mother and brothers be your ransom,
Exchanging blows until time be no more.

Amr b. al-'Āṣ:

When I saw war's flames leaping over the fire stones
Reaching the squadrons flaying men with their heat[b]
I was sure that death was truth and life a delusion.
I set my arms on a strong horse which could outrun others easily,
Docile when others go astray in the desert outrunning the best horse.
When the sweat flowed down his flanks he showed more spirit
Swift as a young hart of the desert when archers scare him to run full stretch,
Firm of fetlock he leads the cavalry in canter and gallop.
My mother be your ransom that fearful morning
When they walked like sandgrouse
Making for the leader of the squadron when the sun revealed him plainly (647).

Ka'b b. Mālik answered the two of them

Tell Quraysh (the best word is the truest and truth is always acceptable to the wise)
That we killed your best men, the standard-bearers.
649 In revenge for our slain, so what is all the talk about?
And on the day that we met you
Michael and Gabriel reinforced and helped us.
If you fall on the true religion in error
And to be killed for the truth is to find God's favour
If you think that we are fools

[a] Reading *ashkaru*.
[b] *Nuqū'* could mean 'fireclips' and *shuhbā'* 'flames'. There is a variant reading *mutarāt* 'squadrons' (ranged one after another). In any event there is a deliberate pun on the double meaning of 'flame' and 'squadron'.

The opinion of those who oppose Islam is misleading.
Do not wish for more war but stay at home,
The habitual man of war is blood-stained, never free of care.[a]
You will get such blows at our hands
That the hyaenas will rejoice at the jumps of meat.
We are men of war who get the utmost from it
And inflict painful punishment on the aggressors.
If Ibn Harb escaped with the skin of his teeth
(And God's will must be done) it gave him discernment
And admonition if he has the sense to appreciate it.
Had you come to the bottom of the torrent bed
A swift stroke would have met you on the valley side,
Bands of men round the Prophet would have confronted you
With breastplates prepared for war
Men of Ghassān stock with drawn swords,
No unarmed cowards they,
They walk towards the dark clouds of battle
As the camels white foals walk in train,
Or as lions walk in a covert weaned by rain
Brought by the north wind from the German
In long close-knit mail like a rippling pool,
Its wearer broad-shouldered,[b] a chief like a sword,
Which makes the strongest arrowhead useless
And the sword scoff with blunted edge.
Though you threw off Mount Sal' from your backs
(And sometimes life can be prolonged and death avoided)
You would never be able to take revenge,
Time will pass the stain not paid for.[c]
Slave and free, noble, tied up like game (led)
Towards Medina bound and slain.
We were hoping to get you all, but our knights with their weapons
Chased you from us too quickly
When one of them commits a crime they know for certain
That the consequence will be borne (by the tribe).
His crime is not an unmentionable crime.
None blames him and none evades his share of the penalty.[d]

Hassān b. Thābit:[e]

At even when the stars were setting
I could not sleep for care
And the vision of the beloved that haunted me
A sickness pervaded my heart and an inner hidden passion.

[a] W. adopts the variant *mu'ā'ir* 'on fire' which hardly seems right. Perhaps with copying 'hair' or 'hol' was intended.
[b] Reading *ta'ān*.
[c] Lit. 'Time will disappear' or 'wear away'.
[d] These lines seem to refer to the archers who left their post in spite of Ibn W. 270.
[e] These lines seem to refer to the archers who left their post in spite of Ibn W. 270.

O my people, can one without strength and courage
Slay a man like me?
If the tiniest ants were to crawl upon her
They would make wounds in her skin.
She emerges in sweet scent and lingers in her bed
Adorned with silver and strung with pearls.
The daily sun surpasses her in naught
Except that youth does not endure.
My uncle was orator at Jāhiliyatu'l-Jahlān
With al-Nu'mān when he stood up (to speak).
I was the hawk at the door of Ibn Salma
On the day that Nu'mān was sick in fetters.
Ubayy and Wāqid were set free for me
The day they went forth with their fetters broken
I went surety for them with all my wealth,
Every scrap of it was allotted
My family stood high in their regard.
Every dwelling had a great ancestor of mine
My father gave decisive judgement at Sumayha[2]
When disputes were referred to him
Such were our deeds, but al-Zibarqān
Is a man of no account, blamed even by his friends.
How much culture is destroyed by poverty
While prosperity hides barbarism![3]
Do not insult me for you cannot do so,
Only a gentleman can insult his peer.[4]
I care not if a he goat cries in the wasteland[5]
Or a chief speaks evil behind my back
The finest stock of Banū Qusayy took over the courage
(You ought to have been, when you withdrew,
Nine carried the standard while
Makhzūm ran away from the spears with the riff-raff.
They stood firm together in their place till all were slain,
All of them bleeding from open wounds.[6]
It was only honourable that they should stand firm
The noble man is truly noble.
They stood fast until death came upon them
With the lances broken in their throats.
Quraysh fled from us seeking refuge

[1] [illegible] interest in
[illegible] who was [illegible] decline. [illegible] their disputes to the
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] and Ibn Sālim [illegible] Abdu'l-Kalām
[illegible] a brave man becomes enraged
[6] Reading madmūn cf. A. 'Ik.

So that they stood not fast but lost their wits.
Their collarbones could not sustain its weight
Only the best men can carry the standard (648).

Hassān b. Thābit mourning Hamza

O Mayya, arise and weep sadly at dawn as the keening women do;
As those who carry heavy burdens cannot move for their weight
Who cry aloud scratching the faces of free women.
When their tears run they are like the pillars reddened by the blood of victims.
They let their hair loose and their locks appear
Like the tails of festive plunging horses in the morning.
Some plaited some run dishevelled by the wind 649
They weep sadly like mourners whom fate has wounded,
Their hearts scarred by painful wounds
Fate has smitten those who were our hope when we were afraid.
The men of Uhud whom fate's calamities destroyed
Our knight and protector when armed men appeared,
O Hamza, I will not forget you while time lasts,
The refuge of orphans and guests and the widow who looks shyly away.
And from the fate that brings war after war with growing evil
O knight, O protector, O Hamza, you were our great defender
From blows of fate when they were crushing
You reminded me of the lion of the apostle, that protector of ours
Who will always be mentioned when noble chiefs are counted
High above the leaders, generous, white, shining
Not frivolous, poor spirited, nor grumbling at life's burdens.
A sea of generosity, he never withheld gifts from a guest
Young men of honour, zealous and serious minded, have died
Who in the winter when none gets his fill of milk
Offered the flesh of camels topped by slices carved from its fat
Protecting their guests as long as the enemy attacks
Alas for the young men we have lost, they were as lamps, 650
Proud, patricians, princes, lavishly generous,
Who bought reputation with their wealth, (for reputation is a gain),
Who leapt to their bridles if a cry for help was raised.
One who suffered misfortunes in an unrighteous age.[4]
His camels kept going over the dusty plain,
They went vying with each other while he was among those
Whose breasts ran with sweat so that good fortune might return to him,
Not the lot of him who gets the unlucky arrow.
O Hamza, you have left me lonely like a branch cut off from a tree.

[5] Reading [illegible] with A. 'Ik.
[6] How [illegible] unrighteous. This must be a disguised lament [illegible] The preceding verses in the poem refer to Hamza
[7] In the Arab game of hazar

I complain to you when layers of dust and stone cover you, of
The stone we put above you when the gravedigger finished his work,
In a wide space, covering it with earth carefully smoothed.
Our comfort is that we say (and what we say is grievous hard)
He who is free from life's misfortunes let him come to us
And weep for our noble generous dead.
Who said and did what they said, the truly laudable,
Who always gave freely even when they had little to spare (649).

He also said

649 Do you know the camp whose traces since you saw it
Are swept away by a mighty torrent of rain
Between Al-Sarabib and Udhaina and the channel of Al-Rashi in Hi'il?
I asked it of that and it would not answer,
It did not know the answer.
Give no thought to a camp whose traces have disappeared,
And weep over Hamza the generous who filled the platter
When the storm blew in bitter cold and famine,
Who left his adversaries in the dust
Stumbling on his slender lance,
Who threw himself among the horses when they held back[1]
Like a lion bold in his thicket
Shining at the summit of the Hashim clan
He did not oppose the truth with lies,
He died a martyr under your swords.
May the hands of Wahshi, the murderer, wither!
What a man did he leave on his lance, its point deadly sharp!
The earth has become dark at his loss
And the moon shining forth from the clouds is blackened.
God bless him in the heavenly paradise,
May his entry be honoured.
We looked on Hamza as a protector in all the blows of misfortune.
In Islam he was a great defence
Who made up for the loss of miserable stay-at-homes.
Rejoice not, O Hind, but produce thy tears.
Let flow the tears of the bereaved.
Weep for 'Utba whom he cut down with the sword
Who lay in the whirling dust.
When he fell among your shaykhs
Insolent ignorant fellows
Hamza killed them with a family who walk in long armour
The day that Gabriel helped him,
That fine helper of an intrepid horseman.

On 'Ataqa wife, [illegible]

Ka'b b. Mālik

Vexed by care you could not sleep
And feared because joyous youth had been taken from you,
A Dawsi girl charmed your love,
But your love is Ghawr and your company is Najd,
Do not go too far rashly in the folly of love,
You have always been thought foolish for following its allure.
It is time for you to stop in obedience
Or to awake when an adviser warns you.
I was crushed by the loss of Hamza,
My inward parts trembled.
If Mount Hirā' had been so distressed
You would have seen its firm rocks shattered,
A noble prince, strong in the lofty stock of Hāshim,
Whence come prophecy, generosity, and lordship.
Who slew fat-humped camels when the wind is so cold
That it almost freezes the water,
Who left a brave opponent prostrate on the ground
On the day of battle, with his lance broken,
You would see him sweeping along in steel,
Like a tawny strong-pawed lion,
The prophet's uncle and chosen one
Came to his death—a goodly end.
He met his fate marked out among a people
Who helped the prophet and sought martyrdom.
I imagine that Hind has been told of that
To still the burning choking within her breast
How we met her people on the sandhill
The day in which happiness left her
And of the well of Badr when Gabriel and Muhammad
Beneath our banner turned them back
So that I saw their best men with the prophet in two parties,
One killing and one pursuing whom he pleased.
There remained where the camels knelt
Seventy men, 'Utba and al-Aswad among them,
And Ibnu'l-Mughira whom we smote above the neck vein
From which foaming blood gushed forth
A sharp sword in the hands of the believers
Reduced the pride of Umayya al-Jumahi.[2]

[1] The poet is addressing himself. There is a play on the underlying meaning of ghirar: low ground, and najd: high ground. The image is one which Arabs would [illegible] that [illegible] expressed by: 'Your head is in the [illegible] and your head in the highlands' though more exactly the word means [illegible]

[2] [illegible] slaughtered, or burning with [illegible] stroke [illegible] the free which in his arrogance he was wont to turn away

The fugitive polytheists came to you like runaway ostriches
With the cavalry in full pursuit
631 Different are those whose home is hell everlasting
And those who are eternally in paradise

He also said

Rise, O Safiya, be not weak
Make the women weep over Hamza.
Be not weary in prolonging weeping
Over God's lion in the mêlée
For he was a strength to our orphans
And a lion of battle amid the weapons,
Wishing thereby to please Ahmad
And the glorious Lord of the throne.

He also said.

By thy noble father's life I adjure you.
Ask those who sought our hospitality,
For if you ask them you will not be told a lie
Those you ask will tell you the truth
That on nights when bones were gathered for food
We gave sustenance to those who visited us.
(Crowds took refuge in our shelters
From distress in years of famine
With a gift of what our rich provided
With patience and generosity towards the indigent.
The shears of war left us
Those whose ways we have always tried to vie with.
One who saw the place where the camels go to water
Would think it was black rocky ground.
There the best camels are broken in,
Black, red, and white.[1]
The rush of men was like Euphrates in flood,
Solid well-armed masses destroying all in their path.
You would think their glitter was the shining of stars,
They dazzle beholders in their commotion.
I, you are ignorant of our importance
Then ask those near us who know,
How we behave when war is violent
In slaughter, severity, biting, and mauling
Do we not tighten the cord round the camel's udder
Until she yields her milk and becomes gentle?[2]

[1] W has sajal poor women.
[2] Where or has likely, blackish. This word is one of the rights
[3] In these two lines war is compared to a savage camel that is subdued by the tribe's firmness and resource and ends in their advantage

A day in which fighting is continuous,
Terrifying, burning those who kindled its blaze,
Long drawn out exceeding hot fighting.
Fear of it keeps the base-born away
You would think the heroes engaged in it
Were happily drunk and inebriated
Their right hands exchanging the cups of death
With their sharp-edged swords.
We were there and we were courageous
Wearing our badges under clouds of dust,
With silent fine blood-stained swords,
Blades of Bustd which loathe the scabbard,
Which grow not blunt nor buckle
And cease not smiting if they are not held back,
Like autumn lightning in the hands of heroes
Overwhelming in blood heads that remain in place.
Our fathers taught us how to strike
And we will teach our sons
The swordsmanship of heroes and the spending of patrimony
In defence of our honour as long as we live.
When a champion passes, his posterity takes his place
And he leaves others to inherit him,
We grow up and our fathers perish,
And while we bring up our sons we cease to be.
I asked about you, Ibnu'l-Zibacri,
And was told that you were baseborn,
Evil, of disgraceful life, persistently mean.
You have said much[1] in insulting God's apostle
God slay you, you cursed rude fellow
You utter filth, and then throw it
At the clean robed godly faithful one (bpo).

He also said

Ask Qurayzah of our flight and of theirs
That morn at the base of Uhud's hill.
We were lions, they but leopards when they came.
We cared nothing for blood relationship.
How many brave chiefs did we leave there
Protectors of proteges, noble in birth and reputation?
Among us the apostle, a star, then there followed him
A brilliant light excelling the stars.
True is his speech, just his behaviour
He who answers his call will escape perdition,
Brave in attack, purposeful, resolute

[1] Another reading is insaqarta You have behaved foolish which may be right.

When hearts are moved by fear
Advancing and encouraging us so that we should not be disobedient.
Like the full moon that cannot lie.
When he appeared we followed him and held him true,
They called him liar so we are the happiest of the Arabs.
They wheeled and we wheeled, they did not refrain or return
While we followed them in unwearying pursuit.
The two armies had nothing in common,
God's party and the men of polytheism and idols (651).

'Abdullah b. Rawāha said (652):

My eye wept and right well it did so
(But what avails weeping and lamentation)
For God's lion on the day that they said
'Is that slain man Hamza?'
All the Muslims were distressed thereat;
The apostle too suffered.
O Abu Ya'lā,[2] your pillars were shattered
You the noble, just, bounteous one.
God's peace on you in paradise
With everlasting felicity
O Hāshim, the best men, be steadfast
Whose every deed is fine and laudable.[3]
God's apostle is patient, noble
Whenever he speaks [?] by God's command.
Will someone tell Lo'ayy for me
(For after today war's fortune will change,
And previously they have known and tasted of
Our fighting in which vengeance was slaked),
You have forgotten our blows at Badr's pool
When swift death came to you,
The morn that Abū Jahl lay prostrate
The vultures wheeling and circling over him.
'Utba and his son fell together
And Shayba whom the polished sword bit.
We left Umayya stretched on the ground,
A huge lance in his belly.
Ask the sheikhs of Banū Rabī'a,
For our swords were notched by them.
Weep, O Hind, grow not weary
For you are the bereaved one in tears for a lost son

[2] These two patrons are in sharp contrast. The first is a fine example of the old Arabian spirit; the second belongs to the large category of the spurious, and clearly dates from a later age.

The lawyer of Hamza

[3] Cf. Sūra 38, 45, 8 [illegible] 18, 8).

Show not joy at Hamza's death, O Hind,
For your lamenting is contemptible.

Ka'b b. Mālik said:

Say to Quraysh despite their distance,
Do you boast of what you have not won?
You boast of the slain on whom the favours
Of Him who grants the best favours have fallen.
They dwell in gardens and have left waiting for you
Lions who protect their cubs,
To fight for their religion, in their midst
A prophet who never recedes from the truth,
Ma'add attached him with infamous words
And the arrows of enmity unceasingly (653).

Durayd b. al-Khattāb

What ails thine eye which sleeplessness affects
As though pain were in thine eyelids?
Is it for the loss of a friend whom you hold dear
Parted by distance and foes?
Or is it because of the mischief of a useless people
When were blast with burning heat?
They come not from the army they have committed.
Woe to them! No helper have they from Lo'ayy.
We adjured them all by God,
But neither kinship nor oaths deterred them;
Till finally when they determined on war against us
And injustice and bad feeling had grown strong,
We attacked them with an army
Flanked by helmeted strong mailed men
And slender horses sweeping along with warriors
Like kites, so smooth was their gait
An army which Sakhr' led and commanded
Like an angry lion of the jungle tearing his prey.
Death brought out a people from their dwellings,
We and they met at Uhud.
Some of them were left stone dead
Like goats which the hail has frozen to the cold ground.
Noble dead, the Banū'l-Najjār in their midst
And Mus'ab with broken pieces of our shafts around him
And Hamza the chief, prostrate, his widow going round him.
His nose and liver had been cut away. It was
As if when he fell he bled beneath the dust
Transfixed by a lance on which the blood had dried.

cf. Abū Sufyān.

He was the colt of an old she-camel whose companions had fled
As frightened ostriches run away
Rushing headlong filled with terror,
The steep precipitous rocks aiding their escape.
Husbandless women weep over them
In mourning garb rent in pieces.
We left them to the vultures on the battlefield
And to the hyaenas who made for their bodies (654):

Abū Zamra b. Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, brother of B. Jusham b. al-Khazraj.

I'm Abū Zamra. Al-Hazam[1] takes me apace,
Painful exertion alone saves disgrace.
A Khazrajite of Jusham his ward will solace.

'Alī b. Abū Tālib (655):

Al-Hārith b. al-Simma
Was faithful to his covenant with us.
He went through painful deserts,
Black as darkest night,
Among many swords and spears
Seeking God's apostle in what was happening there

'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl.

Each of them says to his horse, Come on here!
You can see him advancing today without fear
Bearing a leader with his mighty spear

Al-A'shā b. Zurāra b. al-Nabbāsh al-Tamīmī, of B. Asad b. Amr b. Tamīm, weeping the slain of B. Abd al-Dār

Let the Banū Abū Talha in spite of their distance
Be given a greeting that will not be rejected.
Their watercarrier passed them with it
And every watercarrier of theirs is known.
Their neighbour and guest never complained.
No door was closed in their face.[2]

'Abdullāh b. al-Ziba'rā.

We killed Ibn Jahsh and rejoiced at his death
And Hamza with his horsemen and Ibn Qawqal.
Some men escaped us and got quickly away.
Would that they had stopped and we had not been hasty.
That they had stood so that our swords their best men
Might have cut down, for all of us were fully armed

[1] The name of his horse.
[2] The last line is omitted by W., probably rightly. He refers to it in his notes in vol. II.

And that there might have been a fight between us
When they would have a morning draught[1] whose evil would not pass away (656).

Safiya d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib mourning her brother Hamza

Are you my stream asking in dread
The men of Uhud, the slow of speech and the eloquent?[2]
The latter said Hamza is dead, 617
The best helper of the apostle of God.
God the true, the Lord of the Throne, called him
To live in paradise in joy.
That is what we hoped and longed for
Hamza on the day of gathering will enjoy the best reward.
By God I'll ne'er forget thee as long as the east wind blows
In sorrow and weeping, whether at home or in travel,
For the lion of God who was our defence.
Protecting Islam against every unbeliever.
Would that my limbs and bones were there
For hyaenas and vultures to rent.
I said when my family raised their lamentation,
God reward him, fine brother and helper as he was! (657)

Nu'ma wife of Shammās b. 'Uthmān weeping her husband:

O eye be generous, let thy tears flow spontaneously
For the noble and victorious warrior
Whose opinion was accepted, whose deeds were successful,
Who carried the standards, the rider of horses.
I said in anguish when news of his death came,
'The generous man who fed and clothed others has perished.'
I said when the places where he sat were forsaken,
'May God not take Shammās far from us!'

Her brother Abū'l-Hakam b. Sa'īd b. Yarbū' replying to comfort her

Preserve thy modesty in secret and in honour.
For Shammās was only a man.
Kill not thyself because he met his death
In obeying God on the day of heroic battle.
Hamza was the lion of God, so be patient
He too on that day tasted Shammās's cup.

Hind d. 'Utba when the polytheists withdrew from Uhud

I came back my heart filled with sorrow,
For some from whom I sought vengeance had escaped me,

[1] W. has *gabā* 'morning'.
[2] I.e. Whether they knew or not. This poem is mentioned in *Hamāsa* in the *Diwān* (xxxviii) where the text differs somewhat. It is obviously the product of a later age.

Men of Quraysh who were at Badr,
Of Banū Hāshim, and of Yaḥyā's people
I gained somewhat from the expedition
But not all that I had hoped (658).

RE DAY OF AL-RAJĪ' A.H. 3

Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Hishām told us from Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh al-Bakkā'ī from Ibn Isḥāq from 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda: After Uḥud a number of 'Aḍal and al-Qāra came to the apostle (659). They said that some of them had already accepted Islam and they asked [illegible]

[illegible]

Marthad, Khālid, and 'Āṣim said: By God, [illegible] undertaking and agreement from a polytheist. 'Āṣim said:

No wrathing I, no archer bold,
My bow cheek-strained with twelve hold
Broad arrows can I [illegible]
[illegible] a serpent. Like a snake tale wold
What Lord decrees man shall behold.
Life must return to Him its world.
I fight strongly I have a mother world (660)

He also said

I'm Abū Sulaymān with al-Muq'ad's shafts [1]
Like Gabonna they learn my feathered shafts.

[illegible]

When battle's shared I am not afraid.[1]
With shield of smooth ox-hide I'm safely screened
And I firmly believe in what Muhammad has said.

He also said

I'm Abū Sulaymān, an archer free,
And [illegible] of a people of noble lineage.

His horse was Abū Sulaymān

Thereupon he fought with the people until he and his two companions were killed.

[illegible] 'Āṣim was slain Hudhayl wanted to take his head to sell it to Sulāfa d. Sa'd b. Shuhayd. When he killed his two sons at Uḥud she swore a vow that if she could get possession of his head she would drink wine in his skull. [illegible] 'When he lies upon his bed [illegible] they said [illegible] when they put honey on it and them they said [illegible] when they put honey on it and honey [illegible] honey and we can take the skull.' But God sent a flood in the wadi and it carried [illegible] away. [illegible] 'Āṣim had made a covenant with God that no polytheist should touch him and he would never touch any as long as he lived. So God protected him after his death as he had protected himself while he was alive.[illegible]

Zayd, Khubayb, and Abdallāh b. Ṭāriq were with the wathīq to their chiefs to procure their lives on their swords [illegible] and were bound and were taken to Mecca to be sold there. When they were at Ẓahrān Abdallāh broke loose from his bonds and drew his sword. But the men drew back from him [illegible] Ḥa gave up in al-Ẓahrān. Khubayb and Zayd were brought to Mecca (661)

[illegible] al-Ṭā'ī [illegible] Khubayb [illegible] al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal [illegible] the brother of al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir by the same mother, to kill him in revenge for his father (662)

[illegible] Zayd to kill him in revenge for his father [illegible] Khālid [illegible] of Quraysh gathered, among whom was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, who said to him as he was brought out to be killed [illegible] Muhammad [illegible]

[illegible]

cut off his head, and that you were with your family?' Zayd answered, 'By God, I don't wish that Muhammad now were in the place he occupies and that a thorn could hurt him, and that I were sitting with my family.' Abū Sufyān used to say, 'I have never seen a man who was so loved as Muhammad's companions loved him.' Then Nisṭās killed him, God pity him.

'Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ told me that he was told by Māwiya,[1] freed [illegible] of Ḥujayr b. Abū Ihāb, who had become a Muslim. Khubayb was imprisoned in my house and I looked at him one day with a bunch of grapes in his hand as big as a man's head from which he was eating. I did not know that there were grapes on God's earth that could be eaten (at

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and 'Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ both told me that she said: When the time for his execution had come he asked me to send him a razor with which to cleanse himself before he died, so I gave a razor to a youth of the tribe and told him to take it to the man in the house. Hardly had he turned his back to take it to him when I thought, 'What have I done? By God, the man will take his revenge by killing the youngster and it will be man for man.' But when he handed him the steel he took it from him saying, 'Good gracious, your mother was not afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this razor!' Then he let him go (663).

'Āṣim said: Then they took out Khubayb as far as al-Tan'īm to crucify him. He asked them to give him time to make a couple of bowings and they agreed. He performed two excellent bowings and then turned to the people saying, 'Were it not that you would think that I only delayed out of fear of death I would have prolonged my prayer.' Khubayb b. 'Adīy was the first to establish the custom of performing two bowings at death. Then they raised him on the wood and when they had bound him he said, 'O God, we have delivered the message of Thy apostle, so tell him tomorrow what has been done to us.' Then he said, 'O God, reckon them by number and kill them one by one, let none of them escape.' Then they killed him, God pity him.

Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān used to say: I was present that day among those who were there with Abū Sufyān and I saw him throw me to the ground out of fear of Khubayb's curse. They used to say, 'If a man is cursed and is thrown on one side the curse will pass over him.'

Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbād concerning 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith said: 'I heard him say, "It was not I who killed Khubayb, for I was too young to do that, but Abū Maysara brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār took a lance and put it in my hand; then he grasped my hand with his and thrust him with it until he killed him."'

One of our companions told me that 'Umar appointed Sa'īd b. 'Āmir b. 644 Ḥidhyam al-Jumaḥī over a part of Syria. Fainting fits used to seize him when he was among the people and 'Umar was told of this. It was said

that the man was subject to seizures. During one of his visits 'Umar asked him the cause of this, to which he replied, 'There is nothing the matter with me, but I was one of those who was present when Khubayb b. 'Adīy was killed and I heard his curse, and whenever it comes into my mind when I am in a meeting I faint away.' This increased his favour in 'Umar's eyes (664).

A freedman of al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām told me from 'Ikrima freedman of Ibn 'Abbās or from Sa'īd b. Jubayr that Ibn 'Abbās said with reference to a passage of the Quran about that expedition. When the expedition in which Marthad and 'Āṣim were lost came to grief at al-Rajī' some of the hypocrites said, 'Alas for these deluded men who perished thus. They did not stay with their families and did not deliver the message of their master.' Then God sent down concerning their words and the good they got by their suffering: 'There is the kind of man whose talk about the life of this world' pleases you, i.e. what he professes with his tongue, 'and he calls God to witness as to what is in his heart' which is contrary to what he professes with his tongue, 'yet he is the most quarrelsome of adversaries' i.e. a controversialist when he argues with you (665).'

God said, 'And when he turns away, i.e. goes out from your presence, 645 he hastens through the land to do evil therein and to destroy the crops and the cattle, but God loves not corruption', i.e. He does not love the doing of it nor does it please Him. 'And when it is said to him, Beware of God, pride seizes him in sin. Hell will be his reckoning, an evil resting-place. There is the kind of man who would sell himself in his desire to please God and God is kind to His servants', i.e. they sold themselves to God by fighting in His way and doing what He required until they gave up their lives. He means that expedition (666).

Among the poetry about that is that of Khubayb b. 'Adīy when he heard that the people had gathered to crucify him (667).

The confederates gathered their tribes around me
And assembled all whom they could collect
All of them show violent enmity against me
Because I am helpless in bonds.
They collect their women and children
And I am brought to a lofty high trunk.
To God I complain of my loneliness and pain
And of the death the confederates have prepared for me.
Lord of the throne, give me endurance against their purpose
They have pierced my flesh—all hope is gone!
This is for God's sake and if He wills

He will bless the limbs thus torn.
They let me choose infidelity but death is preferable.
And my tears flowed though not in fear
I fear not death who am about to die
But I fear hell and its all-embracing fire.
644 By God, I fear not[1] if I die a Muslim
What death I suffer for God's sake.
I will not show subservience to the enemy
Nor despair, for 'tis to God I return.

Hassān b. Thābit said, mourning Khubayb

What ails thine eye that its tears cease not
Flowing on to thy breast like loose pearls?
For Khubayb the hero, no coward when you meet him,
No fickle youth as men well know.
Then go, Khubayb, may God reward thee well
In the eternal gardens with houris among thy companions.
What will you say when the prophet says to you
When the pure angels are in the firmament,
Why did you kill God's martyr for the sake of an evil man
Who committed crimes far and wide (668)

Hassān also said

O eye, be generous with thy tears:
Weep for Khubayb who did not return with the warriors.
A hawk, under the Anṣār was his dignity,
Generous by nature of pure unmixed descent.
My eye was inflamed because of the difficulty of weeping[1]
When 'twas said, He has been lifted up on a tree.
O raider going forth on your business
Convey a threat: no idle threat
To the Banū Kulayba that war's milk
Will be butter when its tents are pressed.
In it will be the lions of the Banū al-Najjār,
Their glittering spears in front of a great shouting army (669).

Hassān also said

Had there been in the camp a noble chief, a warrior,
A champion of the people, a hawk whose uncle is Aus,
645 Then, Khubayb, you would have had a spacious place to sit in
And not have been confined by guards in prison.
Low adherents of the tribes would not have borne you to Tan'īm.
Some of them men whom 'Udas had expelled.

[1] *wajl* is one of the *adād*
i.e. my sorrow is such that my eyes are unaccustomed to tears.

They deceived you with their treachery, breaking their faith,
You were wronged, a prisoner in their camp (670).

Those who formed the mob from Quraysh when Khubayb was killed were 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl, Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Qays b. 'Abdu Wudd al-Akhnas b. Sharīq al-Thaqafī, ally of B. Zuhra, 'Ubayda b. Hakīm b. Umayya b. Hāritha b. al-Auqas al-Sulamī, ally of B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams, and Umayya b. Abū 'Utba and the B. al-Hadramī.

Hassān also said reviling Hudhayl for what they did to Khubayb:

Tell Banū 'Amr that a man steeped in treachery
Sold their brother as a chattel.
Zuhayr b. al-Aghtar and Jānī sold him,
Both of them committing foul crimes.
You promised him protection and having done so betrayed him.
In the region of al-Rajī' you were as sharp swords.
Would that Khubayb had not been deceived by your promise
Would that he had known what people he was dealing with (671

Hassān also said:

If pure unalloyed treachery pleases you
Go to al-Rajī' and ask about the abode of Lihyān
A people who adjure one another to devour the guest among them.[1]
Dog and ape are like such men.
If a he-goat were to rise up and address them one day
He would be a man of honour and importance among them! (672)

Hassān also said:

Hudhayl asked the apostle for something disgraceful.
They erred therein and went astray,
They asked their apostle what he would not grant them
To their dying day and they were the disgrace of the Arabs
Never will you see in Hudhayl one
Calling others to a generous deed in that place of plunder
Woe to them who desired to make immoral conditions
To be allowed what the scripture forbids

Hassān also said:

The tale of Khubayb and 'Āṣim
Has ruined the name of Hudhayl ibn Mudrik.
The tale of Lihyān has ruined their reputation,
For Lihyān has committed the worst of crimes
Men, the best stock of their tribe.
Like hairs upon a horse's forelock.

[1] Or, perhaps, 'thieves'
Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, Cairo, 1948, p. 106, understands from this and other satirical poems that these men were cannibals

Were treacherous on the day of al-Raji'
Betraying their word to whom kindness and generosity were due,
The apostle's messenger. Hudhayl took no pains
To ward off the evil of loathsome crimes.
One day they will see victory turn against them
For killing one whom there protected against evil deeds[1]
Swarms of hornets standing guard over his flesh
Which protected the flesh of one who witnessed great battles.
Perhaps in return for killing him Hudhayl will see
Dead lying prostrate or women mourning
As we bring a violent attack upon them,
Which riders will relate faithfully to those at the fairs
By command of God's apostle, for he with full knowledge
Has made a forceful decision against Lihyan,
A contemptible tribe caring nothing for good faith.
If they are wronged they do not resist the aggressor.
When people live in an isolated quarter
You see them in the watercourses between the well-worn channels.
67 Their place is the house of death.
When anything happens to them they have the minds of cattle

Hassan also said:

God curse Lihyan, for their blood does not repay us
For their having slain the two in treachery.
At al-Raji' they killed the son of a free woman
Faithful and pure in his friendship.
Had they all been killed on the day of al-Raji'
In revenge for 'Asim[2] that would not have sufficed
For the dead man whom the bees protected in their tents,
Among people of obvious infidelity and coarseness.
Lihyan killed one more honourable than they
And sold Khubayb for a miserable price, woe to them!
Ugh for Lihyan in every event,
May their memory perish and not even be mentioned!
A contemptible tribe of mean and treacherous descent
Their meanness cannot be concealed.
If they were slain their blood would not pay for him
But the killing of his killers would cure me (of my pain).
Unless I die I will terrify Hudhayl with a plundering raid
Swift as the early morning cloud.
By the apostle's command, and his it is,
Disaster will spend the night in Lihyan's court.

[1] Jarrah's reason as the oath taken by 'Asim that he would never touch meat touched by a polytheist, and also to the view of Sufyan that she would drink wine from 'Afra's skull.
[2] Lit. 'he of the hornets'.

The people in al-Raji' will be found in the morning
Like little goats who have passed the winter without warmth.[1]

Hassan also said:

By God, Hudhayl do not know
Whether Zamzam's water is clean or foul.
And if they make the great or lesser pilgrimage
They have no share in the hajj or the running.
But at al-Raji' they have a place,
The home of open meanness and disgrace.
They are like goats in the Hijaz bleating
In the evening beside the shelters.
They were treacherous to Khubayb their word
What a miserable covenant was their false word. (673)

Hassan also said:

God bless those who followed one another (to death) the day of al-Raji'
And were honoured and rewarded
Marthad the head and leader of the party and
Ibn al-Bukayr their imam and Khubayb.
And a son of Tariq Ibn Dathinna was there too.
There his death as it was written befell him
And al-'Asim slain at Raji'
Attained the heights (of heaven) great grieve he.
He avenged the disgrace of wounds in the back.
He met them sword in hand, the noble warrior (674)

THE STORY OF BI'R MA'UNA IN SAFAR, A.H. 4

The apostle stayed (in Medina) for the rest of Shawwal, Dhu'l-Qa'da, Dhu'l-Hijja, and al-Muharram while the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage. Then he sent the men of Bi'r Ma'una forth in Safar, four months after Uhud.

My father Ishaq b. Yasir from al-Mughira b. Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham told me, as did Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm and other traditionists, as follows. Abu Bara' 'Amir b. Malik b. Ja'far the Player with the Spears came to the apostle in Medina (T) and offered him a present. The apostle refused it, saying that he could not accept a present from a polytheist and telling him to become a Muslim if he wished him to accept his present).[2] The apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to accept it. He would not do so yet he was not far from Islam. He said 'O Muhammad (T) your affair to which you invite

[1] I follow the reading of C.
[2] T's version is more verbose than (H.)'s version.

are in most excellent). If you were to send some of your companions to people of Najd and they invited them to your affair I have good hopes that they would give you a favourable answer.' The apostle said that he feared that the people of Najd would kill them, to which Abū Barā' replied he would go surety for them, so let him send them and invite men to his religion. So the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, brother of B. Sā'ida The Quick to seek Death, with forty of his companions from the best of [illegible]

brother of B. Adiy b. al-Najjār, 'Urwa b. Asma' b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamī, Nāfi' b. Budayl b. Warqā al-Khuzā'ī, 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, freedman of Abū Bakr, of those who were named of the best Muslims. (T. Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl from Anas b. Mālik who said that the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. 'Amr with seventy riders.)[1] They went on until they halted at Bi'r Ma'ūna [illegible]

[illegible] disclosed his secret to the Bows

When they alighted at it there sent Harām b. Milḥān with the apostle's letter to the enemy of God 'Āmir b. Ṭufayl. When he came to him he rushed at the man and killed him before he even looked at the letter. Then he turned to all and the B. 'Āmir agreed [illegible] he mentioned, saying that they would not violate the protection of a man who had come to them [illegible] B. Sulaym, Ri'l and Dhakwān, and they agreed that [illegible] them they drew their swords and fought to the last man. All were killed but Ka'b b. Zayd [illegible] B. Dīnār b. al-Najjār [illegible] he was pushed up there among the dead and lived until the battle of the Trench when he was killed as a martyr.

'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī and an Ansārī of B. 'Amr b. 'Awf were with the camels out in pasture (ḥarj). They did not know of the death of their companions until they saw vultures circling round the camp. They knew from this that something serious had happened, so they went to investigate and there [illegible] the man standing near. 'Amr's opinion was that they should go to the apostle and tell him the news, but the Ansārī said that he would not [illegible] where al-Mundhir had been slain, for he thought the party until he was killed. They took 'Amr prisoner, and when he told them that he was of Muḍar, 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl let him go [illegible] the forelock hair, as he alleged, because of a vow which taken by his mother.[2]

'Amr got as far as al-Qarqara at the beginning of Qadīd when two men of B. 'Āmir [illegible] and stopped [illegible] the shade [illegible] there was an agreement of friendship between the apostle and the men

[1] This is accepted by Ḥumayd.
[2] Cf. the shaved manner in Ibbat b. 'Uqba, No. 3

[illegible] of which 'Amr knew nothing, and when after questioning he found that they belonged to B. 'Āmir he [illegible] when he fell upon them and killed them, thinking that he had taken vengeance on them for the B. 'Āmir of the apostle's companions. But when he came to the apostle and told him what he had done he said, 'You have killed two men whose bloodwit I must pay. Then the apostle said, [illegible] what would happen.' When Abū Barā' heard the news he was much upset at [illegible] the apostle's companions and had taken [illegible] of them he had slain and [illegible] he had protected them [illegible] 'Āmir b. Fuhayra.

[illegible] Ḥassān b. Thābit, inciting B. Abū Barā' against 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl, and

To sons of Umm'l-Banīn, are you not discovered,
You the leaders of Najd's people,
At 'Āmir's assistance to Abū Barā' in violating his safe conduct?
For a mistake is not the same as a deliberate act
Say to Rā'i's who strives after great deeds,
What did you do after I left you?
Your father Abū Barā' is a man of war,
Your uncle Ṭufayl b. Sa'd is wrietched (677).

[T. Ka'b b. Mālik also used on the same occasion:]

The violation of Abū Barā'a's guarantee
In blood shared for and wide
Is as like Munabbih and his father's sons
[illegible]
O [illegible]
The [illegible]
You did indeed [illegible] that to wage a daughter's [illegible]
The [illegible]
Are houses of broken faith.
O 'Āmir, 'Āmir of ancient infamy,

You have won, but without intelligence or dignity
[illegible] do not deal falsely with the prophet?
[illegible]
You are [illegible] the guest of Abū Dunnab
Nor al-Asadī the guest of Abū'l-'Ās
But your shame is a disease of long standing
Take note that the disease of treachery is the most deadly

When the words of Hassān and Ka'b reached Rabī'a b. Amir Abū Barā' he attacked 'Āmir b. al-Tufayl and stabbed him with his spear in his [illegible] saying, 'This is the work of Abū'l-Barā'. If I die my blood (I give) to my uncle' and he is not to be sued for it; if I live I will see to what has to be done myself.

Anas b. Abbās al-Sulamī, maternal uncle of Tu'aymā b. Adī b. Nawfal who killed Nāfi' b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī that day, said

I left Ibn Warqā' dead on the ground
With the dust wind blowing o'er him.
I remembered Abū'l-Rayyān' when I saw him
And made sure that I was avenged.

Abū'l-Rayyān was Tu'aymā b. 'Adī.

'Abdullāh b. Rawāha mourning Nāfi' b. Budayl b. Warqā' said:

God have the mercy on Nāfi' b. Budayl
That belongs to those who seek the reward of *jihād*
Enduring, truthful, faithful,
When men talked too much he spoke to the point.+

Hassān b. Thābit, mourning the slain at Bi'r Ma'ūna and especially al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, said

Weep for the slain at Ma'ūna
With overflowing tears,
For the apostle's horsemen the day
They met their death by God's decree.
They met their end because a people
Were false to their covenant and treacherous
Alas for Mundhir who died there
And hastened to his end steadfastly
How many a noble welcoming man
Of 'Amr's best people was done to death! (675)

[illegible]

THE DISCUSSION OF THE B. AL-NAḌĪR, A.H. 4

According to what Yazīd b. Rūmān told me the apostle went to B. al-Nadīr to ask for their help in paying the bloodwit for the two men of B. Āmir whom 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī had killed after he had given them a promise of security. There was a mutual alliance between B. al-Nadīr and B. 'Āmir. When the apostle came to them about the bloodwit they said that of course they would contribute in the way he wished but they took counsel with one another apart, saying, 'You will never get such a chance again. Who will go to the top of the house and drop a rock on him [illegible] so as to kill him [illegible] The apostle was sitting by the 'Ā' wall of one of their houses [illegible] to do this and went up to throw down a rock. As the apostle was with a number of his companions among whom were Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Alī, news came to him from heaven about what these people intended, so he got up ('Ā' and said to his companions, 'Don't go away until I come to you') and he went back to Medina. When his companions had waited long for the prophet they got up to search for him and met a man coming from Medina and asked him about him. He said that he had seen him entering Medina, and they went off, and when they found him he told them of the treachery which the Jews meditated against him. The apostle ordered them to prepare for war and to march against them (679). Then he went off with the men until he came upon them (680).

The Jews took refuge in their forts and the apostle ordered that the palm trees should be cut down and burnt, and they called out to him, 'Muhammad, you have prohibited wanton destruction and blamed those guilty of it. Why then are you cutting down and burning our palm-trees?'

Now there was a number of B. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj among whom were 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and Wadī'a and Mālik b. Abū Qawqal and Suwayd and Dā'is who had sent to B. al-Nadīr saying, 'Stand firm and protect yourselves, for we will not betray you. If you are attacked we will fight with you and if you are turned out we will go with you.' Accordingly they waited for the help they had promised, but they did nothing and God cast terror into their hearts. They asked the apostle to deport them and to spare their lives on condition that they could retain all their property which they could carry on camels, except their armour, and he agreed. So they loaded their camels with what they could carry. Men were destroying their houses down to the lintel of the door which they put upon the back of their camels and went off with it. Some went to Khaybar and others went to Syria. Among their chiefs who went to Khaybar were Sallām b.

[2] I think it is clear that another [illegible] story has been attached to this incident. Obviously if the prophet had overheard their designs there was no [illegible] of a supernatural communication from heaven. Further it should be noted that in this latter story the apostle is called the prophet. This is a term which I.H. uses most sparingly, though it is fairly frequently employed by his editor I.H.

Abd'l Hugayq, Kurdus b. al-Rabi' b. Abd al-Hugayq and Hugayq b. Ghiyath. When they got there the inhabitants became subject to them

[illegible]

[illegible] and never been seen in any tribe in their days.

[illegible] property to the apostle and it became his personal property which he could dispose of as he wanted. He devoted it among the three emigrants to the exclusion of the Ansar except [illegible] and Abu Dujana b. Simak [illegible] of poverty and he gave them some [illegible] of Bani Nadir to Muhammad b. Maslama, Abu Ayub b. Ansar b. Khalid and Sahl b. Hunayf who became Muslims in order to retain their property.

One of Ibrahim's hadith said that the apostle said to Yamin, Nawfal and Sallam, 'Have you seen that they were unable to harm me and what he proposed to do?' Nawfal gave a man money to kill Amr b. Jihash and he did kill him, or so they allege.

Concerning Bani an-Nadir the Sura of Exile came down in which is mentioned how God avenged His vengeance on them and gave His [illegible] power over them so that they [illegible] and said, 'He is the one who turned out those who disbelieved of the people of the Book from their homes in the first exile.' [illegible] and they thought that their fortresses would protect them from God. But God came upon them from a direction they had not reckoned and He cast terror into their hearts so that they destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers [illegible] to their destruction by turning their houses in ruins the hands of the direct when they carried them away. 'So consider this, you who have understanding.' [illegible] 'Had not God prescribed deportation against them,' which was vengeance from God, 'He would have punished them in this world,' i.e. with the sword, 'and in the next world there would be the punishment of hell' as well. 'The palm-trees which you cut down or left standing upon their roots.' *Lina* means other than the best kind of dates. [illegible] 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from them,' i.e. from Bani an-Nadir. [illegible] for the sake of it, but God gives His apostle power over whom He wills and God is Almighty. [illegible] 'The spoil which God gave to the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle.' When the Muslims [illegible] the spoil [illegible] the apostle. [illegible] God and the apostle and to the kinsfolk and orphans and the poor and the sons of the way and so on [illegible] and

[illegible] what the apostle gives you take and what he forbids you [illegible] God. [illegible] God. 'There was some there who are disaffected, meaning Abdullah b. [illegible] and his companions and those who are like minded who are in their brotherhood of the unbelieving people who disbelieved [illegible] Bani an-Nadir up in the wounds. 'Are those who a short time before them tasted the consequences of their evil and had a painful punishment, i.e. in the Hereafter.' **Then** [illegible] Sallam when he said to your Confederates and whom you disbelieved he said, I am quit of you. I fear Allah the Lord of all the worlds and the punishment of hell is that they will be in it and remain lastingly. That is the reward of the evildoers.

Among the verses concerned about Bani an-Nadir are the following from [illegible] Ka'b b. Malik b. Tu'ff was the author (681):

My people be a ransom for the immortal man
Who forced the Jews to settle in a distant place.[1]
They rent their tents with five ends of remarck
[illegible] the young shewing patres they have the high hills of 'Dal.'
If I am right about Muhammad
You will see his horses between al-Sult and Yamamah
Making for 'Amr b. Bahdal. They are the enemy.
(A friendly tribe is not the same as an evil one.)
On them are lances, firebrands in war,
Brandishing spears directed at their enemies.
Every fine sharp Indian blade
Inherited from the days of 'Ad and Jurhum.
Who will give Quraysh a message from me,
For is there one honoured in glory after them?[1]

'That your brother Muhammad and know it well
Is of that generous stock between al-Hajun[1] and Zamzam
Obey him in truth and your fame will grow
And you will attain the greatest heights. He is
A prophet who has received God's mercy
Ask him no hidden uncertain matter
You had an example at Badr, O Quraysh,
And at the crowded cistern
The morning he attached you with the Khazraja,
Obeying the Great and Honoured One.
Helped by the Holy Spirit,[2] assisting his foes,
A true apostle from the Compassionate on high
An apostle from the Compassionate reciting His book.
When the truth shone forth he did not hesitate
I see his power mounting on every hand
Is armed with God's decree (684).

697 Mentioning the deportation of B. al-Nadir and the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, 'Ali said (685)

I know, and he who judges fairly knows,
I'm sure and swerve not
From the determined word, the signs which came
From God the Kind, the Most Kind,
Documents studied among the believers
In which he chose Ahmad the chosen one.
So Ahmad became honoured among us,
Honoured in rank and station.
O you who foolishly threaten him
Who came not in wickedness and was not overbearing,
Do you not fear the basest punishment
(He who has nothing to fear from God is not like him who lives in dread)[3]
And that you may be thrown beneath his swords
As Ka'b al-Ashraf was
The day that God saw his insolence
When he turned aside like a refractory camel[4]
And He sent down Gabriel with a gracious revelation
To His servant about his killing.
So the apostle secretly sent a messenger to him
With a sharp cutting sword.
Eyes wept copiously for Ka'b

[1] A place in Mecca. [2] i.e. Gabriel.
[3] Whenever the reader encounters this miserable banality *A* is not the same as *B*—there is an example in the preceding poem—he may be sure that it is the product of the forger of much of the poetry of the *Sira*.

When they learned that he was dead
They said to Ahmad, 'Leave us awhile,
For we are not yet recovered from weeping.'
So he left them, then he said, 'Begone
In submission and humiliation.
He sent al-Nadir to a distant exile.
They having enjoyed a prosperous home
To Adhri'at[1] riding pillion
On every vicious worn-out camel they had.

Samaw'al the Jew answered him:

If you boast, for it is a boast for you
That you killed Ka'b b. al-Ashraf
The day that you outpassed his death,
A man who had shown neither treachery nor bad faith,
Haply time and the change of fortune
Will take revenge from 'the just and righteous one'[2]
For killing al-Nadir and their confederates
And for cutting down the palms, their dates ungathered.
Unless I die we will come at you with lances
And every sharp sword that we have
In the hand of a brave man who protects himself.
When he meets his adversary he kills him.
With the army of Sakhr[3] and his fellows.
When he attacks he is no weakling
Like a lion in 'Tarj'[4] protecting his covert.
Lord of the thicket, crushing his prey, courageous.

Ka'b b. Malik said on the same subject:

The rabbis were disgraced through their treachery,
Thus time's wheel turns round.
They had denied the mighty Lord
Whose command is great.
They had been given knowledge and understanding
And a warner from God came to them,
A truthful warner who brought a book
With plain and luminous verses.
They said, 'You've brought no true thing
And you are more worthy of God's disapproval[5] than we.'
He said, 'Nay, but I've brought the truth,
The wise and intelligent believe me,
He who follows it will be rightly guided

[1] In Syria. [2] A sarcastic reference to the prophet [illegible] he said.
[3] Abu Sufyan. [4] A mountain in the Hijaz.
[5] Or, perhaps, 'of being disbelieved'.

And the disbeliever therein will be recompensed.'
And when they hatched treachery and unbelief
And aversion turned them from the truth,
God showed the prophet a sound view,
For God's decision is not false.
He strengthened him and gave him power over them
And was his Helper, an excellent Helper!
Ka'b was left prowling there.
After his fall Nadir was brought low
Sword in hand we cut him down
By Muhammad's order when he sent secretly by night
Ka'b's brother to go to Ka'b.
He beguiled him and brought him down with guile
Mahmud was trustworthy, bold.
Those Banu'l-Nadir were an evil case,
They were destroyed for their crimes
The day the apostle came to them with an army
Walking softly as he looked at them.
Ghassan the protectors were his helpers
Against the enemies as he helped them,
He said '(I offer) Peace, woe to you,' but they refused
And lies and deceit were their allies.
They tasted the results of their deeds in misery,
Every three of them shared one camel.
They were driven out and made for Qaynuqa',
Their palms and houses were abandoned

Sunaylih the Jew answered him:

I was sleepless while deep care was my guest
On a night that made all others seem short
I saw that all the rabbis rejected him,
All of them men of knowledge and experience
Who used to study every science
Of which the Law and Psalms do speak.
You killed Ka'b the chief of the rabbis,[1]
He whose word was always sale
He came down to Mahmud his brother,[2]
But Mahmud was harbouring a wicked design,
He left him in his blood looking as though
Saffron was flowing o'er his clothes.
By your father and mine,

[1] Ka'b was nothing of the kind. His father was of Tayy', though his mother belonged to B. al-Nadir. Can the former possibly have confused him with Ka'b al-Ashraf?

But the man's name was Silkin (W 55, line 22, in the long poem belonging to Muhammad b. Maslamah, one of the assassins, which is contrasted with Mahmud b. Maslama (W 58, 366).

When he fell al-Nadir fell also.
If we may safe we shall leave in revenge for Ka'b
Men of yours with vultures circling round them
As though they were beasts sacrificed on a feast day
With none to say them nay.
With swords that bones cannot resist,
Of finest steel and sharpened edge
Like those you met from brave Sakhr
At Uhud when you had no helper.

'Abbas b. Mirdas, brother of B. Sulaym, praising the men of B. Najir, said:

Had the people of the settlement not been dispersed
You would have seen laughter and gaiety within it
By my life, shall I show you women in howdahs
Which have gone to Shatt and Tay'ah?
Large-eyed like the gazelles of Tabala
Maidens that would bewitch one calmed by much truck with women
When one seeking hospitality came they would say at once
With faces like gold, 'Doubly welcome
The good that you seek will not be withheld.
You need fear no wrong while with us.'
Don't think me a client of Salim b. Makhzum
Nor of Huyayy b. Akhtab.

Khawwat b. Jubayr, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, answered him:

You weep bitterly over the Jewish dead and yet you can see
Those nearer and dearer to you if you want to weep.
Why do you not weep o'er the dead in Uraynaq's valley
And not lament loudly with sad face (over others)?
When peace reigned with a friend you rejected it.
In religion no obstructions, in war a pokeroom.
You aimed at power for your people, seeking
Someone similar that you might get glory and victory
When you wanted to give praise you went
To one whom to praise is falsehood and shame
You got what you deserved and you did not find
One among them to say Welcome to you.
Why did you not praise people whose kings
Built up their standing from ancient fame,
A tribe who become kings and were honoured?
None seeking food was ever found hungry among them.
Such are more worthy of praise than Jews,
In them you see proud glory firmly established.

Or, perhaps, 'a dignified man of experience'.

See W 543

'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī answered him:

You mutilated the parent stock of the two priests[1]
Yet you always enjoyed favours at their hands
'Twere more fitting that you should weep for them,
Your people too if they paid their debt of gratitude.
Gratitude is the best fruit of kindness,
And the most fitting act of one who would do right
You are as one who cuts off his nose
To gain the power that it contains.[2]
Weep for B. Hārūn and remember their deeds
How they killed beasts for the hungry when you were famished.
O Khawwāt, shed tear after tear for them.
Abandon your injurious attack upon them.
Had you met them in their homes
You would not have said what you say.
They were the first to perform noble deeds in war,
Welcoming the needy guest with kind words.[3]

Ka'b b. Mālik (Mg) mourned him

On my life the mill of war
After it had sent La'ayy flying east and west[4]
Ground the remains of the family of the two priests, and their glory
Which once was great became feeble.
Salām and I. Sa'ya died a violent death
And I. Akhṭab was led to a humiliating fate
He made such noise in seeking glory ('twas really humiliation he sought),
What he gained from his foes was frustration,[5]
Like him who leaves the plain and the height distresses him,
And that man find more difficult and arduous,
Sha'b and 'Azzī suffered war's fiery trial,
They were not absent as others were.
Auf b. Salām and I. 'Auf, both of them,

[illegible] say that there were two tribes known as the Khazraj and the neighbour[illegible] [illegible] What [illegible] The [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] would [illegible] appropriate [illegible] enough of a few days what had the [illegible] with the [illegible] beasts [illegible] the [illegible] plain

[1] Lit. 'Killed hunger'

[2] It says much for the impartiality of the biographer and his editor that they have retained this searching tribute to the unfortunate Jews

[3] He refers to the battle of Bu'āth.

[4] The meaning of the clause in B.M. MS. 1489 seems to be 'In seeking glory he appealed to outsiders' &c.

[5] Lit. 'Killed hunger'

And Ka'b chief of the people died a disappointed man
Away with B. Nadīr and their like
Whether the result be victory or God (686).[1]

THE RAID OF [illegible] AL-RIQA

After the attack on B. al-Nadīr the apostle stayed in Medina during Rabī'u'l-Ākhir and part of Jumādā. Then he raided Najd making for B. Muḥārib and B. Tha'laba of Ghaṭafān (687), until he stopped at Nakhl. 682
This was the raid of Dhātu'l-Riqā'. There a large force of Ghaṭafān was encountered. The two forces approached one another, but no fighting occurred, for each feared the other. The apostle led the prayer of fear then he went off with the men

(T. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr and Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l- T 1434
Raḥmān from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Abū Hurayra: We went with the apostle to Najd until at Dhāto'l Riqa' we met a number of Ghaṭafān. 'There was no fighting because the men were afraid of them. The prayer of fear came down[2] and he divided his companions into two sections, one facing the enemy and the other behind the apostle. The apostle cried 'Allāh akbar,' and so did they all. Then he bowed with those behind him, and he and they prostrated themselves. Then he stood erect they walked backwards to the ranks of their companions and the others returned and prayed one bow. Then they stood erect, and the apostle prayed one bow with them and they sat. Those who were facing the enemy came back and prayed the second bow and all sat and the apostle united them with the salām, and gave them the Muslim greeting.)[3] (688)

'Amr b. 'Ubayd from al-Ḥasan from Jābir b. 'Abdullāh told me that a 683
man of B. Muḥārib called Ghawrath said to his people of Ghaṭafān and Muḥārib, 'Shall I kill Muḥammad for you?' They encouraged him to do so and asked him how he proposed to carry out his design. He said that he would take him by surprise so he went to the apostle as he was sitting with his sword in his lap, and asked to be allowed to look at it (689). The apostle gave it to him and he drew it and began to brandish it intending to strike him, but God frustrated[4] him. He said, 'Aren't you afraid of me, Muḥammad?' 'No, why should I be?' 'Aren't you afraid of me when I have a sword in my hand?' 'No, God will protect me from you.' Then he returned the apostle's sword to him. God sent down, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a people purposed to lay hands on you and he turned their hands away from you. Fear God and on God let the believers rely.'

Yazīd b. Rūmān told me that this came down in reference to 'Amr b.

[1] Lit. 'We have nothing but our hope in God.'

[2] See further Bukhārī, Ṣalāt, p. [illegible]. T. says note that there is an irreconcilable difference in traditions and governs to deal with the problem elsewhere. I.H. has probably corrected the story genuine of the contest in tradition

[3] Sūra 4, 101 f.

[4] See Bukhārī, Ṣalāt, p. [illegible]

[5] Sūra 5, 12.

[6] Or, 'knocked him down'

[illegible]

Wahb b. Kaysān from Jābir b. 'Abdullāh said: I went out with the apostle to the raid of Dhāt'l-Riqā' of Nakhl on an old feeble camel of mine. On the way back the company kept going on while I dropped further [illegible] I told him that my camel was keeping me back, and he told me to make it kneel. I did so and the apostle made his camel kneel and then said, 'Give me this stick you are holding' or 'Cut me a stick from a tree.' He took it [illegible] and off we went. By Him who sent him with the truth my (old) camel kept up with the rapid pace of his [illegible]

As we were walking the apostle [illegible] I said that I would give him it, but he insisted on buying it, so I asked him to make me an offer. He said he would give me a dirham. I refused and said that would be cheating me. Then he offered two dirhams and I still refused and the apostle went on raising his offer until it amounted to [illegible] was and I said the camel was his. Then he asked me if I were married then was she a virgin or a woman previously married? I told him she had [illegible] He said, 'You have done well, if God will. Had we come to S[illegible] would order camels to be slaughtered and stay there for the day [illegible] would hear about us and shake the dust off her cushions.' I said, [illegible] God we have no cushions!' He said, 'But you will have. When you return behave wisely.' When we got to Sirār the apostle ordered the camels to be [illegible] I led over the camel and made it kneel at the apostle's door. Then I [illegible] your camel for it is yours,' and he called Bilāl and told him to give me six [illegible] to thrive with me and its effect on our household could be seen until it [illegible] al-Harra.[2]

[illegible]

[illegible] Nakhl and a man killed the wife of one of the polytheists. When the [illegible] and heard the news of her death. He swore that he would not rest until [illegible] keep watch during the night. A Muhājir and an Anṣārī volunteered and he [illegible] having hobbled lower down the pass (692).

When the two had gone in who up their quarters the [illegible] companion, saying, 'Sir down, for I have been wounded.' But he leapt up, and when the man saw the two of them he knew that they were aware of him and fled. When the Muhājirī saw the Anṣārī flowing with blood he [illegible] finished it. When the shooting continued I bowed in prayer and woke you. By God, unless I were to lose a post which the apostle had ordered me to [illegible] had finished the nine (693).'

[illegible] out of Jumādā'l-ūlā, Jumādā'l-ākhira, and Rajab.

THE LAST EXPEDITION TO BADR, A.H. 4

[illegible] and stopped there (694).

He stayed there for eight nights waiting for Abū Sufyān. Abū Sufyān with the men of Mecca went as far as Majanna in the area of (Ṭ Murr) al-Ẓahrān. Some people say he reached (Ṭ passed through) 'Usfān [illegible] he decided to go back. He told the Quraysh that the only suitable year was a fertile year when they could pasture the animals on the herbage and drink their milk, whereas this was a dry year. He was going to return and they must return with him. And so they did. The Meccans called them 'the porridge army', saying that they merely went out to drink porridge.

While the apostle was staying at Badr waiting for Abū Sufyān to keep

his appointment Makhshiy b. Amr al-Damri, who had made an agreement with him concerning B. Damra on the road of Waddan, came to him and asked him if he had come to meet Quraysh by this water. He said, 'Yes, O brother of B. Damra, nevertheless, if you wish we will cancel the arrangement between us and then fight you until God decide between us.' He answered, 'No, by God, Muhammad, we do not want anything of the kind.'

As he remained waiting for Abū Sufyān, Ma'bad b. Abū Ma'bad al-Khuzā'ī passed by. He had seen where the apostle was as his she-camel passed swiftly by and he said:

> She fled from the two companions of Muhammad
> And a datestone from Yathrib like a raisin stone
> Hastening in the ancient religion of her fathers.
> She made the water of Qudayd[1] my meeting-place
> And the water of Dajnān[2] will be here tomorrow.

'Abdullāh b. Rawāha said concerning this (693):

> We arranged to meet Abū Sufyān at Badr.
> But we did not find him true to his promise.
> 693 I swear if you had kept your word and met us
> You would have returned disgraced without your nearest kin.
> We had left there the limbs of 'Utba and his son
> And Amr Abū Jahl we left lying there.
> You disobeyed God's apostle—disgusting your religion
> And your evil state has a all scorn
> If you reproach me I say
> My wealth and people be the apostle's ransom.
> We obey him treating none among us as his equal.
> He is our guiding light in the darkness of the night.

Hassān b. Thābit said concerning this:[3]

> You can say good-bye to Syria's running streams,
> For in between are swords like mouths of pregnant camels that feed on arak trees
> In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord,
> In the hands of His true helpers and the angels too.
> If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley
> Say to them: 'This is not the road.'[4]
> We stayed by the shallow well eight nights
> With a large well-equipped force with many camels,[5]
> With every dark bay its midribs half its size

[1] [illegible]
[2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible]
[4] [illegible]
[5] [illegible]

> Slender, long, of lofty withers.
> You could see the swift camel's feet
> Uprooting the annual herbs.
> If on our journeyings we meet Furāt b. Hayyān
> He will become death's hostage.
> If we meet Qays b. Imru'u'l-Qays hereafter
> His black face will become blacker still.
> Take Abū Sufyān a message from me
> For you are the best of a bad lot.

Abū Sufyān b. al-Hārith b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib answered him:

> O Hassān, son of a mouldy date-eating woman,
> I swear that we so traversed wide deserts
> That young gazelles could not escape between us
> Had they fled from us swiftly one after the other.[1]
> When we left our halting-place you would have thought it
> Dunged by the crowds at a fair.
> You stayed by the shallow well wanting us
> And you left us in the palm-groves hard by.
> Our horses and camels walked on the crops
> And what they trod on they drove into the soft sand.
> We stopped three days between Sal' and Fān'[2]
> With splendid steeds and swift camels.
> You would have thought fighting people beside their tents
> Was as easy as buying lead for money.
> Don't describe your fine horses, but speak of them
> As one who holds them firmly back
> You rejoice in them, but that is the right of others,
> The horsemen of the sons of Fihr b. Mālik.
> You have no part in the migration though you mention it
> And do not observe the prohibitions of its religion (694).

THE RAID ON DŪMATU'L-JANDAL, A.H. 5

The apostle returned to Medina and stayed there some months until Dhū'l-Hijja had passed. This was the fourth year of his sojourn in Medina and the polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage. Then he raided Dūmatu'l-Jandal (695).

Then he returned, not having reached the place, without fighting, and stayed in Medina for the rest of the year.

[1] A reference to the commentator. The meaning is that their force was so large that the gazelles could not escape them.
[2] Two mountains.

[illegible] This took place in Shawwal [illegible] Yazid b. Rumayth, whose family [illegible] Muhammad b. Ka'b b. Malik, and Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi, and al-Zuhri, and Husayn b. [illegible] Qudayk, and 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and other traditionists of mine told me the following narrative, each contributing a part of it.

A number of Jews who had formed a party against the apostle, among [illegible] Nadir and Kinana b. Abu'l-Huqayq al-Nadir, and Haudha b. Qays [illegible] on the apostle so that they might get rid of him altogether. Quraysh said: 'You, O Jews, are the first scripture people and know the nature of our [illegible] to be in the right. (It was about them that God sent down, 'Have you not considered those to whom a part of the scripture was given who believe in idols and false deities and say to those who disbelieve, These are more [illegible] cursed and he whom God has cursed you will find for him no helper' as far as His words, 'Or are they jealous of man because of what God from [illegible] some of them believed in it and some of them turned from it, and hell is sufficient for (their) burning.')

These words rejoiced Quraysh and they responded gladly to their invitation to fight the apostle, and they assembled and made their preparations. Then that company of Jews went off to Ghatafan of Qays 'Aylan and invited them to fight the apostle and told them that they would act with them and that Quraysh had followed their lead in the matter, so they too joined in with them (T. and agreed to what they suggested).

479 Quraysh marched under the leadership of Abu Sufyan b. Harb, and Ghatafan led by 'Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr with B. Fazara, and al-Harith b. 'Auf b. Abu Hariritha al-Murri with B. Murra, and Mis'ar b. [illegible] [illegible]

When the apostle heard of their movements he dug a trench round Medina and worked at it himself encouraging the Muslims with the hope of reward in heaven. The Muslims worked very hard at it, but the unbelievers held back from them and began to hide their real object by working slightly and by stealing away to their families without the apostle's permission or

[illegible]

[illegible] knowledge. A Muslim who had to attend to an urgent matter would ask the apostle's permission to go and would get it if [illegible] he had carried out his business he would return to the work he had left because of his desire to do what was right and his respect for the cause. [illegible] down concerning these believers: 'They only are the believers who believe in God and His apostle and when they are with him on a common work do not go away without asking his permission. Those who ask you for permission are they who believe in God and His apostle. And if they ask you for permission on some business of their, give it to whom you will of them and ask God to pardon them. God is forgiving, merciful.' This passage came down concerning those Muslims who showed the good and respect for it, and believed God and His apostle.

[illegible] of the unbelieved who were working away from the trench and leaving it without the prophet's permission, 'Do not treat the call of the apostle among you as [illegible] among you. God knows those of you who steal away to hide themselves. Let those who transgress his orders beware lest trouble or a painful punishment befall them. [illegible] belonging to heaven and earth. He knows what you are doing' the man who spoke the truth and the man who lied. 'And He knows [illegible] will be returned to Him when He will tell them what they did, for God knows all things.'

The Muslims swarmed at the trench until they had finished it, and there [illegible] a single place out of the Muslims turned in and whom the [illegible] had appointed. Anas saying:

> He changed his name from Ja'ayl to 'Amr
> And was a help to the poor man that day

When they came to the trench Anas the apostle said: 'Amr' and when they came to 'help' he said, 'Help'.

I have heard some scholars relate the digging of the trench in which there is an example of God's justifying His apostle and confirming his prophetic office, things which the Muslims saw [illegible] Salman [illegible] I have heard that also b. 'Abdullah said to me: While they were working on the trench a large rock caused great difficulty, and they complained to the apostle. He called for some water and spat in it; then he prayed as God willed him to pray, then he sprinkled the water on the rock. Things which were promised and, by those who were true to a prophet with the truth, it was underscribed as though it were well suited to that a second [illegible]

[illegible] Jabir said that he was told that a daughter of Bashir b. Sa'd, sister of [illegible] b. Bashir, said: 'My mother, Amra d. Rawaha, took [illegible] date and gave me a handful of dates which she put in my garment; she told me to take them to my father and my uncle 'Abdullah b. Rawaha. [illegible]

food. As I went off looking for them I passed the apostle who called me and asked me what I had. When I told him that I was taking the dates to my father and my uncle he told me to give them to him. So I poured them into his hands but they did not fill them. Then he called for a garment which was laid out for him and threw the dates upon it so that they were scattered on it. Then he told the men to summon the diggers to lunch, and when they came they began to eat and the dates went on increasing until they turned away from them and they were still falling from the ends of the garment.

On the same authority I was told. We worked with the apostle at the trench. Now I had a little ewe not fully fattened and I thought it would be a good thing to dress it for the apostle, so I told my wife to grind some [illegible] trench—for we used to work at it all day and go home in the evening—I [illegible] and mutton for him and that I should [illegible] my house. I said, 'To God we belong and to Him we return!' However, he and the other men came and when he had sat down we produced the food and he blessed it and invoked the name of God over it. Then he ate as did all the others. As soon as one lot had finished another lot came until the diggers turned from it [illegible] trench where a rock gave me much trouble. The apostle who was next at hand saw me hacking and saw how difficult the place was. He dropped down into the trench and took the pick from my hand and gave such a [illegible] a third time. I said: 'O you, dearer than father or mother, what is the [illegible] really see that, Salmān?' The first meant that God has opened up to me [illegible] whom I do not suspect told me that Abū Hurayra used to say when [illegible] countries were conquered in the time of 'Umar and 'Uthmān and after, 'Conquer where you will, by God, you have not conquered and to the resurrection day you will not conquer a city whose keys God had not given beforehand to Muhammad.

When the apostle had finished the trench, Quraysh came and encamped where the torrent-beds of Rūma meet between al-Jurf and Zughāba with [illegible] and the people of Tihāma. Ghatafān too came with their followers from [illegible]

his foes (697), and gave orders that the women and children were to be taken [illegible] b. Akhtab al-Nadrī went out to Ka'b b. Asad al-Qurazī who had made a treaty with the apostle. When Ka'b heard of [illegible] omen and that he himself was in treaty with Muhammad and did not intend [illegible] let him eat his corn. This so enraged him that he opened his door. He said 'Good heavens, Ka'b, I have brought you immortal force and a great army. I have come with Quraysh with their leaders and chiefs which I have halted where the torrent-beds of Rūma meet, and Ghatafān with [illegible] Uhud. They have made a firm agreement and promised me that they will not depart until we have made an end of Muhammad and his men.' Ka'b [illegible] Woe to you Huyayy (leave me ('I [illegible] and Muhammad) as I am, for I have [illegible] fact with him and await his fate.' Thus Ka'b broke his promise and cut loose from the bond that was between him and the [illegible] Mu'ādh b. al-Nu'mān who was chief of Aus at the time, and Sa'd b. [illegible] at the time, together with 'Abdullāh b. Rawāha brother of B. al-Hārith b. [illegible] them to go and see whether the report was true or not. 'If it is true give me [illegible] apostle said 'Allāh akbar! Be of good cheer, you Muslims.'

[illegible]

as there from above and below and the believers imagined vain things,'[1] and doubt ran high among the disaffected to the point that Mu'attib b. Qushayr brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf said, 'Muhammad used to promise us that we should eat the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar and today not one of us can feel safe in going to the privy!' And it reached me from a people that Aus b. Qayzi, one of B. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith, said to the apostle, 'Our houses are exposed to the enemy'—this he said before a large gathering of his people—'so let us go out and return to our home, for it is outside [illegible] Medina.' The apostle and the polytheists remained twenty days and more, nearly a month, without fighting except for some shooting with arrows, and the siege.

When conditions pressed hard upon the people the apostle—according to what 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and one above suspicion told me from Muhammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydullah b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī—sent to 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr and to al-Ḥārith b. 'Auf b. Abū Ḥāritha al-Murrī who were leaders of Ghaṭafān and offered them a third of the dates of Medina on condition that they would go back with their followers and leave him and his men. So peace was made between them so far as the writing of a document. It was not signed and was not a definitive peace, merely peace negotiations, and they did so. When the apostle wanted to act he sent for the two Sa'ds and told them of it and asked their advice. They said, 'Is it a thing you want us to do, or something God has ordered you to do which we must carry out? or is it something you are doing for us?' He said, 'It is something I am doing for your sake. By God, I would not do it were it not that I have seen the Arabs have shot at you from one bow and gathered against you from every side and I want to break their offensive against you for a time.' Sa'd b. Mu'ādh said, 'We and these people were polytheists and idolaters, not serving God nor knowing Him, and they never hoped to eat a single date (?) of ours, except as guests or by purchase. Now, after God has honoured and guided us to Islam and made us famous by you, are we to give them our property? We certainly will not. We will give them nothing but the sword until God decide between us.' The apostle said, 'You shall have it so.' Sa'd took the paper and erased what was written, saying, 'Let them do their worst against us!'

[illegible] The apostle remained (there) and the enemy besieged him, but there was no fighting. But some horsemen of Quraysh, among whom was 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Abū Qays brother of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy; 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl; Hubayra b. Abū Wahb, both of Makhzūm; and Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb the poet b. Mirdās brother of B. Muḥārib b. Fihr, donned their armour and went forth on horseback to the quarters of B. Kināna, saying, 'Prepare for fighting, and then you will know who are the real warriors today.' They galloped up to the trench and when they saw it they exclaimed, 'This is a stratagem which the Arabs have never employed!' (700).

Then they made for a narrow part of the trench and beat their horses

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[1] The language is borrowed from Sūra 33. 10.

so that they dashed through it and carried them into the swampy ground between the trench and Sal'. 'Ali went out with some Muslims and seized the gap through which they had forced a passage against (the rest of) them and the horsemen galloped to meet them. Now 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd had fought at Badr until he was disabled by wounds, and so he had not been at Uḥud. At the battle of the Trench he came out wearing a distinguishing mark to show his rank and when he and his cavalry stopped he challenged anyone to fight him. 'Ali accepted the challenge and said to him, ''Amr, you swore by God that if any man of Quraysh offered you two alternatives you would accept one of them?' 'Yes, I did,' he said. 'Ali replied, 'Then I invite you to God and His apostle and to Islam.' He said that he had no use for them. 'Ali went on, 'Then I call on you to dismount.' He replied, 'O son of my brother, I do not want to kill you.' 'Ali said, 'But I want to kill you.' This so enraged him that he got off his horse and hamstrung it and beat its face; then he advanced on 'Ali and they fought, the one circling round the other. 'Ali killed him and their cavalry fled, bursting headlong in flight across the trench.

[When 'Amr issued his challenge to single combat 'Ali got up clad in armour and asked the prophet's permission to fight him, but he told him to sit down, for it was 'Amr. Then 'Amr repeated his challenge, reviling them and saying, 'Where is your garden of which you say that those who lose in battle will enter it? Can't you send a man to fight me?' Again 'Ali asked the prophet's permission to go out, and again he told him to sit down. Then 'Amr called out the third time [illegible]

I've become hoarse from shouting
Isn't there one among the lot of you who'll answer my challenge?
I've stood here like a fighting champion
While the so-called brave are cowards.
I've always hastened to the *front*
Before the fight begins.
Bravery and generosity are in truth
The best qualities of a warrior.

'Ali asked the prophet's permission to fight him, even if he were 'Amr, and he let him go. He then went towards him saying the while:

Don't be in a hurry. No weakling
Has come to answer your challenge.
A man of resolution and foresight.
Truth is the refuge of the successful
I hope to make the keening women
Busy over your corpse
Through the blow of a sword
Whose memory will last while fights are talked of.

'Amr asked him who he was, and when he told him he said, 'Let it be

one of your uncles who is older than you, my nephew for I don't want to shed your blood. Ali answered, 'But I do want to shed your blood.' He became angry, and drew his sword which flashed like fire and advanced in his anger (it is said that he was dismounted). Ali said to him, 'How can I fight you when you are on a horse? Dismount and be on a level with me.' So he got off his horse and came at him and Ali advanced with his shield. Amr aimed a blow which cut deeply into the shield so that the sword stuck in it and struck his head. But Ali gave him a blow on the vein at the base of the neck and he fell to the ground. The dust rose and the apostle heard the cry, 'Allah Akbar' and knew that Ali had killed him. 'Suhayli continues: 'As he came towards the apostle smiling with joy I went asked him if he had stripped him of his armour, for it was the best that could be found among the Arabs. He answered: 'When I had struck him down he turned his private parts towards me and I felt ashamed to despoil him and moreover he had said that he did not want to shed my blood because my father was a friend of his.']

[T: With Amr were killed two men, Munabbih b. 'Uthman b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbaq b. Abdu'l-Uzzi who was hit by an arrow and died in Mecca, and of B. Makhzum Naufal b. Abdullah b. al-Mughira who had stormed the trench and rolled down into it and they stoned him. He called out, 'O Arabs, Death is better than this.' Ali went down to him and despatched him. The Muslims got possession of his body and asked the apostle to let them sell his effects. He told them that he had no use for his effects or the price they would fetch, and it was done after, and he left them a free hand.]

'Ali said concerning that

In his folly he fought for the stone pillars[1]
While I fought for the Lord of Muhammad rightly
I rejoiced when I left him prone
Like a corpse between sand and rocks.
I forbore to take his garments[2]
Though had I been the vanquished he would have taken mine
Do not imagine, you confederates, that God
Will desert His religion and His prophet (301).

[illegible]

[1] [illegible] the idols.

The poem of this is made clear in the version from I.H.'s Mughazi and T.'s quotation from [illegible]. As the Sira of I.H. stands it is left as the [illegible].

'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl threw away his spear as he was running from Amr, as Hamza b. Thabit said

As he fled he threw his spear to us.
Perhaps, 'Ikrima, you have not done such a thing before?
As you turned your back you ran like an ostrich
Turning neither to right nor left.
You didn't turn your back as a human being would,
The back of your neck was like a young hyena's (?).

Abu Layla Abdullah b. Sahl b. Abdu'l-Rahman b. Sahl al-Ansari, brother of B. Haritha, said me that 'A'isha was in the fort of B. Haritha on that day. It was one of the strongest forts of Medina. The mother of Sa'd b. Mu'adh was with her. 'A'isha said, 'This was before the veil had been imposed upon us. Sa'd went by wearing a coat of mail so short that the whole of his forearm was exposed. He hurried along carrying a lance, the while,

Wait a little! Let Hattal see the fight.
What matters death when the time is right?

His mother said, "Hurry up, my boy, for by God you are late." I said to her, "I wish that Sa'd's coat of mail were longer than it is," for I was afraid for him where the arrow actually hit him. Sa'd was shot by an arrow which severed the vein of his arm. The man who shot him, according to what 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me, was Hibban b. Qays b. al-Arqa,[1] one of B. Amir b. Lu'ayy. When he hit him he said, "Take that from me, the son of al-Arqa." Sa'd said to him, 'May God make your face sweat [illegible] in hell. O God, if the war with Quraysh is to be prolonged spare me for it, for there is no people whom I want to fight more than those who insulted your apostle, called him a liar, and drove him out. O God, seeing that you have appointed war between us and them grant me martyrdom and do not let me die until I have seen my desire upon B. Quraysa.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik that he used to say: 'The man who hit Sa'd that day was Abu Usama al-Jushami, an ally of B. Makhzum. This Abu Usama composed an ode about it with reference to 'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl

O 'Ikrima, why did you blame me when you said
Khalid be your ransom in the fort of Medina?
Am I not he who inflicted a bloody wound on Sa'd?
The vein where the elbow bends gushed with his blood.
Sa'd died of it and the grey-haired matrons
And the high-breasted virgins made loud lamentation
You see the one who protected him when 'Ubayda[2]

[illegible]

[1] The way it reads is a genealogy according to name.
[2] In this 'Ubayd, b. Jahsh who was slain at Uhud.

Called all of them in his stress,
What time some of them turned away from him
And others made off in their terror.[1]

God knows best about that. (703)

Yazīd b. Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbād told me as follows. Ṣafiyya d. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib was in Fāri' the fort of Ḥassān b. Thābit. She said: 'Ḥassān was with us there with the women and children, when a Jew came along and began to go round the fort. The B

[illegible]

up. I told Ḥassān that he could see this Jew going round the fort and I feared that he would discover our weakness and inform the Jews who were in our rear while the apostle and his companions were too occupied to help us, so he must go down and kill him. "God forgive you," he said. "You know quite well that I am not the man to do that." When he said that and I saw that no help was to be expected from him I girded myself and took a club, and went down to him from the fort above and hit him with the club until I killed him. This done I went back to the fort and told Ḥassān to go down and strip him: I could not do it myself because he was a man. He said, "I have no need to strip him, Bint 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib."[2]

As God has described,[3] the apostle and his companions remained in fear and difficulty when the enemy came on them from above and below. Then Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd b. 'Āmir b. Unayf b. Tha'laba b. Qunfud b. Hilāl b. Khalīfa b. Ashja' b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān came to the apostle saying that he had become a Muslim though his own people did not know of it, and let him give him what orders he would. The apostle said: 'You are only

[illegible]

off as if you can, for war is deceit.' Thereupon Nu'aym went off to B.

[illegible]

wives, and your children are in it; you cannot leave it and go somewhere

[illegible]

[illegible]

country and you will not be able to do so if you are left alone. So do not

[illegible]

advice.

[illegible]

company: 'You know my affection for you and that I have left Muhammad

[illegible]

he continued: 'Mark my words, the Jews have repented their action in

[illegible]

offer: so if the Jews send to you to demand hostages, don't give them a single man.

[illegible]

he had said Qu[illegible]

[illegible]

that they had no permanent camp, that the horses and camels were dying, therefore they must make ready for battle and make an end of Muhammad once and for all. They replied that it was the sabbath, a day on which they did nothing, and it was well known what had happened to those of their people who had violated the sabbath. 'Moreover we will not fight Muhammad along with you until you give us hostages whom we can hold as security until we make an end of Muhammad, for we fear that if the battle goes against you and you suffer heavily you will withdraw at once to your country and leave us while the man is in our country, and we cannot face him alone.' When the messengers returned with their reply Quraysh and Ghaṭafān said (T. 'Now you know) that what Nu'aym told you is the truth' so send to B. Qurayẓa that we will not give them a single man, and if they want to fight let them come out and fight. Having received this message B. Qurayẓa said: 'What Nu'aym told you is the truth.' The people

[illegible]

us to face this man here. So send word to them that we will not fight Muhammad with them until they give us hostages.' Quraysh and Ghaṭafān refused to do so, and God sowed distrust between them, and sent a bitter

[illegible] upon them [illegible] nights [illegible]

When the apostle learned of their dispute and how God had broken up their alliance he called Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman and sent him to them to see what the army was doing at night.

[illegible] Hudhayfa [illegible] the apostle [illegible] [illegible] hunger, and the severe cold. When no one got up the apostle called me, and I had to get up when he called me. He [illegible] quid [illegible].

Then Abu Sufyan said, 'O Quraysh, [illegible] the [illegible] B. Qurayza have broken their word to us and we have heard disquieting reports of them. You can see the [illegible] of the wind [illegible] to count on. Be off, for I am going!' Then he went to his camel [illegible] him if I wished I could have killed him with an arrow.

'I returned to the apostle as he was standing praying in a wrapper belonging to one of his wives (709). When he saw me he made me come in [illegible] and prostrated while I was in it [illegible] And I described him). When he had [illegible] what Quraysh had done they broke up and returned to their own country.'

In the morning the apostle and the Muslims left the trench and returned to Medina, laying their arms aside.

[illegible]

[illegible] beneath them. One of the [illegible] is tied by the [illegible] in the [illegible] position. If the camel [illegible] the ground.

[illegible] B. QURAYZA

According to what al-Zuhri told me, at the time of the noon prayer Gabriel came to the apostle wearing an embroidered turban and riding on [illegible] if he had abandoned fighting, and when he said that he had he said that [illegible] pursuing the enemy. 'God commands you, Muhammad, to go to B. [illegible]'

The prophet ordered it to be announced that none should perform the afternoon prayer until after he reached B. Qurayza (705). The apostle sent Ali forward with his banner and the men hastened to it. Ali advanced until when he came near the forts he heard insulting language used of the apostle. He returned to meet the apostle on the road and told him that it [illegible] 'Why? I think you must have heard them speaking ill of me,' and when [illegible] that fashion.' When the apostle approached their forts he said, 'You brothers of monkeys, has God disgraced you and brought His vengeance upon you?' They replied, 'O Abu'l-Qasim, you are not a barbarous person.'

The apostle passed by a number of his companions in al-[illegible] [illegible] that Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi had passed [illegible] a white mule with a saddle covered with a piece of [illegible]. He said, 'That was Gabriel who has been sent to B. [illegible]'

When the apostle came to B. Qurayza he halted by one of their wells [illegible] got to B. Qurayza. They had been much occupied with warlike preparations and [illegible] with his companions and they prayed [illegible] the apostle reproach them. My father Ishaq b. [illegible] from Ma'bad b. Malik al-Ansari.

The [illegible] besieged them for twenty-five nights until they were sore pressed and [illegible]

[illegible] Quraysh and [illegible] Ka'b b. Asad [illegible] Jews, you can see what has happened to you; I offer you three alternatives. Take which you please. (i) We will follow this man and accept him as true, for by God it has become plain to you that he is a prophet who has

[illegible] know that it is he that you find mentioned in your scriptures and [illegible] They said, 'We will never abandon the laws of the Torah and never change [illegible] we kill our wives and children and send men with their swords drawn to [illegible] and his companions [illegible] know did and were turned into apes?' He answered, 'Not a single man [illegible]

[illegible] then they sent to the apostle saying, 'Send us Abu Lubaba b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir [illegible] of B. Amr b. [illegible] that I had been false to God and His apostle.' Then he left them and did [illegible]

[illegible] the apostle heard about it he said [illegible] news?' and when he said that she could she went and stood at the door of her [illegible] sent to set him free. He said, 'No, not until the apostle frees me with his

The prophet's house was next door to the mosque where Abu Lubaba had tied himself

[illegible] morning prayer he set him free (yet).

[illegible] Now 'Amr had refused to join B. Qurayza in their treachery towards the apostle [illegible] him. [illegible] the apostle was [illegible] knows what really happened.

In the morning they submitted to the apostle's judgement and al-Aus leapt up and said, 'O Apostle, they are our allies, not allies of Khazraj, and you know how you recently treated the allies of our brethren.' Now the apostle had besieged B. Qaynuqa[1] who were allies of al-Khazraj and when they submitted to his judgement 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul had asked [illegible] apostle said, 'Will you be satisfied, O Aus, if one of your own number pronounces judgement on them?' When they agreed he said that Sa'd b. Mu'adh was the man. The apostle had put Sa'd in a tent belonging [illegible] woman of Aslam called Rufayda inside his mosque. She used to nurse the wounded and see to those Muslims who needed care. The apostle had told his people when Sa'd had been wounded by an arrow at the battle of the Trench to put him in Rufayda's tent until he could visit him later. When the apostle appointed him umpire in the matter of B. Qurayza, his people came to him and mounted him on a donkey on which they had put a leather cushion, he being a corpulent man. As they brought him to the apostle they said, 'Deal kindly with your friends, for the apostle has made [illegible] umpire for that very purpose.' When they persisted he said, 'The time [illegible] them, because of what they had heard him say [illegible]

[1] W. has 'until he passed the night in

apostle meant the Ansār, while the latter thought that he meant everyone, so they got up and said 'O Abū 'Amr, the apostle has entrusted to you the affair of your allies that you may give judgement concerning them.' Sa'd asked, 'Do you covenant by Allāh that you accept the judgement I pronounce on them?' They said 'Yes,' and he said, 'And is it incumbent on the one who is here?' (looking in the direction of the apostle not mentioning him out of respect, and the apostle answered 'Yes.' Sa'd said, 'Then I give judgement that the men should be killed, the property divided, and the women and children taken as captives.'

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me from 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh from 'Algama b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī that the apostle said to Sa'd, 'You have given the judgement of Allāh above the seven heavens' (709).

Then they surrendered, and the apostle confined them in Medina in the quarter of al-Ḥārith, a woman of B. al-Najjār. Then the apostle went out to the market of Medina (which is still its market today) and dug trenches in it. Then he sent for them and struck off their heads in those trenches as they were brought out to him in batches. Among them was the enemy of Allāh Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab and Ka'b b. Asad their chief. There were 600 or 700 in all, though some put the figure as high as 800 or 900. As they were being taken out in batches to the apostle they asked Ka'b what he thought would be done with them. He replied, 'Will you never understand? Don't you see that the summoner never stops and those who are taken away do not return? By Allāh it is death!' This went on until the apostle made an end of them.

Ḥuyayy was brought out wearing a flowered robe (710) in which he had made holes about the size of the finger-tips in every part so that it should not be taken from him as spoil,[1] with his hands bound to his neck by a rope. When he saw the apostle he said, 'By God, I do not blame myself for opposing you, but he who forsakes God will be forsaken.' Then he went to the men and said, 'God's command is right. A book and a decree, and massacre have been written against the Sons of Israel.' Then he sat down and his head was struck off.

Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Tha'labī said:

> Then Akhṭab did not blame himself
> But he who forsakes God will be forsaken
> He fought until he justified himself
> And struggled to the utmost in pursuit of glory

Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that 'Ā'isha said: 'Only one of their women was killed. She was actually with me and was talking with me and laughing immoderately as the apostle was killing her men in the market when suddenly an unseen voice called

[1] A variant: so that none should wear it after him is worth mention.

her name. Good heavens, I cried, 'what is the matter?' 'I am to be killed,' she replied. 'What for?' I asked. 'Because of something I did,' she answered. She was taken away and beheaded. 'Ā'isha used to say, 'I shall never forget my wonder at her good spirits and her loud laughter 691
when all the time she knew that she would be killed' (711).

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī told me that Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās had gone to al-Zabīr b. Bāṭā al-Quraẓī who was Abū 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān. Al-Zabīr had spared Thābit during the pagan era. One of al-Zabīr's sons told me that he had spared him on the day of Bu'ath, having captured him and cut off his forelock and then let him go. Thābit came to him (he was then an old man) and asked him if he knew him, to which he answered, 'Would a man like me not recognize a man like you?' He said, 'I want to repay you for your service to me.' He said, 'The noble repays the noble.' Thābit went to the apostle and told him that al-Zabīr had spared his life and he wanted to repay him for it, and the apostle said that his life would be spared. When he returned and told him that the apostle had spared

[illegible]

want with life?' Thābit went again to the apostle, who promised to give him his wife and children. When he told him he said, 'How can a household in the Hijāz live without property?' Thābit secured the apostle's promise that his property would be restored and came and told him so, and he said, 'O Thābit, what has become of him whose face was like a Chinese mirror in which the virgins of the tribe could see themselves, Ka'b b. Asad?' 'Killed,' he said. 'And what of the prince of the Desert and the Sower, Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab?' 'Killed.' 'And what of our vanguard when we attacked and our rearguard when we fled (T. returned to the charge), 'Azzāl b. Samaw'al?' 'Killed.' 'And what of the two assemblies?' meaning B. Ka'b b. Qurayẓa and B. 'Amr b. Qurayẓa. 'Killed.' He said, 'Then I ask of you, Thābit, by my claim on you that you join me with my people, for life holds no joy now that they are dead, and I cannot bear to wait another moment to meet my loved ones.' So Thābit went up to 692
him and struck off his head.

When Abū Bakr heard of his words 'until I meet my loved ones' he said, 'Yes, by Allāh he will meet them in hell for ever and ever' (712).

(Thābit b. Qays said concerning that, mentioning al-Zabīr b. Bāṭā: T. 406

> My obligation is ended: I was noble and persistent
> When others swerved from steadfastness
> Zabīr had a greater claim than any man on me
> And when his wrists were bound with cords
> I went to the apostle that I might free him
> The apostle was a very sea of generosity to us.

The apostle had ordered that every adult of theirs should be killed.

[illegible]

Malik b. 'I mayr from 'Atiya al-Qurazi. The apostle had ordered that every adult of B. Qurayza should be killed. I was a lad and they found that I was not an adult and so they let me go.

[illegible] eat camel's flesh. So he gave him to her and she saved his life.

[illegible] horse and one for his rider. A man without a horse got one share. On the day of [illegible] custom for such.

Then the apostle [illegible] them for horses and weapons.

[illegible] said, 'This is Tha'laba b. Sa'ya coming to give me the good news of [illegible] This gave him pleasure.

[illegible] is found in the sira of the Confederates' in which He mentioned their trial [illegible] The armies which God sent with the wind were the angels. God said, [illegible]

[illegible] God. [illegible] B. Qurayza [illegible] i.e. Medina (71)

[illegible] 'they would have complied and would have hastened but a moment. Yet [illegible] were the men who thought to desert on the day of Uhud with B. Salima [illegible] Allah knows those of you who hinder, i.e. the disaffected people. 'And those who say to their brethren: Come to us and they come not to battle [illegible] for a moment to make a pretence of sincerity, 'sparing of their help to you, i.e. because of their grudging nature. 'But when fear [illegible] with all those who do not please you because their hope is in this life, hope of (future) reward [illegible] hope in a future life (714). 'They think that the confederates have not gone [illegible] news of you and if they were among you they would fight but little.

[illegible] Then He mentioned the believers and their truth and their belief in what God promised them of trial by which He tested them and He said, [illegible] and His apostle promised us, and God and His apostle are true. It did but increase their faith and submission, i.e. endurance of trial and submission to the decree and belief in the truth of what God and His apostle had

[illegible] Then He said: 'Some of the believers are men who are true to what they covenanted with Allah and some of them have fulfilled their vow to death, i.e. martyrdom, have won and returned to their Lord; and there are those who sought martyrdom at Badr and Uhud (715).

[illegible] 'And some of them are still waiting, i.e. for the help which Allah promised them and the martyrdom like that which befell his companions. Great said: 'And they have not altered in the least, i.e. they did not doubt nor hesitate in their religion, and did not change it for another. That Great may reward the true men for their truth and punish the hypocrites if He will, or repent towards them. Great is long-suffering, merciful. And Allah turned back those who disbelieved in their wrath, i.e. Quraysh and Ghatafan. They gained no good. Great prevent [illegible] from the believers, and Allah is strong, mighty. And He brought down those of the B. [illegible] people who helped them, i.e. B. Quraysh, from their strongholds, the forts and castles in which they were, [illegible]. And he cast terror into their hearts, so you slew and some you captured, i.e. he killed the men and captured the women and children. And caused you to inherit their land and their dwellings, and their property, that is land you have not trod, i.e. Khaybar. For Allah can do all things.'

When the other of B. Quraysa was conquered, the Prophet stood up and he dealt a matter therefrom.

Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi told me: Sometimes you like seeing the men of Banu Qaylah said to me that Sa'd came to the apostle when he was seated, in the middle of the night wearing an embroidered turban, and said, 'O Muhammad, who is this dead man for whom the throne of heaven have been opened and in whom the throne shook?' The apostle got up quickly dragging his garment as he went to Sa'd and found him already dead.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from Ibrahim b. Abdu'l-Rahman: 'A man who was returning from Mecca with Umar b. Khattab he heard of the speech of a man of his, and showed extraordinarily great [illegible]. He said: 'Good forgiveness, O Abu Ishaq, will you please show a woman which you have for the son of your uncle, for whom the throne shook?'

Once a day [illegible] and we found at Hassan al-Sa'd. Sa'd was a fat man and when the men carried bier they found his right. Some of the disaffected said, 'He was a fat man and we have never carried a lighter bier than his.' When the apostle heard of this he said, 'He had other virtues as well. By Him Who holds my life in His hand the angels supported all (receiving) the spirit of Sa'd and the throne shook for him.'

Muhammad b. Rifa'a told me from Mahmud b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Amr b. al-Jamuh from Jabir b. 'Abdu'l-Ansari: 'When Sa'd was buried as we were with the apostle he said, *Subhana'llah* and we said it with him. Then he said, *Allahu akbar* and the men said it with him. When they asked him why he had said *Subhana'llah* he said: 'The grave was constricted on this good man until God eased him from it' (717).

Of Sa'd one of the Anṣār said:

> We have never heard of the throne of God
> Shaking for any dead man but Sa'd Abu Amr.

His mother said when his bier was being carried, as she was weeping (718)

> Alas Umm Sa'd for Sa'd the brave and bold,
> Leader glorious, taught ever ready,
> Stepping into the breach, casting hands to pieces.[1]

The apostle said, 'Every wailing woman lies except the one who weeps for Sa'd b. Mu'adh.'

[illegible] who died martyrdom on the battle of the Trench. Of B. Abdu'l-Ashhal: Sa'd b. Mu'adh, Anas b. Aus b. Adi b. Aus, and Abdullah b. Sahl.

Of B. Jahjaba b. al-Khazraj of the clan B. Salima: al-Tufail b. al-Nu'man and Tha'laba b. Ghanama.

Of B. al-Najjar of the clan B. Adi: Sa'd b. Zayd whom a Quraysh sister hit and slew (719).

Three polytheists were killed.

Of B. Abd al-Ashhal: Muwaylih b. Urfuta b. Ubayd b. al-Qahhaf who by an error had died in Mecca (720).

Of B. Mahkam b. Yaqaza: Nawfal b. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughira. They asked the apostle to let them have his body for burying, because the wounds and humiliation wrapped [illegible] and the Muslims got possession of his body. The apostle said that they had no use for his body and did not want to be paid for it, and he let them have it (721).

Of B. Amir b. Lu'ayy of the clan B. Malik b. Hifl: Amr b. Abdu Wudd whom 'Ali killed (722).

On the day of Quraysa there were martyred of the Muslims of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Khallad b. Suwayd b. [illegible] b. Amir. A millstone was thrown on him and killed a [illegible]. They allege that the apostle said, 'He will have the reward of two martyrs.'

Abu Sinan b. Mihsan b. Hurthan brother of B. Amr b. Khunayas died while the apostle was besieging B. Quraysa and was buried in the cemetery of B. Quraysa which is and good water. They buried there those who died in Islam there.

When the defenders of the trench left it I have heard that the apostle said: 'Quraysh will not attack you after this year but you will attack them.' Quraysh did not attack them after that. It was he who attacked them until God conquered Mecca by him.

POETRY ABOUT THE TRENCH AND B. QURAYZA

Dirār b. al-Khattāb b. Mirdās brother of B. Muḥārib b. Fihr said about the battle of the Trench

Many a sympathetic woman had doubts about us,[1]
Yet we led a great force, crushing all before us.
Its size was as Uhud
When one could see its whole extent.
You would see the long mail upon the warriors
And their strong leather shields
And the fine steeds like arrows
Which we discharged against the sinful wrongdoers.
When we charged the one the other,
'Twas as though at the gap in the trench men would shake hands.
You could not see a rightly guided man among them
Though they said: 'Are we not in the right?'
We besieged them for one whole month
Standing over them like conquerors.
701 Night and morning every day
We attacked them fully armed,
Sharp swords in our hands
Cutting through heads and skulls.
'Twas as though their gleam when they were drawn
When they flashed in the hands of those that drew them
Was the gleam of lightning illuminating the night
So that one could see the clouds clearly
But for the trench which protected them
We would have destroyed them one and all.
But there it stood in front of them,
And they took refuge in it from fear of us.
Though we withdrew we left
Sa'd hostage to death in front of their tents
When darkness came you could hear the keening women
Raising their lament over Sa'd,
Soon we shall visit you again
Helping one another as we did before
With a company of Kināna armed
Like lions of the jungle protecting their dens.

Ka'b b. Mālik brother of B. Salima answered him:

Many a woman will ask of our fight,
Had she been there she would have seen we were steadfast

[1] If this poem is really Dirār's it must have been composed after Sha'bān 5, but it uses the language of verse 10. It is hardly likely that a Muslim would have borrowed of the doings of Quraysh, as does a polytheist would have borrowed language from the Qur'ān. Therefore it would seem to be a piece of literary Anti Sulmī put up to be parodied in the poems that follow.

We were steadfast trusting in Him,
We saw nothing equal to God in the hour of our danger
We have a prophet, a true helper,
By whom we can conquer all men.
We fought an evil disobedient people
Fully prepared in their hostile attack
When they came at us we struck them blows
Which dispatched the precipitate.
You would have seen us in wide long mail which
Glittered like pools in the plain:
Sharp swords in our hands
By which we quench the spirit of the mischievous.
Like lions at the gap in the trench
Whose tangled jungle protects their lairs,
Our horsemen when they charged night and morning
Looked disdainfully at the enemy as they wore their badges
To help Aḥmad and God so that we might be
Sincere slaves of truth,
And that the Meccans might know when they came
And the people of different parties
That God has no partners,
And that He helps the believers.
Though you killed Sa'd wantonly,
God's decrees are for the best
He will admit him to goodly gardens
The resting-place of the righteous.
As He repulsed you, runaway fugitives,
Fruitless, disgraced, despite your rage.
Disgraced, you accomplished nothing there
And were all but destroyed
By a tempest which overcook you
So that you were blinded by its force.

Abdallāh b. al-Zaba'rā al-Sahmī said about the trench

Salute the dwelling whose vestiges
Long decay and time's changes have effaced.
'Tis as though their remains were the writings of Jews
Except the ṣarbas and (marks of) tempests.[1]
A dwelling as though you did not find diversion in it
Happily with young girls of one age
But speak no more of a life that has passed
And a place become ruined and deserted,
And gratefully remember the gallantry of all

[1] The trace of an old camp (rasm) is compared to Jewish script. The word also means writing.

Who marched from the sacred stones,[1]
The stones of Mecca, making for Yathrib,
With a loud-throated mighty force
Leaving the high ground well used paths
In every conspicuous height and pass.
The fine lean steeds led beside them
Thin in belly, lean of flank,
Foaled from long-bodied mares and stallions,
Like a wolf who attacks careless watchmen.
'Uyayna marched with the banner of the army;
Sakhr led the confederates,
Two chiefs like the moon in its splendour
The help of the poor, the refuge of the fugitive.
Until when they came to Medina
And girt themselves for death their sharp swords drawn.
For forty days they had the best of Muhammad
Though his companions in war were the best
Then called for withdrawal the morning you said
'We are almost done for'
But for the trench they would have left them
Corpses for hungry birds and wolves.

Hassān b. Thābit answered him and said

Can the vanished traces of a deserted place
Answer one who addresses it?
A desert where clouds of rain have effaced its traces
And the constant blowing of every high wind?
Yet have I seen their dwellings adorned by
Shining faces, heirs of a glorious past.
But leave the dwellings, the talk of lovely maidens
With soft breasts, never in converse
And complain to God of cares and what you see—
An angry people who wronged the apostle,
Who marched with their company against him
And collected townsmen and desert dwellers,
The army of 'Uyayna and Ibn Harb
Mingled with the horsemen of the confederates
Until they came to Medina and hoped to slay
The apostle's men and plunder them,
And attacked us in their strength.
They were put to flight in their fury
By a tempest which dispersed their company

[1] The *nuṣb* may mean either the stones set up to mark the boundary of the sacred territory, such as remain to this day, or the stones at which the sacrificial victims were slaughtered.

And the armies of thy Lord the Lord of lords.
God averted battle from the believers[1]
And gave them the best of rewards.
When they had abandoned hope, our bounteous King
Sent down His aid and scattered them
Gave ease to Muhammad and his companions
And humiliated every lying doubter,
Hard-hearted, suspicious, doubtful,
Not men of pure life, unbelievers.
May misery cling to their hearts, for
In unbelief they persisted to the very end.[2]

Ka'b b. Mālik also answered him: 704

War has left over to us
The best gift of our bounteous Lord;
High white forts and resting-places for camels where [from their rubbing]
Palms are black and where milk is plentiful.
They are like lava tracts and their bounty is lavished
On the visiting guest and relatives[3]
And horses[4] swift as wolves
Fed on barley and cut lucerne
With hairless fetlocks and firm-fleshed hindquarters,
Smooth their coats from head to tail,
Long-necked, answering the View halloo
As hounds speed to the huntsman's call,
Now guarding the tribesman's cattle,
Now slaying the enemy and returning with the spoil,
Scaring wild beasts, swift in war,
Grim in combat, of noble spirit,
Well fed and sleek
Well fleshed yet thin bellied.
They bring coats of mail doubly woven
With strong spears which hit the mark
And swords whose rust the polishers have removed;

[1] Almost an exact quotation from Sūra 33, 25.
[2] Or. To whose hearts misery has clung
So that their hearts persist in disbelief to the end of time
[3] A Dr.'s explanation implies
High white forts and resting-places for camels
Where the camels have black necks and are rich in milk
Thus the resting-places are like lava tracts
Their bounty, &c.
S. renders *nuṣb* 'palm plantations' and *jadbā'* 'tractor' and then has to take *ṣāfiḥ* as a metaphor of 'fruit'
The verse is difficult, but it is possible to read contextual metaphors in its translation
'The dung of the camels made the ground look like a lava tract'
[4] *ṣāfin* C are horses imported from elsewhere

All with a splendid highborn knight,
His right hand holding a spear ready for the thrust
Whose fashioning was entrusted to Khabbāb.
The glitter of his lance is like
A flash of flame in the darkness of the night,
And a force whose mail defies the arrows
And repels the bolts that would pierce the thighs.
Reddish-black, massed, as though their spears
Were a blazing forest in every encounter,
Seeking the shadow of the standard as though
On the shaft of the spear there was the shadow of a hawk.
Their courage defeated Abū Karib and Tubba
And their gallantry overcame the Bedouin.
We were guided by admonitions from our Lord
On the tongue of one radiant and pure.
They were laid before us and we loved to remember them
After they had been laid before the confederates (and rejected).
Axioms which evildoers assert they thought too strict
But the wise understand.
Quraysh came to contend with their Lord
But he who contends with the Conqueror will surely be conquered (723).

Ka'b b. Mālik and about the trench

Let one who enjoys the noise of battle where blows resound
Like the crackling of burning reeds
Come to the fight where swords are sharp
Between al-Madhād[1] and the side of the trench.
They were bold as smiting champions
And surrendered their lifeblood to the Lord of the world
In a company by which God helped His prophet
And was gracious to His servant.
All in long mail whose ends swept the ground,
Looking like an undulating post blown by the wind
With mail well wrought and woven as though its nails
Were the eyes of a locust in the chain rings
Braced up by the belt of a sword
Of pure steel, cutting, and shining.
Such with purity was our clothing on the day of battle[2]
And every hour that called for bravery.
When our swords were too short to meet the enemy
We made them reach by going forward.
You could see skulls split asunder,

[1] The place where the trench was dug. Some say that it was between Sal' and the 'Iraq.
[2] Borrowed from Sūra 7:25. The clothing of piety is the best

To say nothing of hands, as though they had not been created.
We met the enemy with a compact force
Driving away their foes who went as though to the top of al-Mashriq.[1]
Against the enemy we prepared
Every swift, bay, white-legged, piebald horse
Carrying riders who in battle were like
Lions on damp dewy soil,[2]
Trusty ones who bring death to brave men 760
With death-dealing spears beneath the clouds of dust.
God commanded that the horses should be kept for His enemy in the fight[3]
(Truly God is the best guarantor of victory)
That they might vex the enemy and protect the dwellings
If the horses of the miscreants came near
God the mighty helped us with His strength
And loyal steadfastness on the day of the encounter.
We obeyed our prophet's orders.
When he called for war we were the first to respond.
When he called for violent efforts we made them.
When we saw the battle we hastened thither
He who obeys the prophet's command (let him do so), for among us
He is obeyed and truly believed.
By this He will give us victory and show our glory
And so give us a life of ease.
Those who call Muhammad a liar
Disbelieve and go astray from the way of the proud (724)

Ka'b also said.

The mixed tribes knew when they gathered together against us
And attacked our religion that we would not submit
Confederates from Qays b. 'Aylān and Khindif with one accord
Made common cause, not knowing what would happen.
They tried to turn us from our religion while we
Tried to turn them from disbelief, but God is a seer and a hearer
When they raged against us in battle
The all embracing help of God aided us
'Twas God's protection and His grace towards us
(He whom God does not guard is lost).
He guided us to the true religion and chose it for us.
God can do more than man can do.

[1] A mountain between al-Sarū and al-Qujūn in Quḍā'a country
[2] In such conditions Ibn al-Ishāq said to be most fierce, presumably because wet ground would ruin the aim of their prey and so they would be unwary
[3] Cf. Sūra 8. 60.

Ka'b also said:

Tell Quraysh that Sal'
And the land between al-'Urayd and al-Sammād[1]
Is a land where camels who know war carry water
Where wells dug in the days of 'Ad abound.
Still waters fed by copious fountains
That keep the wells at a steady depth.
The tangled growth and the rushes there
Seem to rustle when they yellow at the harvest.
Our trade does not consist in selling donkeys
To the land of Daus or Murād.
Ours is a land well tilled, for it we fight
If you have stomach for the battle.
We ploughed and planted it as peasants do.
Never have you seen a valley bordered like it.
We have kept every fine high-standing
Powerful courser for great objects.
Respond to our invitation
For clear statement and truth,
Or take the blows you will get from us
At the side of al-Madhād
We will meet you with all our warriors
And well made tractable horses,
And bloodmares whose sides throb
Like the beating of a locust's wings[2]
Swift of limb, firm fleshed,
Perfectly made from head to tail.
Horses which live through famine years
When other men's horses die
Which tug at the rein, turning their necks to one side,[3]
When their master calls them to war
When our warriors say 'Be ready'
We put our trust in the Lord of men.
And we said, 'Nothing will ease our troubles
But striking the helmets and desperate fighting.'
You have seen none among those we fought,
Whether townsmen or tribesmen,
Bolder than we were in attack
Nor gentler in affection.
When we tied with trusty knots
Fine coats of mail upon them
Into long armour we put every fierce noble warrior

[1] All these places are in the neighbourhood of Medina.
[2] An unusually fast-flying species of locust is meant.
[3] This hemistich is repeated verbatim in the poem attributed to Hassān in W. Ass. 8

Careful in his preparation for battle:
Haughty as an angry lion
When someone appears in his valley,
Who shatter the skull of the doughtiest warrior
With the middle of a sword carried loose on its lanyard.
That we may make Thy religion victorious, O God.
We are in Thy hand, so guide us in the right paths (725)

Musāfi' b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Wahb b. Hudhāfa b. Jumah, weeping for 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd and mentioning how 'Ali killed him, said:

'Amr b. 'Abd was the first horseman to cross Madhād
And he was the horseman of Yalyal.
Mild in nature, noble, firm,
Seeking armed combat, never showing fear.
You knew that when they fled from you
Ibn Abd only turned not
Until the best fighters surrounded him
Seeking unjustly to kill him
On Sal'a sides the spears surrounded
A horseman who was no unarmed coward
You asked Ghālib's horseman to dismount, O 'Ali,
On Sal'a sides. Would he had not done so.
Away with you, 'Ali! Never have you overcome his like in renown
Nor coped with such a difficult task
My life be a ransom for the horseman of Ghālib
Who met death unperturbed
He who crossed al-Madhād with his mare
Seeking to avenge the men he would not desert

Musāfi' also said, reproaching the horsemen of 'Amr who decamped as deserted him:

'Amr b. 'Abd and the fine horses he led—
Horses led for him and horses shod—
His horsemen decamped and his clan left
A great pillar, the first among them.
Marvel as I may I saw it
When you, 'Ali, asked 'Amr to dismount he dismounted.
Be not far,[1] for I have suffered by his death
And till I die I have a burden heavy to bear.
Hubayra who was despoiled turned his back in flight
Fearing the fight lest they should be killed.
And Dirār who had shown courage
Fled like a miserable unarmed wretch (726).

[1] A wish in Bādr.
[2] The dead are thus apostrophised.

Hubayra b. Abū Wahb making excuses for his flight weeping for 'Amr, and mentioning how 'Ali killed him, said:

On my life, I did not turn my back
On Muhammad and his companions in cowardice or fear of death;
But I considered my position and could find
No advantage in sword or arrow if I used them.
I escaped, and when I could not go forward
I withdrew like a strong lion with his cubs,
Who turns his shoulder from his adversary when
He can find no way to return to the fray—such has always been my way.
Be not far, O 'Amr, alive or dead.
Such as you deserves the highest praise from one like me
Who (now) will drive on horses checked by spears
Be not far, O 'Amr alive or dead
You have gone (from us) full of praise, noble of ancestry.
Tell of his glory when the camels bellow loudly[1]
Had Ibn 'Abd been there he would have gone to them
And relieved them, that never ignoble man.
Away with you, 'Ali, never have I seen one who behaved like you
Against a brave man advancing like a stallion.
Never have you achieved such a proud boast.
As long as you live you can feel safe from stumbling thereby.

Hubayra also said:

The noblest men of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib knows
That when misfortune came their knight was 'Amr,
Their knight was 'Amr and 'Ali asked him to dismount.
(The lion must seek his mercy.)
He was their knight when 'Ali called to him
When the squadrons barely left him.
Alas that I left 'Amr in Yathrib.
May misfortunes never cease there!

Hassān b. Thābit boasting of the killing of 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd said:

'Amr, the last of you, we slew with the lance
As we defended Yathrib with our small force.
We killed you with our Indian swords,
For we are masters of war when we attack.
We killed you in Badr too
And left your tribes threading their way through the dead (727)

[1] So loud was its roar that it could be heard above the grumbling of the camels or the bellows of the tribe's poets.

Hassān also said

The warrior 'Amr b. 'Abd is on the flanks of Yathrib
Requiring to be avenged; he was not given respite.[1]
You found our swords drawn
And you found our horses ready.
At Badr you met a band
Who smote you with no weakling's blow.
No more will you be summoned on the day of great things
Or to important distasteful tasks, O 'Amr! (727)

Hassān also said:

Give Abū Hind a message
One with which the camels hasten.
Am I your friend in every hardship
And another your friend in a time of ease?
You have a witness who saw me
Lifted up to him as a child is carried (728).

Hassān said concerning B. Qurayẓa mourning Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and the pronouncing his judgement concerning the former:

Tears streamed from my eyes,
'Tis right that they should weep for Sa'd
Lying on the battlefield. Eyes that flow with tears
Suffer his loss without ceasing.
Slain in God's religion, he inherits paradise with martyrs,
Theirs a noble company.
Though you rose and farewell and left us
And lie in the dusty darkness of the grave
You, O Sa'd, have returned (to God) with a noble testimony
And garments of honour and praise.
By pronouncing on the two tribes of Qurayẓa the (same) judgement.
Which God had decreed against them you did not judge of your own volition.
Your judgement and God's were at one
And you did not forgive when you were reminded of a covenant
Though fate has brought you to your death
Among those who sold their lives for everlasting gardens
Yet blessed is the state of the true men
When they are summoned to God for favour and reward.

[1] The reading in this poem are in order but not necessarily original.
'Amr, by dual.
Forgiveness for him is not to be expected.

Hassān also said mourning Sa'd and the prophet's companions who were martyred and mentioning their merits.

O my people, is there any defence against what is decreed?
And can the good old days return?
When I call to mind an age that is passed
My heart is troubled and my tears flow,
Yearning sorrow reminds me of friends
Now dead, among them Tufayl and Rāfi' and Sa'd.
They have gone to paradise
And their houses are empty and the earth is a desert without them.
They were loyal to the apostle on the day of Badr
While over them swords flashed amid the shades of death.
When he called them they answered loyally,
All of them obeyed him utterly
They gave no ground till all were dead
(Only battles cut short the allotted span.
Because they hoped for his intercession
Since none but prophets can intercede
That, O best of men, in what we did,
Our response to God while death is certain.
Ours was the first step to Islām, and the last of us
Will follow the first in God's religion.
We know that the kingdom is God's alone
And that the decree of God must come to pass.

Hassān also said about B. Qurayẓa.

Qurayẓa met their misfortune
And in humiliation found no helper
A calamity worse than that which fell B. al-Naḍīr befell them
The day that God's apostle came to them like a brilliant moon,
With fresh horses bearing horsemen like hawks.
We left them with the blood upon them like a pool
They having accomplished nothing.
They lay prostrate with vultures circling round them
Thus are the obstinate and impious rewarded.
Warn Qurayẓa of a like punishment from God
If they will take any warning.

Hassān also said:

Qurayẓa met their misfortune
And shameful humiliation befell their castles
Sa'd had warned them, saying
Your God is a majestic Lord.

[3] *Dhū'l-ʿarsh.* Obviously this does fix a later age. "The good old days" are idealized.

They soon broke their treaty so that
The apostle slew them in their town.
With our troops he surrounded their fort
Which resounded with cries from the heat of the battle

Hassān also said

May the people who helped Qurayẓa miss one another,[1]
For in their land they have no helper.
They were given the scriptures and wanted it,
Being blind, straying from the Torah.
You disbelieved in the Qur'ān and yet
You had been given confirmation of what the warner said
The nobles of B. Lu'ayy took lightly
The great conflagration in al-Buwayra.[2]

Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib answered him

May God make their deed immortal,
May fire burn in its quarters!
You shall know which of us is far (from the fire
And which of our lands will be harmed.
Had the palms therein been horsemen
They would have said, 'You have no place here, be off!'[3]

Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Tha'labī also answered him, mourning al-Naḍīr Qurayẓa.

O Sa'd, Sa'd of B. Mu'ādh,
For what befell Qurayẓa and al-Naḍīr
By thy life, Sa'd of B. Mu'ādh
The day they departed was indeed steadfast
As for al-Khazrajī Abū Ḥubāb
He told Qaynuqā' not to go.
The allies got Usayd in exchange for Ḥudayr
(For circumstances sometimes change.)[4]

[1] This is the reading [illegible] for [illegible] spoiling [illegible]

[2] A place belonging [illegible] Qurayẓa according to [illegible] It was their street which [illegible] destroyed.

The meaning of the p[illegible] that the fire that B. al-Naḍīr were [illegible] with all their wealth [illegible] to be [illegible] The [illegible] have been made [illegible] closes them [illegible] to all [illegible] and the proverbial [illegible] line above [illegible] into the mouth of Abū Sufyān [illegible]

This B. Lu'ayy took lightly the great conflagration in al-Buwayra and the line [illegible] of Abū Sufyān's [illegible] the [illegible]

May God make that [illegible] immortal.

But [illegible] and their [illegible] have been spoken [illegible] B.

[4] A reference to 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy's interference in favour of B. Qaynuqā'.

[illegible] the time of [illegible] Aus, the Jews were [illegible] but the [illegible] when [illegible] came to power.

Al-Buwayra perished and was deprived of
Sallim and Sa'na and Ibn Akhtab
Yet in their land they were weighty men
Like the ponderous rocks of Marrin.'
Though Sallam Abu Rafi' is dead
His weapons were not useless or
And both the tribes of Kahlan too, among them
Hawklike men, albeit kindly and generous
We found their glory established on glory
Which time cannot obscure
Dwell there, ye chiefs of Aus,
As though you were blind to shame.
You left your pot with nothing in it,
The pot of a people worth mentioning as ever on the boil."

THE KILLING OF SALLAM IBN ABU'L-HUQAYQ

When the fight at the trench and the affair of the B. Qurayza were over, the matter of Sallam b. Abu'l-Huqayq known as Abu Rafi' came up in connection with those who had collected the mixed tribes together against the apostle. Now Aus had killed Ka'b b. al-Ashraf before Uhud because of his enmity towards the apostle and because he stirred men against him, as Khazraj killed and obtained the apostle's permission to kill Sallam who was in Khaybar.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik told me: One of the things which God did for His apostle was that these two tribes of the Ansar, Aus and Khazraj, competed the one with the other like two stallions. If Aus did anything to the apostle's advantage Khazraj would say, 'They shall not have that superiority over us in the apostle's eyes and in Islam' and they would not rest until they could do something similar. If Khazraj did anything Aus would say the same.

When Aus had killed Ka'b for his enmity towards the apostle Khazraj used these words and asked themselves what man was as hostile to the apostle as Ka'b. And then they remembered Sallam who was in Khaybar and asked and obtained the apostle's permission to kill him.

Five men of B. Salima of Khazraj went to him: 'Abdullah b. 'Atik, Mas'ud b. Sinan, 'Abdullah b. Unays, Abu Qatada al-Harith b. Rib'i and Khuzai' b. Aswad, an ally from Aslam. As they left, the apostle appointed 'Abdullah b. 'Atik as their leader, and he forbade them to kill women or children. When they got to Khaybar they went to Sallam's house by night. [illegible] locked every door in the settlement on the inhabitants. Now he was in an upper chamber of his to which a (T. Rahman) ladder led up. They

[illegible]

[illegible] this until they came to the door and asked to be allowed to come in. His wife came out and asked who they were and they told her that they were Arabs in search of supplies. She told them that their start was here 719
and that they could come in. When we entered we bolted the door of the room on her and ourselves fearing lest something should come between us and him. His wife shrieked and warned him of us, so we ran at him with our swords as he was on his bed. The only thing that guided us in the darkness of the night was his whiteness like an Egyptian blanket. When his wife shrieked one of our number would lift his sword against her then he would remember the apostle's ban on killing women and withdraw his hand but for that we would have made an end of her that night. When we had smitten him with our swords 'Abdullah b. Unays bore down with his sword into his belly until it went right through him as he was saying *Qatni, qatni*, i.e. It is enough.

We went out. Now 'Abdullah b. 'Atik had poor sight and fell from his ladder and sprained his arm (yag) severely, so we carried him until we brought him to one of their water channels and went into it. The people in camp sent men in search of us in all directions until despairing of finding us, they returned to their master and gathered round him as he was dying. We asked each other how we could know that the enemy of God was dead, and one of us volunteered to go and see, so off he went and mingled with the people. He said, I found his wife and some Jews gathered round him. She had a lamp in her hand and was peering into his face and saying to them: By God I certainly heard the voice of 'Abdullah b. 'Atik. Then I decided I must be wrong and thought "How can Ibn 'Atik be in this country?" Then she turned towards him, looking into his face, and said, 'By the God of the Jews he is dead!' Never have I heard sweeter words than those.

Then he came to us and told us the news, and we picked up our companion and took him to the apostle and told him that we had killed God's enemy. We disputed before him as to who had killed him, each of us having claim to the deed. The apostle demanded to see our swords and when he looked at them he said: 'In the sword of 'Abdullah b. Unays that killed him. I can see traces of food on it.'

Hassan b. Thabit mentioning the killing of Ka'b and Sallam and 719

God, what a fine hand you met,
O Ibnu'l-Huqayq and Ibnu'l-Ashraf!
They went to you with sharp swords,
Brash as lions in a tangled thicket,
Until they came on you in your dwelling

The change into the first person without any mention of the speaker's authority is [illegible]

And made you drink dark with their swift-slaying swords,
Looking for the victory of their prophet's religion
Disposing every risk of foot.

[illegible]

[illegible] Hadith [illegible] Thaqafi from Hadith told me that *Amr b. al-As* told him from his own mouth [illegible] quantity and took it to him.

[illegible] Then I said, 'O King, I have just seen a man leave your presence [illegible] escape his anger. I said that had I known that my request [illegible] Then I said to him, 'Woe to you, Amr, obey me and follow him, [illegible] I gave the allegiance [illegible] thought they had [illegible] with my allegiance.

Then I went off [illegible] for Muhammad to adopt Islam, and met Khālid b. al-Walīd [illegible] tion of Makka. I said, 'Where are you going, Abū Sulaymān?' He said, 'The matter has become clear [illegible] I'm going to be a Muslim. How much longer should I delay?' I told him that I was [illegible] in the same way. [illegible] I will give him my allegiance [illegible] and went away (710).

[illegible] Then Khālid b. al-Walīd and 'Uthmān b. Talha b. Abī Talha who was with them accepted Islam at the same time.

Ibn al-Ziba'ī al-Sahmī said:

[illegible] by the cutting of the sandals at the stone of hearing
And by every alliance our fathers made,
Khālid not being exempt from such,
Do you want the key of a house other than yours,
And what can be more desirable than the glory of an ancient house?
Trust not Khālid and 'Uthmān
After that they have brought a great disaster.

[illegible] the beginning of [illegible] the polytheists were in charge of that page [illegible]

THE ATTACK ON B. LIḤYĀN

[illegible] Muhammad, Salim said [illegible] and the Muslims [illegible] and taken up strong positions on [illegible]

had intended, he said, 'Were we to come down to 'Usfān the Meccans would think that we intend to come to Mecca.' So he went out with two hundred riders until he came to 'Usfān, where he sent two horsemen from his companions who went as far as Kurd'u'l-Ghamīm. Then he turned and went back.

Jābir b. 'Abdullāh used to say, I heard the apostle say when he set his face towards Medina "Returning repentant if God will, giving thanks to our Lord. I take refuge in God from the difficulties of the journey and an unhappy ending, and the evil appearance of man and beast."

The tradition about the raid on B. Lihyān is from 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr from 'Abdullāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik. Ka'b b. Mālik said

> If B. Lihyān had waited
> They would have met bands in their settlements, fine fighters,
> They would have met audacious warriors whose terror fills the way[1]
> In front of an irresistible force glittering like stars.
> But they were as weasels who stick to the
> Clefts of the rocks[2], which have no shelter of escape.

THE ATTACK ON DHŪ QARAD

The apostle had spent only a few nights in Medina when 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī with the cavalry of Ghaṭafān raided the apostle's milch-camels in al-Ghāba.[3] A man of B. Ghifār, who had his wife with him, was in charge of the camels. Him they killed and carried off his wife with the camels.

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr and a man I do not suspect from 'Abdullāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik contributed to the story which follows. The first to know of them was Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' al-Aslamī. That morning he was making for al-Ghāba armed with bow and arrows accompanied by a slave belonging to Talḥa b. 'Ubaydullāh with a horse which he was leading. When he got to the pass of al-Wadā' he saw some of their cavalry and looked down in the direction of Sal' and cried aloud, 'O whose is morning?' Then he hurried off after the raiding party like a lion. When he came up with them he began to keep them at bay with arrows, saying as he shot

> Take that, al-Akwa'a's son am I,
> Today, mean crowd, you die!

Whenever the horsemen made for him he fled from them, then back he would come and take a shot at them when he could, saying the same words. One of them said, 'Our little Akwa' comes early in the morning!'

[1] Between Mecca and Medina, a well some eight miles from 'Usfān.
[2] Or, with a different vowel, the coast.
[3] A valley in the district of Ḥijāz. [4] Near Medina in the direction of Ḥijāz.

Ibn al-Akwa'a's call for aid reached the apostle and he ordered the alarm to be sounded in Medina and the cavalry called to him. The first horsemen to arrive were al-Miqdād b. 'Amr called b. al-Aswad, ally of B. Zuhra. The next to arrive from the Ansār were 'Abbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh b. Zughba b. Za'ūrā', one of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, Sa'd b. Zayd, one of B. Ka'b b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, 'Ukkāsha b. Ḥuṣayn, brother of B. Ḥārisha b. al-Ḥārith, though there is some doubt about him, Ṣalama b. Salāma, brother of B. Aus b. Ḥārithā, Muḥriz b. Nadla, brother of B. Aus b. Ḥārithā, Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Rib'ī, brother of B. Salima, and Abū 'Ayyāsh who was 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. al-Ṣāmit, brother of B. Zuraiq. When they had gathered to the apostle he set Sa'd b. Zayd over them according to my information and told them to go in pursuit of the band until he himself overtook them with the army.

I have heard from some men of B. Zuraiq that the apostle had said to Abū 'Ayyāsh, 'How would it be if you were to give this horse to a man who is a better rider than you and he caught up with the band?' He replied, 'I am the best horseman of the people!' Then I beat the horse, and by Allāh he had not taken me fifty cubits before he threw me. I was astonished that the apostle should say that he wished that I had given him to a better horseman and that I should have said that I was the best horseman. Men of B. Zuraiq allege that the apostle gave Abū 'Ayyāsh a horse to Mu'ādh b. Mā'iṣ, or to Mu'ādh b. Mā'iṣ b. Qays b. Khalada who was the eighth. Some people count Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' as one of the eight and exclude 'Ubayd b. Zuhayr, but God knows what happened, seeing that Salama was not riding that day but was the first to catch up with the band on foot. The horsemen went in pursuit of the band until they overtook them.

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me that the first horseman to catch up with the band was Muḥriz b. Nadla who was called al-Akhram[1] and 'Qunayr' and that when the alarm sounded a horse belonging to Maḥmūd b. Maslama ran round the plantation when it heard the neighing of the horses, for it was a treasured animal not put to work. When some women of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal saw the horse running round the plantation with the stump of wood to which it was tied they said, 'How would you like to ride this horse, Qunayr? You can see what it is like. Then you could overtake the apostle and the Muslims.' He agreed and they handed it over to him, and he soon outstripped the rest of them because it was full of spirit. When he overtook the band and came to a halt in front of them he said, 'Stop, you rascals, until the emigrants and Ansār who are behind you catch up with you.' One of them attacked and killed him. The horse wheeled and they could not stop him until it stood by its stable among B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal. This man was the only Muslim to be

Maḥmūd's horse was called Dhū'l-Lamma.

One whom I do not suspect told me from 'Abdullāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik that Muḥriz rode a horse of 'Ukkāsha's called al-Janāḥ. Muḥriz was killed

[1] So Wāqidī, but gives no authority for the reading.

and al-Junāb was captured. When the cavalry engaged, Abū Qatāda al-Hārith b. Rib'ī killed Habīb b. 'Uyayna b. Hisn and covered him with his mantle; then he joined his force. The apostle advanced with the Muslims (734) and there was Habīb covered with Abū Qatāda's mantle. The men exclaimed, 'We are God's and to Him must we return! Abū Qatāda has been killed.' The apostle said that it was not Abū Qatāda but a man he had killed and covered with his mantle so that they might know that he was his prey. 'Ukkāsha overtook Aubār and his son 'Amr who were riding the same camel, and ran them through with his lance, killing the two of them at one stroke. They recovered some of the milch-camels. The apostle went forward until he halted at the mountain of Dhū Qarad, and the men joined him there; and he stopped there for a day and a night. Salama b. al-Akwa' asked if he might go with a hundred men and recover the rest of the herd and cut off the heads of the band. I have heard that the apostle said, 'By this time they are being served with their evening drink among Ghaṭafān.' The apostle divided a butchered camel among every hundred men, and after a while he returned to Medina. The wife of the Ghifārī[1] came upon one of the apostle's she-camels and told him what had happened. Having done so she said, 'I vowed to Allāh that I would slaughter her if Allāh let me escape on her.' The apostle smiled and said, 'You would repay her badly when God mounted you on her and delivered you by her and then you would slaughter her. No vow in disobedience to God nor concerning property that is not your own is valid. She is one of my camels, so go back to your family with God's blessing.' This story of
723 the Ghifārī's wife comes from Abū'l-Zubayr al-Makkī from al-Hasan b. Abū'l-Hasan al-Basrī.

Among the verse composed about Dhū Qarad is the following from Hassān b. Thābit:

Were it not for what our horses suffered and what hurt their frogs
As they were led to the south of Saya last night,
They would have met you as they carried well-armed warriors
Noble in uncertainty protecting their standard,
And the bastards would have rejoiced that we
Did not fight when Miqdād's horsemen came.
We were eight, they were a great force
Loud-voiced yet pricked by (our) lances (and) scattered.
We were of the people who followed them
And we gave free rein to every noble steed
Yes, by the Lord of the camels that go to Minā
Traversing the great mountain passes (we will pursue you)
Till we make the horses crale[2] in the midst of your dwellings
And come back with your women and children,
Walking gently with every swift horse and mare

[1] p.r.

[2] Reading nubbi with C. and Dīwān al-awwal

That turns swiftly in every battle
A day in which they are led and a day of charges
Has worn out their quarters and altered the appearance of their backs.
Our horses are fed on milk
While war is handled by passing winds
Our sharp swords glittering cut through
Iron shields and pugnacious heads.
Allāh put obstacles in their way to protect His sacred property
And to protect His dignity.
They lived happily in their home, but
On the days of Dhū Qarad they were given the faces of slaves (735).

Hassān also said:[1]

Did 'Uyayna think when he visited it
That he would destroy its castles?
In what you said you were made a liar.
You said, 'We will take great spoil.'
You touched Medina when you visited it
And met roaring lions there.
Back they turned running fast like cranches
Without getting near a single camel.
God's apostle was our stair,
What a beloved amir to us!
An apostle whose message we believe
Who recites a luminous light-bringing book.

Ka'b b. Mālik said concerning the day of Dhū Qarad with reference to the horsemen:

Do the bastards think that we
Are not their equals in horsemanship?
We are men who think killing no shame,
We turn not from the piercing lances.
We feed the guest with choicest camels' meat
And smite the heads of the haughty.
We turn back the conspicuous warriors in their pride
With blows that quash the zeal of the unyielding,
With heroes who protect their standard,
Noble, generous, fierce as single wolves.
They preserve their honour and their goods
With swords that smash the heads beneath the helms.
Ask the Banū Badr if you meet them
What the brethren did on the day of battle.

[1] This line is obscure. Perhaps the sacred property means the prophet's camels. Possibly the verb is an optative.

[2] i.e. Medina

Tell the truth[1] to those you meet whenever you come out.
Conceal not the news in assemblies.
Say: We slipped away from the claws of the angry lion
With rage in his heart which he could not work off (736).

Shaddād b. Ārid said (once in) the day of Dhū Qarad with reference to 'Uyayna who was surnamed Abū Malik

Why, O Abū Malik, did you not return to the fight
When your cavalry were in flight and being slain?
You mentioned going back to 'Ajuz.[2]
Nonsense: it was too late to return.
You mounted yourself on a spirited horse
Quickly covering the ground when given free rein.
When your left hand reined him in
He reared like a flaming cauldron.
And when you saw that God's servants
Did not wait for those behind to come up
You knew that horsemen had been trained
To chase warriors when they took to the plain.
When they chase the cavalry they bring disgrace on them,
And if they are pursued they dismount
And protect themselves in evil case
With swords which the polisher has made bright.

THE RAID ON B. AL-MUṢṬALIQ

The apostle stayed in Medina during the latter part of Jumādā'l-Ākhira and Rajab; then he attacked B. al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'a in Sha'bān A.H. 6 (737).

Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān each told me a part of the following story. The apostle received news that B. al-Muṣṭaliq were gathering together against him, their leader being al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār, the father of Juwayriya d. al-Ḥārith (afterwards) wife of the apostle. When the apostle heard about them he went out and met them at a watering place of theirs called al-Muraysī' in the direction of Qudayd towards the shore. There was a fight and God put the B. al-Muṣṭaliq to flight and killed some of them and gave the apostle their wives, children, and property as booty. A Muslim of B. Kalb b. Auf b. Āmir b. Layth b. Bakr called Hishām b. Ṣubāba was killed by a man of the Anṣār of the family of 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit who thought he was an enemy and killed him in error.

While the apostle was by the water a party came down to it. 'Umar had a hired servant from B. Ghifār called Jahjāh b. Mas'ūd who was leading his horse. Then Jahjāh and Sinān b. Wabar al-Juhanī, an ally of B. Auf b.

[1] Reading *fashqā* with C. against W. *a fashwā*. [2] A place near Mecca.

al-Khazraj, thrust one another away from the water and fell to fighting. The Juhanī called out 'Men of al-Anṣār!' and Jahjāh called out 'Men of the Muhājirūn!' 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl was enraged. With him was a number of his people including Zayd b. Arqam, a young boy. He said, 'Have they actually done this? They dispute our priority, they outnumber us in our own country, and nothing so fits us and the vagabonds of Quraysh as the ancient saying "Feed a dog and it will devour you!" By Allāh when we return to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' Then he went to his people who were there and said: 'This is what you have done to yourselves. You have let them occupy your country, and you have divided your property among them. Had you but kept your property from them they would have gone elsewhere.' Zayd b. Arqam heard this and went and told the apostle when he had dispersed his enemies. 'Umar, who was with him, said, 'Tell 'Abbād b. Bishr to go and kill him.' The apostle answered, 'But what if men should say Muḥammad kills his own companions? No, but give orders to set off.' Now this was at a time when the apostle was not accustomed to set off. The men journeyed [illegible]

When 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy heard that Zayd had told the apostle what he had said he went to him and swore that he had not said what he did say. He was a great man among his own people and the Anṣār who were present with the apostle said: 'It may well be that the boy was mistaken in what he said, and did not remember the man's words,' sympathizing with Ibn Ubayy and protecting him.

When the apostle had begun his journey Usayd b. Ḥudayr met him and saluted him as a prophet, saying, 'You are travelling at a disagreeable time, a thing you have never done before.' The apostle said: 'Have you not heard of what your friend said?' He asserted that if he returns to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker. He answered: 'But you will drive him out if you want to; he is the weak and you are the strong.' He added [illegible] brought [illegible] ing beads to make him a crown, and he thinks that you have deprived him of a kingdom.

Then the apostle walked with the men all that day till nightfall, and through the night until morning and during the following day until the sun distressed them. Then he halted them, and as soon as they touched the ground they fell asleep. He did this to distract their minds from what 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy had said the day before. He continued his journey through the Ḥijāz as far as water a little above al-Naqī' called Baqī'. As he travelled at night a violent wind distressed the men and they dreaded it. He told them not to be afraid because the wind announced the death of one of the greatest of the unbelievers, and when they got to Medina they found that Rifā'a b. Zayd b. al-Ṣayt, one of the most important Jews and a secret shelterer of the disaffected, had died that day.

The *sūra* came down in which God mentioned the disaffected with Ibn Ubayy and those like-minded with him. When it came down the apostle

took hold of Zayd b. Arqam's ear, saying, 'This is he who devoted his [illegible] to Allah.'[1] 'Abdullah, Abdullah b. Ubayy's son, heard about his father's affair.

Ibrahim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that 'Abdullah came to the apostle saying, 'I have heard that you want to kill 'Abdullah b. Ubayy for what you have heard about him. If you must do it, then order me to do it and I will
728 bring you his head, for al-Khazraj know that they have no man more dutiful to his father than I, and I am afraid that if you order someone to kill him my soul will not permit me to see his slayer walking among [illegible] and I shall kill him, thus killing a believer for an unbeliever, and so I should go to hell.' The apostle said, 'Nay, but let us deal kindly with him and make much of his companionship while he is with us.' After that it happened that if any misfortune befell it was his own people who reproached and upbraided him roughly. The apostle said to 'Umar when he heard of this state of things, 'Now what do you think, 'Umar?' Had I killed him on the day you wanted me to kill him the leading men would have trembled with rage. If I ordered them to kill him today they would kill him.' 'Umar replied, 'I know that the apostle's order is more blessed than mine.'

Mu'awiya b. Salih quoted from Marwan as a Muslim [illegible] he proclaimed saying, [illegible] to you as a Muslim [illegible] his brother for my brother was killed in error. The apostle ordered that he should have the hundred for his brother Hisham and he stopped a short while with the apostle. 'Umar he returned his brother's slayer and [illegible] and went off to Mecca as apostate. He spoke the following lines:

> It saved my soul that he died in the lowland,
> The blood of his neck veins dying his garments
> Before I killed him I was beset by cares
> Which prevented me from seeking my ransom
> I gave free vent to my vengeance
> And was the first to return to the shade
> I avenged Fihr on him and laid his bloodwit
> On the chiefs of B. al-Najjar, the lords of Fihr.[1]

He also said:

> I fetched him a stroke in vengeance
> Which drew blood that clotted and flowed.
> I said as the wrinkles of death covered him
> 'You can't be safe from B. Bakr when they are wronged' (728)

729 Of B. Mustaliq who were there that day Al-Harith [illegible] Mi'ab and his son 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf killed one of their horsemen called Ahmar

or Jawwas. The apostle took many captives and they were distributed among the Muslims. One of those taken was Juwayriya d. al-Harith b. Abi Dirar, the apostle's wife.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'A'isha said: When the apostle distributed the captives of B. al-Mustaliq Juwayriya fell to the lot of Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas or to a cousin of his, and she gave him a deed for her redemption. She was a most beautiful woman. She captivated every man who saw her. She came to the apostle to ask his help in the matter. As soon as I saw her at the door of my room I took a dislike to her, for I knew that he would see her as I saw her. She spoke to him with tears when she came of al-Harith b. Abi Dirar the chief of his people. 'You can see the state to which I have been brought. I have fallen to the lot of Thabit or his cousin and have given him a deed for my ransom and have come to ask your help in the matter.' He said, 'Would you like something better than that? I will discharge your debts and marry you,' and she accepted it.

'The news that the apostle had married Juwayriya was blared abroad and now that B. Mustaliq were the prophet's relations by marriage the men released those they held. When he married her a hundred families were released. I do not know a woman who was a greater blessing to her people than she was.

Yazid b. Ruman told me that the apostle sent al-Walid b. 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayt to them after they had accepted Islam. When they heard of him they rode out to meet him, but when he heard of them he was afraid and went back to the apostle and told him that the people had determined to kill him and had withheld their due poor tax. The Muslims talked a lot about sending them word. The apostle hesitated and delayed on. While this was going on an envoy of theirs came to the apostle saying, 'We heard about your messenger whom you sent to us and we went out to meet him to show him respect and to pay the poor tax that was due, and he went back as far as he could. News we hear that he has alleged that we wanted to kill him. By Allah we did not go out with such intent.' So God sent down concerning him and them, 'O you who believe if an evil
731 man comes to you with a report examine it closely lest you do ill to a people in ignorance and be sorry for what you have done. Know that the apostle of God is among you. If he were to obey you in much of the government you would be in trouble.'

THE LIE THAT WAS UTTERED ON THE RAID OF B. AL-MUSTALIQ

According to what a man I do not suspect told me Isma'il b. Zubayr from 'Urwa from 'A'isha she said: [illegible] had gone forward on that journey of his until he was near Medina. 'A'isha having been with him on an journey. When she lies spoke about her

[1] Sira, p. 1

Al-Zuhri told us from 'Aqama b. Waqqas, and from Sa'id b. Jubayr and from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. 'Utba, each contributing a part of the story, one remembering more of it than

Yahya b. 'Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me from his father from A'isha and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from Amra d. Abdu'l-Rahman from A'isha from her own words when the hour said what they did. The whole of her story rests on these men as a whole. One relates what another does not. All of them are trustworthy witnesses, and all of them related what

him. He did this on the occasion of the raid on B. al-Mustaliq and the lot fell on me, so the apostle took me out. The wives on these occasions used to use light litters, most did not fill them up so that they were heavy. When the camel was being saddled for me I used to sit in my howda

head and walk with it.

good luck when he was near Medina and passed a part of the night there. Then he gave permission to start and the men moved off. I went out for a

finished, it slipped from my neck without my knowledge, and when I

that I was in it as I normally was, picked it up and bound it on the camel.

The men had gone. So I wrapped myself in my cloak and then lay down

and by Allah I had but just lain down when Safwan b. al-Mu'attal al-

and had not spent the night with the troops. He saw my form and came

while I was wrapped in my garments. He asked me what had kept me

have spread these reports and the army was much disturbed. But by Allah I knew nothing about it.

Then we came to Medina and immediately I became very ill and so

showed kindness to me. When I was ill he used to show compassion and kindness to me, but in this illness he did not and I missed his attentions

said was, "How is she?" so that I was pained and asked him to let me be taken to my mother so that she could nurse me. "Do what you like," he

in their houses: we loathe and detest them. Our practice was to go out into the open spaces of Medina. The women used to go out every night, and one night I went out with Umm Misfah d. Abu Ruhm b. al-Muttalib b. Abdu Manaf. Her mother was d. Sakhr b. 'Amir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym cousin of Abu Bakr. As she was walking with me she stumbled over her

of Abu Bakr!" and when I said that I had not heard she went on to tell me

had to die and went back. I could not stop crying until I thought that the

loves her but her rival wives gossip about her and men do the same."

"The apostle had got up and addressed the men, though I knew nothing

know only good of them, and they say them things of a man of whom I know naught but good, who never entered a house of mine but in my company."

Misfah and Hamna d. Jahsh, for the reason that her sister Zaynab d.

When the apostle made this speech Usayd b. Hudayr said, "If they are

orders, for they ought to have their heads cut off." Sa'd b. Ubāda got up—before that he had been thought a pious man—and said, "By Allāh, you lie. They shall not be beheaded. You would not have said this had you not known that they were of Khazraj. Had they been your own people you would not have said it." Usayd answered, "Liar yourself! You are a disaffected person arguing on behalf of the disaffected." Feeling ran so high that there was almost fighting between these two clans of Aus and Khazraj. The apostle left and came in to see me. He called 'Alī and Usāma b. Zayd and asked their advice. Usāma spoke highly of me and said: "They are your family[1] and we and you know only good of them, and this is a lie and a falsehood.

As for 'Alī he said: "Women are plentiful, and you can easily change one for another. Ask the slave girl, for she will tell you the truth." So the apostle called Burayra to ask her, and 'Alī got up and gave her a violent beating, saying, "Tell the apostle the truth," to which she replied, "I know only good of her. The only fault I have to find with 'Ā'isha is that when I am kneading dough and tell her to watch it she neglects it and falls asleep and the sheep (Ṭ: "pet lamb") comes and eats it."

Then the apostle came in to me. My parents and a woman of the Anṣār were with me and both of us were weeping. He sat down and after praising God he said, "'Ā'isha, you know what people say about you. Fear God and if you have done wrong as men say then repent towards God, for He accepts repentance from His slaves." As he said this my tears ceased and I could not feel them. I waited for my parents to answer the apostle but they said nothing. By Allāh I thought myself too insignificant for God to send down concerning me a Qur'ān which could be read in the mosques and used in prayer, but I was hoping that the apostle would see something in a dream by which God would clear away the lie from me, because He knew my innocence, or that there would be some communication. As for a Qur'ān coming down about me by Allāh I thought far too little of myself for that. When I saw that my parents would not speak I asked them why and they replied that they did not know what to answer, and by Allāh I do not know a household which suffered as did the family of Abū Bakr in those days. When they remained silent my weeping broke out afresh and then I said: "Never will I repent towards God of what you mention. By Allāh, I know that if I were to confess what men say of me, God knowing that I am innocent of it, I should admit what did not happen, and if I denied what they said you would not believe me." Then I racked my brains for the name of Jacob and could not remember it, so I said, "I will say what the father of Joseph said: 'My duty is to show becoming patience and God's aid is to be asked against what you describe.'

[1] Cf. Sura 4, 107.
[2] Care is taken to avoid the use of 'Ā'isha's name.

"And, by God, the apostle had not moved from where he was sitting when there came over him [illegible] God when used to come over him and he was [illegible] as he got more, and a leather cushion was put under his head. As for me, when I saw that I felt no fear nor alarm, for I knew that I was innocent and that God would not treat me unjustly. As for my parents, as soon as the apostle recovered I thought that they would die from fear that confirmation would come from God of what men had said. Then the apostle recovered and sat up and there fell from him as it were drops of water on a winter day, and he began to wipe the sweat from his brow, saying, "Good news, 'Ā'isha. God has sent down (word) about your innocence." I said, "Praise be to God," and he went out to the men and addressed them and recited to them what God had sent down concerning that (Ṭ: "me"). Then he gave orders about Mistah b. Uthātha and Hassān b. Thābit and Hamna d. Jahsh who were the most explicit in their slander and they were flogged with the prescribed number of stripes.

'My father Isḥāq b. Yasār told me from some of the men of B. al-Najjār that the wife of Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd said to him, "Have you heard what people are saying about 'Ā'isha?" "Certainly, but it is a lie," he said, "Would you do such a thing?"[1] She answered "No, by Allāh, I would not." He said, "Well, 'Ā'isha is a better woman than you."

'Ā'isha continued: When the Qur'ān came down with the mention of those of the slanderers who repeated what the liars had said, God said: "Those who bring the lie are a band among you. Do not regard it as a bad thing for you; nay it is good for you. Every man of them will get what he has earned from the sin, and he who had the greater share herein will have a painful punishment,"[2] meaning Hassān b. Thābit and his companions who said what they said (74).

Then God said, "Why did not the believing men and women when you heard it think good of themselves?" i.e. say what Abū Ayyūb and his wife said. Then He said, "When you welcomed it with your tongues and spoke with your mouths that of which you had no knowledge you thought it a [illegible] thing, yet with God it is grave."

[illegible] her, Abū Bakr who used to make an allowance to Mistah because he was of his kin and needy said, "Never will I give anything to Mistah again, nor [illegible] evil on us." She continued: "So God sent down concerning that "And let not those who possess dignity and ease among you swear not to give to kinsmen and the poor and those who emigrate for God's sake. Let them forgive and show forbearance. Do you not wish that God should forgive you? And God is forgiving, merciful" (742).

Abū Bakr said, "Yes, by Allāh, I want God to forgive me," so he continued the allowance that he was accustomed to give to Mistah, saying, "I will never withdraw it from him.

[illegible]

738 Then Safwān b. al-Mu'attal met Hassān b. Thābit with a sword when he heard what he was saying about him, for Hassān had also uttered some verse alluding to him and the Arabs of Mudar who had accepted Islam

The vagabond immigrants have become powerful and numerous
And Ibnu'l-Furay'a has become solitary in the land.[1]
As good as bereaved is the mother of the man I fight
Or caught in the claws of a lion.
The man I kill will not be paid for
By money or by blood.
When the wind blows in the north and the sea rides high
And bespatters the shore with foam
'Tis no more violent than I when you see me in a rage
Devastating as a cloud of hail.
As for Quraysh, I will never make peace with them
Until they leave error for righteousness
And abandon al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā
And all bow down to the One, The Eternal,
And testify that what the apostle said to them is true,
And faithfully fulfil the solemn oath with God.[2]

Safwān met him and smote him with his sword, saying according to what Ya'qūb b. 'Utba told me

Here's the edge of my sword for you!
When you lampoon a man like me you don't get a poem in return.

Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hārith al-Taymī told me that Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās leapt upon Safwān when he smote Hassān and tied his hands to his neck and took him to the quarter of B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj. Abdullah b. Rawāha met him and asked what had happened, and he said 'Do I surprise you?' He smote Hassān with the sword and by Allāh he must have killed him. Abdullah asked if the apostle knew about what he had done, and when he said that he did not he told him that he had been very daring and that he must free the man. He did so. Then they came to the apostle and told him of the affair and he summoned Hassān and Safwān. The latter said, 'He insulted and intrigued me and
739 rage so overcame me that I smote him.' The apostle said to Hassān, 'Do you look with an evil eye on my people because God has guided them to Islam?' He added, 'Be charitable about what has befallen you.' Hassān said, 'It is yours, O apostle' (743).

The same informant told me that the apostle gave him in compensation Bir Hā, today the castle of B. Hudayla in Medina. It was a property belonging to Abū Talha b. Sahl which he had given as alms to the apostle

[1] Here in a bad sense. He is speaking of himself submerged in a sea of refugees.
[2] The language is reminiscent of the Qur'ān. The point of the reference to Safwān is not clear to me.

who gave it to Hassān for his blow. He also gave him Sīrīn a Copt slave-girl, and she bare him Abdu'l-Rahmān.

'Ā'isha used to say, 'Questions were asked about Dhu'l-Mu'attal and they found that he was impotent: he never touched women. He was killed as a martyr after this.'

Hassān b. Thābit said, excusing himself for what he had said about Ā'isha

Chaste, keeping to her house, above suspicion,
Never thinking of reviling innocent women,
A noble woman of the clan of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib
Seekers of honour whose glory passes not away.
Pure, God having purified her nature
And cleansed her from all evil and falsehood
If I said what you allege that I said
Let not my hands perform their office.
How could I, with my lifelong affection and support
For the family of the apostle who lends splendour to all gatherings,
His rank so high above all others that
The highest leap would fall short of it?
What has been said will not hold
But is the word of one who would slander me (744).

A Muslim said about the flogging of Hassān and his companions for slandering 'Ā'isha (745)

Hassān, Hamna, and Mistah tasted what they deserved
For uttering unseemly slander:
They slandered with ill-founded accusations their prophet's wife.
They angered the Lord of the glorious throne and were chastised.
They injured God's apostle through her
And were made a public and lasting disgrace.
Lashes rained upon them like
Raindrops falling from the highest clouds.

THE AFFAIR OF AL-HUDAYBIYA, A.H. 6. THE WILLING HOMAGE AND THE PEACE BETWEEN THE APOSTLE AND SUHAYL B. AMR

Then the apostle stayed in Medina during the months of Ramadān and Shawwāl and went out on the little pilgrimage in Dhū'l-Qa'da with no intention of making war (746). He called together the Arabs and neighbouring Bedouin to march with him, fearing that Quraysh would oppose him with arms or prevent him from visiting the temple, as they actually did. Many of the Arabs held back from him, and he went out with the emigrants and Ansār and such of the Arabs as stuck to him. He took the

sacrificial victims with him and detained the pilgrim gift so that all would know that he did not intend war and that his purpose was to visit the temple and to venerate it.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwan b. al-Hakam told me: The apostle went out in the year of al-Hudaybiya with peaceful intent meaning [illegible] There were seven hundred men so that each camel was on behalf of ten men. Jabir b. 'Abdullah, so I have heard, used to say: We, the men of al-Hudaybiya [illegible]

Az-Zuhri continued: [illegible] the apostle was in Dajna, Bishr b. Sufyan al-Ka'bi met him (747) and said: There are Quraysh who have heard of your coming and have come out with their milch-camels and have put on [illegible] will never enter Mecca in defiance of them. This man Khalid b. al-Walid is with their cavalry which they have sent in advance to Kurd'u'l-Ghamim.[a] The apostle said: Alas, Quraysh, war has devoured them. What harm would they have suffered if they had left me and the rest of the Arabs to [illegible] Then he said: Who will take us out by a way in which we shall not meet [illegible]

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that a man of Aslam volunteered to do so and he took them by a rugged, rocky track between passes which was hard on the Muslims, and when they emerged from it on to the easy ground at the end of the wadi the apostle said to the men, 'Say, We ask God's forgiveness and we repent towards Him.' They did so and he said: [illegible] But they did not say the words.[1]

The apostle [illegible] he force to turn to the right through the salty growth[a] on the road which leads by the pass of al-Murar to the declivity of al-Hudaybiya below Mecca. They did so, and when the Quraysh cavalry [illegible] path [illegible] of al-Murar and when his camel knelt and the man said, 'The camel won't get up,' he said: 'It has not refused and such is not its nature,' but the Qur[illegible]

who restrained the elephant from Mecca is keeping it back. Today whatever conditions Quraysh make in which they ask me to show kindness to [illegible] I shall agree to.' Then he told the people to dismount. They [illegible] objected that there was no water there by which they could halt, so he took an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of the companions and he went down into one of the waterholes and prodded the middle of it and the water rose until the camels could be satisfied with drinking and lay down there.

One of the B. Aslam told me that the man who went into the hole with the apostle's arrow was Nidba b. Jundub b. 'Amr b. Ya'mar b. Nizar b. Ashir b. Wa'ila b. Salul b. Mazin b. Salaman b. Aslam b. Afsa b. Abu Haritha who drove the apostle's camels to sacrifice (748).

A traditionist alleged to me that al-Barra' b. 'Azib used to say that it was he who went down with the apostle's arrow, and God knows which it was.

Then Aslam quoted verses from the lines which Nidba made. We think that it was he who went down with the arrow. Aslam alleges that a slave-girl of the Anasir came up with her bucket while Nidba was in the well supplying the people with water and said:

> O you down below, my bucket is here,
> I can hear all our men who wish you good cheer
> Praising the one who drawn water here (749).

Nidba said as he was in the hole getting the water:

> The fairest slave-girl knows
> That I'm Nidba down below getting water
> Many a wide thirsty wound I've made
> In the breasts of advancing foes.

In his tradition az-Zuhri said: When the apostle had reached Budayl b. Warqa' al-Khuza'i came to him with some men of Khuza'a and asked him what he had come for. He told them that he had not come for war but to go on pilgrimage and venerate the sacred precincts. Then he said to them what he had said to Bishr b. Sufyan. Then they returned to Quraysh and told them what they had heard, but they suspected them and spoke roughly to them, saying: He may have come on a peaceful way but by Allah he shall never come in here against our will, nor shall the Arabs ever say that we have allowed it.

Khuza'a were the apostle's confidants, both their Muslims and their polytheists. They kept him informed of everything that happened in Mecca.

Then Quraysh sent Mikraz b. Hafs b. al-Akhyaf another of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy to him. When he saw him approaching the apostle said: 'This is a treacherous fellow.' When he came up and spoke to him the apostle gave him the same reply as he had given Budayl and his companions, and he returned and told the Quraysh what the apostle had said.

Then they sent to him al-Ḥulays b. 'Alqama or Ibn Zabbān, who was at that time chief of the black troops, being one of B. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kināna. When the apostle saw him he said, 'This is one of the God-fearing people, so send the sacrificial animals to meet him so that he can see them.' When he saw them going past him from the side of the wadi with their festive collars round their necks and how they had eaten their hair because they had been so long kept back from the place of sacrifice, he went back to Quraysh and did not come to the apostle, so greatly was he impressed by what he had seen. When he told them that, they said, 'Sit down! You are only a Bedouin, utterly ignorant.'

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that this enraged al-Ḥulays, who said: 'You men of Quraysh, it was not for this that we made an alliance and agreement with you. Is a man who comes to do honour to God's house to be excluded from it? By him who holds my life in his hand, either you let Muhammad do what he has come to do or I shall take away the black troops to the last man.' They said: 'Be quiet, Ḥulays, until we obtain for ourselves acceptable terms.'

In his narrative al-Zuhrī said: Then they sent 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī to the apostle and he said: 'You men of Quraysh, I have seen the harshness and rude words with which you have received those you sent to Muhammad when they returned to you. You know that you are the father and I am the son—for 'Urwa was the son of Subay'a d. 'Abdu Shams—I heard of what befell you and I collected those of my people who obeyed me; then I came to you to help you.' They agreed and said that they did not suspect him. So he came to the apostle and sat before him and said: 'Muhammad, have you collected a mixed people together and then brought them to your own people to destroy them? Quraysh have come out with their milch camels clad in leopard skins swearing that you shall never enter Mecca by force. By God I think I see you deserted by these people (here) tomorrow.' Now Abū Bakr was sitting behind the apostle and he said, 'Suck al-Lāt's nipples! Should we desert him?' He asked who had spoken, and when he heard it was Ibn Abū Quḥāfa he said, 'By Allah, did I not owe you a favour I would pay you back for that, but now we are quits.' Then he began to take hold of the apostle's beard as he talked to him. Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba was standing by the apostle's head clad in mail and he began to hit his hand as he held the apostle's beard saying, 'Take your hand away from the apostle's face before you lose it.' 'Urwa said, 'Confound you, how rough and rude you are!' The apostle smiled and when 'Urwa asked who the man was he told him that it was his brother's son, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba and he said, 'O wretch, it was only yesterday that I washed your dirty parts!' [illegible] 744

The apostle told him what he had told the others, namely that he had not come out for war. He got up from the apostle's presence having seen how his companions treated him. Whenever he performed his ablutions they ran to get the water he had used; if he spat they ran to it; if a hair of his head fell they ran to pick it up. So he returned to Quraysh and said, 745 'I have been to Chosroes in his kingdom, and Caesar in his kingdom and the Negus in his kingdom, but never have I seen a king among a people like Muhammad among his companions. I have seen a people who will never abandon him for any reason, so form your own opinion.'

A traditionist told me that the apostle called Khirāsh b. Umayya al-Khuzā'ī and sent him to Quraysh at Mecca, mounting him on one of his camels called al-Tha'lab to tell their chiefs from him what he had come for. They hamstrung the apostle's camel and wanted to kill the man, but the black troops protected him and let him go his way so that he came back to the apostle.

One whom I do not suspect from 'Ikrima client of Ibn 'Abbās from the latter told me that Quraysh had sent forty or fifty men with orders to surround the apostle's camp and get hold of one of his companions for them, but they were caught and brought to the apostle, who forgave them and let them go their way. They had attacked the camp with stones and arrows. Then he called 'Umar to send him to Mecca with the same message, but 'Umar told him that he feared for his life with Quraysh, because there were none of B. 'Adīy b. Ka'b in Mecca to protect him, and Quraysh knew of his enmity and his rough treatment of them. He recommended that a man more prized there than himself should be sent, namely 'Uthmān. The apostle summoned 'Uthmān and sent him to Abū Sufyān and the chiefs of Quraysh to tell them that he had not come for war but merely to visit the house and to venerate its sanctity.

As 'Uthmān entered or was about to enter Mecca Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ met him and carried him in front of him. Then he gave him his protection until he could deliver the apostle's message to them. Having heard what 'Uthmān had to say, they said: 'If you want to go round the temple, go round it.' He said that he would not do so until Muhammad did so, and Quraysh kept him a prisoner with them. The apostle and the Muslims were informed that 'Uthmān had been killed. 746

THE WILLING HOMAGE

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that when the apostle heard that 'Uthmān had been killed he said that they would not leave until they fought the enemy, and he summoned the men to pledge themselves to this. The pledge of al-Riḍwān took place under a tree. Men used to say that the apostle took their pledge unto death. Jābir b. 'Abdullah used to say that the apostle did not take their pledge unto death, but their undertaking that they would not run away. Not one of the Muslims who were present failed to give his hand except al-Jadd b. Qays, brother of B. Salima. Jābir used to say: 'By Allah, I can almost see him now sticking to his camel's side

[illegible] to be [illegible] to hide himself from the [illegible]. Then the apostle heard that the news about 'Uthmān was false (791).

THE ARMISTICE

Az Zuhrī said: Then Quraysh sent Suhayl b. 'Amr [illegible] of B. Lu'ayy to the apostle with instructions to make peace with him on condition that he went back this year, so that none of the Arabs could say that he made a terrible entry. When the apostle saw him coming he said, 'The people want to make peace seeing that they have sent this man.' After a long discussion peace was made and nothing remained but to write an agreement. 'Umar jumped up and went to Abū Bakr saying, 'Is he not God's apostle, and are we not Muslims, and are they not polytheists?' to which Abū Bakr agreed, and he went on: 'Then why should we agree to what is demeaning to our religion?' He replied, 'Stick to what he says, for I certify that he is God's apostle.' 'Umar said, 'And so do I.' Then he went to the apostle and put the same questions to which the apostle answered, 'I am God's slave and His apostle. I will not go against His commandment [illegible] giving alms and fasting and praying and freeing slaves because of what did that day out of fear for what I had said, when I hoped that (my plan) would be better.'

Then the apostle summoned 'Alī and told him to write 'In the name of Allāh the Compassionate, the Merciful.' Suhayl said, 'I do not recognize this but write "In thy name, O Allāh."' The apostle told him to write the latter and he did so. Then he said, 'Write "This is what Muhammad, the apostle of God has agreed with Suhayl b. 'Amr." Suhayl said: 'If I recognized that you were God's apostle I would not have fought you. Write your own name and the name of your father.' The apostle said, 'Write "This is what Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh has agreed with Suhayl b. 'Amr. They have agreed to lay aside war for ten years during which time men be safe and refrain from hostilities on condition that if anyone comes to Muhammad without the permission of his guardian he will return him to them, and if anyone of those with Muhammad comes to Quraysh they will not return him to him. We will not show enmity one to another and there shall be no secret reservation or bad faith. He who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Muhammad may do so and he who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Quraysh may do so.'[1] Then Khuzā'a leapt up and said, 'We are in a bond and agreement with Muhammad.' and B. Bakr leapt up and said the same with regard to Quraysh, adding, 'You must return home in this year and not enter Mecca against our will, and next year we will make way for you and you can enter it with your companions, and stay here three nights. You may carry a rider's weapons, the swords in their sheaths. You can bring in nothing more.'

While the apostle and Suhayl were writing the document, suddenly Abū Jandal b. Suhayl [illegible] walking in fetters having escaped to the apostle. The apostle's companions had given up [illegible] of the vision which the apostle had seen, and when they saw the negotiations for peace and a withdrawal going on and what the apostle had taken on himself they felt depressed almost to the point of death. When Suhayl saw Abū Jandal he got up and hit him in the face and took [illegible] concluded before this man came to you.' He replied, 'You are right.' He [illegible] turn to Quraysh, while Abū Jandal shrieked at the top of his voice, 'Am I to be returned to the polytheists that they may entice me from my religion O Muslims?' and this increased the people's dejection. The apostle said, 'O Abū Jandal, be patient and control yourself, for God will provide relief and a means of escape for you and those of you who are helpless. We have made peace with them and we and they have invoked God in our agreement and we cannot deal falsely with them.' 'Umar jumped up and walked alongside Abū Jandal saying, 'Be patient for they are only polytheists, the blood of one of them is but the blood of a dog,' and he brought the hilt of his sword close up to him. 'Umar used to say, 'I hoped that he would take the sword and kill his father with it, but the man spared his father and so the matter ended.'

When the apostle had finished the document he summoned representatives of the Muslims and polytheists to witness to the peace, namely Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Auf, 'Abdullāh b. Suhayl b. 'Amr, and Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, Maḥmūd b. Maslama, Mikraz b. Ḥafs who was a polytheist at the time, and 'Alī who was the writer of the document.

The apostle was encamped in the profane country, and he used to pray in the sacred area. When the peace was concluded he slaughtered his victims and sat down and shaved his head. I have heard that it was Khirāsh b. Umayya b. al-Faḍl al-Khuzā'ī who shaved him then. When the men saw what the apostle had done they leapt up and did the same.

'Abdullāh b. Abū Najīḥ from Mujāhid from Ibn 'Abbās told me, 'Some men shaved their heads on the day of al-Ḥudaybiya while others cut their hair. The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on the shavers.' They said, 'The cutters, too, O apostle?' Three times they had to put this question until finally he added 'and the cutters.' When they asked him why he had repeatedly confined the invocation of God's mercy to the shavers he replied, 'Because they did not doubt.'

The same authorities told me that the apostle sacrificed in the year of al-Ḥudaybiya among his victims a camel belonging to Abū Jahl which had a silver nose-ring, thus enraging the polytheists.

Zuhrī continued: The apostle then went on his way back and when he was half-way back the *sūra al-Fatḥ* came down. 'We have given you a glorious victory. God may forgive you your past sin and the sin which is

[illegible] upright path." [illegible] until he came to mention the oath of allegiance and He said: 'Those who swear allegiance to you really swear allegiance to God, the hand of God being above their hands: so he who breaks his oath breaks it to his own hurt, while he who is faithful to what he has covenanted with God, to him will He give a great reward.'

[illegible] the Bedouin who held back from him. Then He [illegible] 'The Bedouin who were left behind will say to you: Our possessions and our [illegible] prevented us' [illegible] account of those who [illegible] the words [illegible] left behind [illegible] 'Now shall not follow us. Thus has God said beforehand.' There follows an account of them and how it was explained to them that they must fight [illegible]

(That means: Persia. One whom I do not suspect from al-Zuhrī told me that 'a people of great prowess' meant Hanīfa with the arch-liar [illegible]

Then He said: God was pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree and He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down the Sakīnat[1] upon them and rewarded them with a recent victory and much spoil which they will take. God is mighty, wise. God has promised you much spoil which you will capture and has given this in advance, and kept men's hands from you, that it may be a sign to the believers and that He may guide you on an upright path, and other (things) which you have not been able to get. God encompasses them, and God is almighty.

Then He mentioned how He had kept him away from battle after the victory over them, meaning those He had kept from him. Then He said: He it is who has kept their hands from you and your hands from them in the vale of Mecca, after He had given you victory over them. God is a seer of what you do. Then He said: 'They are those who disbelieved and debarred you from the sacred mosque and the offering from reaching its goal' (5:2). And had it not been for the believing men and women whom you did not know lest you should tread them under foot and thus incur guilt for them unwittingly [illegible] *Ma'arra* means a fine, i.e. lest you should suffer loss for them unwittingly and pay its bloodwit, as for real guilt he [illegible]

Then he said: 'When those who disbelieve had set in their hearts zealotry—the zealotry of paganism, i.e. Suhayl b. 'Amr when he scorned to write 'In the name of Allāh the Compassionate the Merciful' and that Muhammad is God's apostle. Then He said: God sent down His *sakīna*[1] upon His apostle [illegible]

[illegible] and worthy of it, i.e. the declaration of God's unity, the witness that there is no god but Allāh and that Muhammad is [illegible] the apostle.

'[illegible] shall enter the sacred mosque of God in safety with heads shaved and hair cut short, fearing not. For He knows what you do not know, i.e. the vision which the apostle saw that he would enter Mecca safely without fear. He says 'with your heads shaved and hair cut short' along with him without fear, for He knows what you do not know of that, and more than that He has wrought a near victory, the peace of al-Hudaybiya.

[illegible] greater than this. There was nothing but battle when men met, but when there was no assurance and war was abolished and men met in safety and consulted together none talked about Islam intelligently without entering it. In those two years double as many or more than double as many entered Islam as ever before (754).

THE CASE OF THOSE LEFT HELPLESS AFTER THE PEACE

When the [illegible] arrived in Medina Abū Basīr [illegible] Lu'ayy with a freed slave of theirs. When they came to the apostle with the letter he said: 'Woe to his mother, he would have kindled a war had there been others with him.' [illegible] ill becomes us that treachery should cover our religion. God will bring [illegible] people.' He said, 'Would you return me to the polytheists who will seduce me from my religion?' He said, 'Go, for God will bring relief and a way of escape for you.' [illegible] as far as Dhū'l-Hulayfa' where he said the two men sat down near a wall. Abū Basīr said, 'Is your sword sharp, O brother of B. 'Āmir?' When he said that it was he said that he would like to look at it. 'Look at it if you wish.' [illegible] and when the apostle saw him coming he said, 'This man has seen something frightful.' When he came up the apostle said, 'What's the matter with you?' He said: 'Your man has killed my man,' and almost at once Abū Basīr came up girt with the sword, and standing by the apostle he said, 'Your obligation is over and God has removed it from you. You duly handed me over to the men and I have prevented my religion being tried lest I should be seduced therein or scoffed at.' The apostle said, 'Woe to his mother, he would have kindled a war had there been others with him.'[2]

[illegible]

(2) The document. Waqidī says that others had come out [illegible] him

Then Abū Baṣīr went off until he halted at al-ʿīs in the region of Dhū'l-Marwa by the sea-shore on the road which Quraysh were accustomed to take to Syria. The Muslims who were confined in Mecca heard what the apostle had said of Abū Baṣīr so they went out to join him in al-ʿīs. About seventy men attached themselves to him, and they so harried Quraysh, killing everyone they could get hold of and cutting to pieces every caravan that passed them, that Quraysh wrote to the apostle begging him by the
753 ties of kinship to take these men in, for they had no use for them; so the apostle took them in and they came to him in Medina (755).

When Suhayl heard that Abū Baṣīr had killed his ʿĀmirī guard he leant his back against the Kaʿba and swore that he would not remove it until this man's bloodwit was paid. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb said, 'By God, this is sheer folly. It will not be paid.' Three times he said it.

Maʿqil b. Riyāb Abū Uḥayḥa, an ally of B. Zuhra, said (756):

> A brief word from Suhayl reached me
> And woke me from my sleep.
> If you wish to reproach me
> Then reproach me, for you are not far from me.
> Would you threaten me when ʿAbdu Manāf is round me
> With Makhzūm? Alas, whom are you attacking
> If you put me to the test you will not find me
> A weak support in grave misfortunes.
> I am rival in birth the best of my people
> When the weak are illtreated I protect them.
> They defend the heights of Mecca without doubt
> As far as the valleys and the wadi sides
> With every blood mare and fiery horse
> Grown thin from long fighting.
> Ma'add know they have in al-Khayf[1]
> A pavilion of glory exalted high.

Abdullāh b. al-Ziba'rā answered him:

> Maʿqil has become like a poor donkey
> Braying in a village as he passes through it.
> A man like you cannot attack Suhayl.
> Vain is your effort. Whom are you attacking?
> Shut up, you son of a blacksmith.
> And stop talking nonsense in the land.
> Don't mention the blame of Abū Yazīd.
> There is a great difference between oceans and puddles.

[1] A place in Mina

THE WOMEN WHO EMIGRATED AFTER THE ARMISTICE 754

Umm Kulthūm d. ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ migrated to the apostle during this period. Her two brothers ʿUmāra and al-Walīd sons of ʿUqba came and asked the apostle to return her to them in accordance with the agreement between him and Quraysh at Ḥudaybiya, but he would not. God forbade it.

Al-Zuhrī from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr told me: I came in to him as he was writing a letter to Ibn Abū Ḥunayda, the friend of al-Walīd b. Abdu'l-Malik who had written to ask him about the word of God: 'O you who believe, when believing women come to you as emigrants test them. God knows best about their faith. If you know that they are believers do not send them back to the unbelievers. They are not lawful to them nor vice versa. And give them (the unbelievers) what they have spent on them. It is no sin for you to marry them when you have given them their dues, and hold not to the ties of unbelieving women' (757). 'Ask for what you have spent and let them ask for what they have spent. That is the judgement of Allāh who judges between you. God is a knower, wise.'

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr wrote to him: The apostle made peace with Quraysh on the day of al-Ḥudaybiya on condition that he should return to them those who came without the permission of their guardians. But when women migrated to the apostle and to Islam God refused to allow them to be returned to the polytheists if they had been tested by the test of Islam, and they knew that they came only out of desire for Islam, and He ordered that their dowries should be returned to Quraysh if their women were withheld from them; they returned to the Muslims the dowries of the women they had withheld from them. That is the judgement of God which He judges between you, and Allāh is knowing, wise. So the apostle with-
755 held the women and returned the men, and he asked what God ordered him to ask of the dowries of the women who were withheld from them, and that they should return what was due if the other side did the same. Had it not been for this judgement of God's the apostle would have returned the women as he returned the men. And had it not been for the armistice and covenant between them on the day of al-Ḥudaybiya he would have kept the women and not returned the dowries, for that is what he used to do with the Muslim women who came to him before the covenant.

I asked al-Zuhrī about this passage: 'And if any of your wives have gone to the unbelievers and you have your turn of triumph, then give those whose wives have gone the like of what they spent, and fear Allāh in whom you believe.' He said, 'If one of you loses his family to the unbelievers and a woman does not come to you you may take for her the like of what they

[755] Ibn Ishāq.
He was the principal informer on apostolic traditions. His father was a mawlā of the prophet or member Asad, was a daughter of Abū Bakr, and his brother was a muʾaddin of the Abyssinians. ʿĀʾisha was close to him, and much ʿAbbās who was his uncle. He was born in

take from you, then compensate them from any booty that you secure. When this verse came down 'O you who believe when believing women come to you as emigrants examine them' to the end of the verse, and 'hold not to the ties of unbelieving women' it referred to 'Umar's divorcing his wife Qurayba d. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra. Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān married her after him while they were both polytheists in Mecca, and Umm Kulthūm the Khuzā'ite woman d. Jarwal mother of 'Ubaydullah b. 'Umar whom Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfa b. Ghānim a man of her people married while they both were polytheists (758).

THE EXPEDITION TO KHAYBAR, A.H. 7

After his return from al-Ḥudaybiya the apostle stayed in Medina during Dhu'l-Ḥijja and part of al-Muḥarram, the polytheists superintending the 756 pilgrimage. Then he marched against Khaybar (759).

Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī from Abū'l-Haytham b. Naṣr b. Dahr al-Aslamī from his father who said that he heard the apostle as he journeyed say to 'Āmir b. al-Akwa' who was the uncle of Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' who was named Sinān, 'Dismount, Ibn al-Akwa', and chant us one of your camel-songs', so he got down and recited this rough rhyme:

But for Allah we should not have been guided
Nor given alms nor prayed.
If people treat us unjustly
And if they wish to seduce us we resist
Send down Sakīna[1] upon us
And make our feet firm when we meet our enemies.

The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on him,' and 'Umar said, 'You have made his death inevitable, O apostle of God. Would that you had let us enjoy him longer!' He was killed at Khaybar as a martyr. I have heard that his sword turned upon him as he was fighting and gave him such a grievous wound that he died of it. The Muslims were in doubt as to whether he died a martyr, saying that he had died by his own weapon. But his nephew Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' asked the apostle about it, telling him what men were saying, and he said, 'Certainly he is a martyr,' and he and the Muslims prayed over him.

One whom I do not suspect told me from 'Aṭā' b. Abū Marwān al-Aslamī from his father from Abū Mu'attib b. 'Amr that when the apostle looked down on Khaybar he told his companions, among whom I was one, to stop. Then he said:

'O God, Lord of the heavens and what they o'ershadow
757 And Lord of the lands and what they make to grow
And Lord of the devils and what into error they throw
And Lord of the winds and what they winnow,

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[1] v.s.

We ask Thee for the good of this town and the good of its people and the good of what is in it, and we take refuge in Thee from its evil and the evil of its people and the evil that is in it. Forward in the name of Allah.' He used to say that of every town he entered.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Anas b. Mālik: When the apostle raided a people he waited until the morning. If he heard a call to prayer he held back; if he did not hear it he attacked. We came to Khaybar by night, and the apostle passed the night there; and when morning came he did not hear the call to prayer, so he rode and we rode with him, and I rode behind Abū Ṭalḥa with my foot touching the apostle's foot. We met the workers of Khaybar coming out in the morning with their spades and baskets.[1] When they saw the apostle and the army they cried, 'Muhammad with his force,' and turned tail and fled. The apostle said, 'Allah akbar! Khaybar is destroyed. When we arrive in a people's square it is a bad morning for those who have been warned.' Hārūn told us from Ḥumayd from Anas similarly.

When the apostle marched from Medina to Khaybar he went by way of 'Iṣr,[2] and a mosque was built for him there; then by way of al-Ṣahbā'.[3] Then he went forward with the army until he halted in a wadi called al-Rajī', halting between the men of Khaybar and Ghaṭafān so as to prevent the latter reinforcing Khaybar, for they were on their side against the apostle.

I have heard that when Ghaṭafān heard about the apostle's attack on Khaybar they gathered together and marched out to help the Jews against him; but after a day's journey, hearing a rumour about their property and families, they thought that they had been attacked during their absence, so they went back on their tracks and left the way to Khaybar open to the apostle. 758

The apostle seized the property piece by piece and conquered the forts one by one as he came to them. The first to fall was the fort of Nā'im; there Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed by a millstone which was thrown on him from it; then al-Qamūṣ the fort of B. Abū'l-Ḥuqayq. The apostle took captives from them among whom was Ṣafīya d. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab who had been the wife of Kināna b. al-Rabī' b. Abū'l-Ḥuqayq, and two cousins of hers. The apostle chose Ṣafīya for himself.

Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī had asked the apostle for Ṣafīya, and when he chose her for himself he gave him her two cousins. The women of Khaybar were distributed among the Muslims. The Muslims ate the meat of the domestic donkeys and the apostle got up and forbade the people to do a number of things which he enumerated.

'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Ḍamra al-Fazārī told me from 'Abdullah b. Abū Salīṭ from his father: The apostle's prohibition of the flesh of domestic donkeys reached us as the pots were boiling with it, so we turned them upside down.

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[1] This is the usual meaning of [illegible], but probably here a more general term [illegible] is intended [illegible]
[2] A mountain between Medina and Wādī'l-Fur'.
[3] [illegible] a stage from Khaybar.

[illegible] b. Abu Najih told me through Mujahid that the apostle predicted [illegible] and selling booty before it had been duly allotted.

[illegible]

700 [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] and the Muslims [illegible] Behold the apostle [illegible] Allah [illegible] is it lawful for him to take her until he has made sure that she is in a state of cleanness, nor is it lawful for him to sell booty until it has been apportioned [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] the property of the people which he has taken it out; nor is it lawful for him to wear a garment belonging to the booty of the Muslims until the apportionment of booty is the good which he has reduced it to rags."[1]

[illegible] Abdullah b. Ubayyad told me that he was told from [illegible] b. al-Nu'man [illegible] Khaybar [illegible] gold and good [illegible] Then the apostle begins to take the forts and the property one by one.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that one of Aslam told him that B. Salma of Aslam came to the apostle and complained that there had taught good nothing and [illegible] with the apostle which he [illegible] gave them. He said [illegible] good thing there better than enough, [illegible] the answer **I have with the Muslims that.** The following day God [illegible] Khaybar.

700 When the apostle had conquered some of these forts and got possession of some of their property he came to the fort of Nizar and its [illegible] the apostle besieged it [illegible] the apostle [illegible]

Abdullah b. Sahl b. Abdu'l Rahman b. Sahl, brother of B. Harithah, told me from [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] carrying his weapons and saying

Khaybar knows that I am Marhab,
An experienced and tried warrior girded from head to foot,

[illegible]

Now advancing, now shouldering,
As when lions advance in their rage
The hardened warrior gives way before my onslaught
My sword cannot be approached.

With these words he challenged all to single combat and Ka'b b. [illegible] answered him thus

Khaybar knows that I am Ka'b,
The swordsman of distinction, bold and dour.
When war is stirred up another fellow
I carry a sharp sword that gleams like lightning—
We will tread you down till the strong are humbled
We will make you pay till the spoil is divided—
In the hand of a warrior *some* apostle (?Ka').[2]

The apostle said, "Who will deal with this fellow?" Muhammad b. Maslama said that he would, that he was himself to take vengeance on the man who had killed his brother the day before. The apostle had hope to go and proceed. Such is truth here. When they approached the city the other [illegible] and there begins to talk behind [illegible] Ka'b [illegible] the other. When one has [illegible] the other stationed [illegible] and there came down to them. The [illegible] of the forts has the [illegible] Then Marhab [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] b. Muhammad [illegible] the [illegible] the apostle [illegible] Then Muhammad [illegible] Marhab [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Marhab's sword [illegible] the brother. Then [illegible] challenge

Khaybar knows that I am Yasir, T
[illegible] a daughter warrior
As when lions advance at a rush
The enemy give way before my onslaught.

Hashim b. [illegible] told me that al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam came out to fight Yasir. He [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] the apostle?' He replied, 'Nay, your son will kill him, if God will.' So al-Zubayr came out saying T

Khaybar know that I am Zubair,
[illegible] of a people the [illegible]
The son of those who defend their glory, the son of princes.

[illegible]

[1] [illegible] cited by Lane, [illegible] to be the *Mishkat* [illegible] great [illegible]-[illegible].
T [illegible] (1976) is chosen here.

O Year! Not all the unbelievers deceive you.
[illegible] are like a slowly moving menagerie).

When the two met az-Zubayr killed Yasir.

Nishan b. 'Uqwa told me that it was said to az-Zubayr, 'By God, you must have had a sharp sword that day,' to which he replied that it was not sharp but he used it with great force.

[illegible] from Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa'.[1] The apostle sent Abu Bakr with his [illegible] fort and asked who he was, and when he told him he said, 'You have won, [illegible] until God had conquered for his hands.

[illegible] and when he got near the fort the garrison [illegible] brought out.

[illegible]

When the apostle had conquered al-Qamus the fort of B. Abi'l-Huqayq [illegible] was brought to him along with [illegible]

[1] Apparently the [illegible]

[illegible] gate [illegible] the apostle [illegible] Yasir [illegible] was brought to the apostle the men was still there, and when he asked the cause of it she told him this story.

[illegible]

[illegible] and some of the treasure was found. When he asked him about [illegible] in revenge for his brother Mahmud.

[illegible]

[illegible]

and came to him saying, 'I took two small chaogs.' He said, 'Two chaogs

[illegible] One I do not suspect told me from 'Abdullah b. Mughaffal al-Muzani I took a bag of lard from the booty of Khaybar and carried it off on my [illegible]

[illegible] and we ate it.

When the [illegible] marched before to Khaybar or on the way, the having

[illegible]

been beautified as I [illegible] was put in a dream for the apostle by I [illegible] Sulayma al-Nilah [illegible] of Sana b. Nilah [illegible] the apostle passed the night [illegible] Najjar passed the night girt with his sword, guarding the apostle and going round [illegible] in the morning the apostle saw him there and asked him what he meant by his action. He replied, 'I was afraid for you with this woman for you have killed her father, her husband, and her people, and till recently she was an unbeliever, so I was afraid for you on her account.' They allege that the apostle said, O God, preserve Abu Ayyub to me upon this night preserving me.

Az-Zuhri told me from Sa'id b. al-Musayyab. When the apostle left Khaybar and was on the way he did towards the end of the night. 'Who will watch over us till the dawn so that we may sleep?' Bilal undertook to do so, so all lay down and slept. Bilal put up and prayed as long as God willed that he should. Then he propped himself against his mount and here was the dawn as he was looking at it, and his eyes were heavy and he slept. The first thing to make the sunrise was the heat of the sun. The apostle was the first to wake up and he asked Bilal what he had done to them. He said that the same thing had happened to him as had happened to the apostle, and he admitted that he was right. Then the apostle set himself to take a short distance; then he made his camel kneel, and he and the men performed their ablutions. Then he ordered Bilal to call to prayer, and the apostle led them in prayer. Having finished he went to them and said, 'If you forget your prayers, pray them when you remember them, for God has said, "Perform prayer for My remembrance."'

I have heard that the apostle gave Ibn Luqaym al-Abat the lands and dwelling grounds which were in Khaybar. The conquest took place in Safar. Ibn Luqaym said,

> Nizal was stationed by the spring in a squadron
> Fully armed, powerful, and strong
> It was certain of humiliation when it was split up
> With the men of Aslam and Ghifar in its midst.
> They attacked B. 'Amr b. Zur'a in the morning
> And Shaqq's people met a day of gloom.
> They [illegible] their cloaks in their places
> And left only bent stubble among the trees.[1]
> Every fort had a man of 'Abdu'l-Ashhal or B. al-Najjar
> Busy with their horses,
> And Emigrants who had displayed their badges
> Above their helms, never thinking of flight
> I knew that Muhammad would conquer
> And would stay there many Sabats.

[1] Cf. Ibn Hi. 46, 1.6, explained as by Banu al-'Ayn

The Jews in the fighting that day

[illegible]

[illegible] Muslims [illegible] with the apostle at Khaybar and the apostle [illegible] a man [illegible] of the booty. He [illegible] gave them a [illegible] share.

[illegible] told me that [illegible] a woman of B. Ghifār whom he named to me. She said, 'I came to the [illegible] and said to the apostle, as he was going to Khaybar, that we wished to go with him to share in the booty. He said to us, "Go back to my tent." We went on with the Muslims to the tent [illegible] We had not been [illegible] long [illegible] when the apostle [illegible] the morning prayer and I got off the back of my camel. [illegible] blood was on it. It was the first time that this had happened to me. I [illegible] the apostle [illegible] and the blood [illegible] and said that it [illegible] water and put some salt in it, and then to wash the back of the saddle and go back to my tent.

[illegible] the [illegible] accompanied Khaybar he gave me a small part of the booty. [illegible] she was her wash water she then [illegible] he put in the water with which she was washed when she was dead.

[illegible] Muhammad b. Maslama b. Khālid b. 'Adiy b. Majda'a b. Ḥāritha b. [illegible] Qāra, and from the Ansār of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, Anas b. Qatāda.

[1] The glassy eyes of the dead are [illegible]. The reading *ward* 'rose-coloured' is 'bad' [illegible] much inferior.

THE AFFAIR OF AL-ASWAD THE SHEPHERD

According to what I have heard of Aswad [illegible] the shepherd with his flock of sheep in the vicinity of Khaybar. He [illegible] a Jew there. He asked the apostle to explain Islam to him, and when he did so the apostle [illegible] was the hired servant of the owner of the sheep which were entrusted to his care, and what was he to do with them? He told him to hit them in the face [illegible] he advanced to the fort with the Muslims and was struck by a stone [illegible] The apostle, who was accompanied by a number of his companions, turned towards him and then turned away. When they asked him why he said, 'He has with him now his two wives from the dark-eyed houris.'

Abdullāh b. Abū Najīḥ told me that he was told that, when a martyr is slain, his two wives from the dark-eyed houris per him, wiping the dust from his face, saying the while, 'May God put dust on the face of the man who put dust on your face, and slay him who slew you!'

THE AFFAIR OF AL-ḤAJJĀJ B. 'ILĀṬ AL-SULAMĪ[1]

When Khaybar had been conquered [illegible] and money scattered among the Muslim merchants, we got the permission to go and get [illegible] let us, O apostle.' He said, 'Tell them.' Al-Ḥajjāj said, 'When I came to [illegible] gone to Khaybar. They knew that it was the principal town of the Ḥijāz [illegible] and interrogating passing riders. They did not know that I was a Muslim and when they saw me they said, "It is al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ [illegible] woman has gone to Khaybar which is the town of the Jews and the garden of the Ḥijāz." I said, "I have heard that and I have some news that will please you." They came up eagerly on either side of my camel, saying, [illegible] heard the like, and Muḥammad has been captured." The men of Khaybar

said, "We will not kill him until we send him to the Meccans and let them kill him among themselves in revenge for their men whom he has killed." They got up and shouted in Mecca, "Here's news for you. You have only to wait for this fellow Muhammad to be sent to you to be killed in your market." I said, "Help me to collect my money in Mecca and to get in the [illegible] from Muhammad and his companions" before the merchants get there (767). They got up and collected my money for me quicker than I could have supposed possible. I went to my wife and asked her for the [illegible] which she had by her, telling her that I should probably go to Khaybar and seize the opportunity to buy before the merchants got there [illegible] When 'Abbas heard the news and heard about me he came and stood at my side as I was in one of the merchants' tents, asking about the news which I had brought. I asked him if he could keep a secret if I entrusted it to him. He said he could, and I said, "Then wait until I can meet you
T 1980 privately, for I am collecting my money as you see, so leave me (T: and he left me) until I have finished." And so, when I had collected everything I had in Mecca and decided to leave, I met 'Abbas and said, "Keep my story secret for three nights, then say what you will for I am afraid [illegible] being pursued." When he [illegible] he [illegible] the daughter of their king, meaning [illegible] has been conquered and all that is in it removed and become the property of Muhammad and his companions. He said, "What are you saying, Hajjaj?" I said, "Yes, by Allah, but keep my secret. I have become a Muslim and have come only to get my money fearing that I may be deprived [illegible] When three nights have passed publish the news as you will." When the [illegible] his stick, and went to the Ka'ba and went round it. When the people
T 1981 saw him they said, "O Abu'l-Fadl, this is indeed steadfastness in a great misfortune!" He answered, "By no means, by Allah by whom you swear, Muhammad has conquered Khaybar and was left married to the daughter of their king. He has seized all that they possess and it is now his property and the property of his companions." They asked, "Who brought you this news?" He said, "The man who brought you your news. He came in to you as a Muslim and has taken his money and gone off to join Muhammad and his companions and to be with him." They said, "O men of [illegible] the enemy of Allah has escaped. Had we known we would have dealt with him." Almost at once the true news reached them.

Among the verses about the day of Khaybar are the following from Hassan b. Thabit:

> How badly the Kheybar's fought
> To preserve their crops and dates!

The word Jill, for which I.H. quotes the variant *Jay* "spoil", may possibly mean the same thing, since it means a delayed loan. Perhaps he could wonder to get some advantage from the defeat of Muhammad and his companions.

> They disliked the thought of death and so their preserve became a spoil
> And they behaved like miserable cowards.
> Would they flee from death?
> The death of the starved is not speedy

Hassan also said, excusing Ayman b. Umm Ayman b. 'Ubayd who had stayed behind from Khaybar (he was of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj. His mother Umm Ayman was a freed slave of the apostle, the mother of Usama b. Zayd who was thus brother to Ayman by his mother):

> At the time when Ayman's mother said to him
> You are a coward and were not with the horsemen of Khaybar
> Ayman was no coward, but his horse
> Was sick from drinking fermented barley-water.
> Had it not been for the state of his horse
> He would have fought with them as a horseman with his right hand.
> What stopped him was the behaviour of his horse
> And what had happened to it seemed to him more serious (768).

Nijiya b. Juchdub al-Aslami said:

> O servants of Allah, why do you pray 771
> When is nothing but food and drink
> When Paradise has amazing joy?

He also said:

> I am the Juchdub to one who does not know me
> How many an adversary when I charged turned to fly
> He perished in the fencing-place of valiants and pedants (769).

THE ACCOUNT OF THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL OF KHAYBAR

When the spoil of Khaybar was divided al-Shaqq and Natt fell to the Muslims while al-Katiba was divided into five sections: God's fifth; the prophet's share (T: fifth); the share of kindred, orphans, the poor (T: and wayfarers); maintenance of the prophet's wives, and maintenance of the men who acted as intermediaries in the peace negotiations with the men of Fadak. T: Muhayyisa, who was one of these men, the apostle gave thirty loads of barley and thirty loads of dates. Khaybar was apportioned among the men of al-Hudaybiya without regard to whether they were present at Khaybar or not. Only Jabir b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram was absent and the [illegible] gave him the same share as the others. Its two wadis, al-Burayr and Ahdab, formed the territory into which Khaybar was divided. Natt and al-Shaqq formed 18 shares of which Natt formed 5 and al-Shaqq 13. These two places were divided into 1,800 shares.

The number of the companions among whom Khaybar was divided was [illegible] fifty-two shares for horse and foot: 1,400 men and two horses; every horse got two shares and his rider one; every footman got one share. There was a chief over every allotment for every ten men, i.e. 18 heads of shares (777).

The chiefs were: Ali, al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam, Talha b. 'Ubaydallah, 'Umar, 'Abdu'l-Rahman, 'Asim b. 'Adiy, Useyd b. Hudayr. Then the shares of al-Hirth b. al-Khazraj, then the shares of Nibit, then the shares of B. Bayada, B. 'Ubayd, B. Harisa of B. Salama, and 'Ubayd of the shares' (777), Nibit, Ghanim and Anisa, al-Naqir, Hibrisha, and Aus.

The first lot in Nata fell to al-Zubayr, namely al-Kuss, and al-Sarrar followed it, the second to B. Bayada, the third to Useyd, the fourth to B. al-Harith, the fifth to Nibit, to B. Aus to al-Khazraj and Muzayna and these partners. In a Muhajirah b. Mughira was killed. So much for Nata.

Then they went down to al-Shaqq, the first lot fell to 'Umar b. 'Adiy brother of B. al-Ajlan and with it the apostle's share, then the shares of 'Abdu'l-Rahman, Nibit, al-Naqir, Ali, Talha, Ghanim and Anisa, 'Umar Salama b. [illegible] and B. Harisa, Hibrisha [illegible] of the shares. With the share of Aus which was the share of al-[illegible] to which Juhayna and the rest of the Arabs who were at Khaybar was joined, opposite it was the apostle's share which he got with 'Amr's share.

And the apostle distributed al-Katiba which is Wadi Khaybar between his kinsfolk and women and to other men and women. He gave his daughter Fatima one lot, Ali one, 'Uthman b. Zayd one and so lots of them, 'Ali's son, Abu Bakr's son, Aqil b. Abi Talib's son, [illegible] son, Rabi'a b. al-Harith son, al-Nab b. Muhammad and his two sons, one of them he gave himself. Abu Nubayh son, Rukana b. 'Abdu Yazid son, Qays b. Makhrama son, his brother Abu'l-Qasim son, the daughters of Umayma b. al-Harith and the daughter of al-Harith b. [illegible] B. Nawfal b. Abdu Yazid. The sons of Makhrama son, Marwan b. Umayya son. The sons of [illegible] Rukana son, Nu'aym b. Hind son, Rabi'a d. al-Harith son, [illegible] b. 'Abdu Yazid son, 'Umar Hakim d. al-Zubayr b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib son, Jurdana d. Abu Talib son; I. al-Arqam son, 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abu Bakr son, Hawwa d. Jubair son; Umamu'l-Zubayr son, Dubai'a d. al-Zubayr son, I. Abu Khuzayma son, [illegible] Talib son, Abu Rafi son, Nuwayba al-Aslami son, 'Abdallah b. Mu'ta and his two daughters, one of whom son were

[illegible] Umm Habib b. [illegible] son, Mu'ti' b. 'Abdu son, and so he sent them [illegible] (777).

In the Name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful. A memorandum of what Muhammad the [illegible] of Allah gave [illegible] to the people of Khaybar. He distributed to them, he lands. He gave his daughter Fatima to 'Ali b. Zayd son al-Muqdad b. al-Aswad [illegible] Umm Rumayla [illegible] 'Uthman b. 'Affan was witness and Abbas wrote the document.

Bakr b. Kurayb told me from Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Abdallah b. 'Abdallah b. 'Utba b. Mas'ud. The only disputants that the apostle made at his death were these. He bequeathed to the Raidaris land which produced a hundred loads at Khaybar to the Liberta, the Nabi'a, and the Ash'aris the same. He also gave instructions that the dwellers of Zayd b. Harisa should be expelled through' and that non-religionists should not be allowed to remain in the peninsula of the Arabs.

[illegible]

When the apostle had finished with Khaybar God struck terror to the hearts of the men of Fadak when they heard what the apostle had done to the men of Khaybar, they sent to him an offer of peace on condition that they should keep half of their produce. These [illegible] came to him at Khaybar or on the road' or after he came to Madina, and he accepted their offering. Thus Fadak became his private property, because it had not been attached by horse or camel.

THE NAMES OF THE DEFIÉN

These were B. al-Dir b. Hijr' b. Habib b. Nusaira b. Lahiam who had come to the apostle from Syria, namely Tamim b. Aus and Nu'aym his brother, Yazid b. Qays, and Arabi b. Mara whom the apostle named 'Abdu'l-Rahman (?), and his brother Murra b. Mirra, and Fakih b. Nu'aym, Jabala b. Mirra, and Abu Hind b. Bari, his brother al-Tayyib whom the apostle named 'Abdallah.

According to what 'Abdallah b. Abu Bakr told me the apostle used to send to Khaybar 'Abdallah b. Rawaha to act as assessor between the Muslims and the Jews. When he made his assessment they would say, 'You have wronged us,' and he would say, 'If you wish it as yours and if you like it as mine' so the Jews would say, 'On this foundation Heaven and earth stand.' But 'Abdallah acted as assessor for one year only before he was

[illegible] with MSS. and T.

[illegible] of B. Salima took over the work. All went well and the Muslims found no [illegible] and the Muslims [illegible] there on that account.

Al-Zuhri and Basheer b. Yasir told me from Sahl b. Abu Hathma: [illegible] we should deliver him up to you?' They said that they could not swear to [illegible] By God, Sahl did not know more than he, but he was the elder. He [illegible]

[illegible] told me the same story as 'Abdu'l-Rahman except that he said [illegible] He said the man the apostle made [illegible]

[illegible] would let them have the property on condition that they worked it and the [illegible] b. Rawaha and he would divide the produce and make a fair arrangement. [illegible] he got confirmation. Then he sent to the Jews saying, 'God has given permission for you to emigrate,' quoting the apostle's words. 'If anyone has an agreement with the apostle [illegible] sent; he who has no such agreement let him get ready to emigrate. Then [illegible]

Nafi client of Abdullah b. 'Umar told me that Abdullah b. 'Umar [illegible] that I had to say that I did not know. They went my ways and then took me to 'Umar who said, 'This is the work of the Jews.' Then he got up and addressed [illegible] attacked Abdullah b. 'Umar and distorted his words, as they had heard, in addition to their attack on the Anṣār previously. There was no doubt [illegible] of B. Salima who was the assessor and accountant of the Medinans and [illegible] according to the original agreement of the Jews.

'I was present when [illegible] said to 'Abdu'l-

Rahmān, 'Amr b. Abū Salama, 'Āmir b. Abū Rabī'a, 'Amr b. Suraqa, Uchaym (775), Mu'ayqib and 'Abdullah b. al-A'qam two shares each to 'Abdullah and 'Ubaydullah one share each to the son of 'Abdullah b. Jahsh, Ibnu'l-Bukayr Mu'annir, Zayd b. Thābit, 'Ubayy b. Ka'b, Mu'ādh b. 'Afrā' Abū Talḥa and Ḥassān, Jabbār b. Ṣakhr Jābir b. 'Abdullah b. Ri'āb, Mālik b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, Jābir b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr the son of Ḥuḍa the son of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh, Salama b. Salāma 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. T[illegible] 781 Abū Sharīk, Abū 'Abs b. Jabr, Muḥammad b. Maslama and 'Ubāda b. Ṭāriq (776) (all a share each to Jabr b. 'Atīk and the two sons of al-Ḥārith b. Qays one share to Ibn Ḥazama. Such is our information about the allocation of Khaybar and Wādī-l-Qurā (777)

THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD MIGRATED TO ABYSSINIA (778)

These are the names of the prophet's companions who stayed in Abyssinia until he sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus to fetch them both in two boats and who ultimately returned him in Khaybar after al-Hudaybiya:

From B. Hāshim [illegible] far b. Abū Ṭālib with his wife Asmā' d. 'Umays' and his son 'Abdullah who was born to him in Abyssinia. Ja'far was killed at Mu'ta in Syria when acting as the apostle's amir. [illegible] men.

From B. 'Abdu Shams. Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya with his wife Umayna d. Khalaf b. As'ad (779) his two children Sa'īd and Amīna born in Abyssinia. Khālid was killed at 'Marj al-Suffar' in the caliphate of Abū Bakr; his brother 'Amr whose wife Fāṭima d. Sa'īd b. 'Umayya 781 b. Muḥarriḍ al-Ḥamāsī died in Abyssinia (Amr was killed at Ajnādayn in Syria during the caliphate of Abū Bakr).

With reference to 'Amr b. Sa'īd his father Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya Abū Uḥayḥa said

> O 'Amr I wish that I knew about you whether
> When you carry arms when your arms have grown strong
> Will you leave your people's affairs in such disorder
> As will disclose the rage they retain in their breasts?

With reference to 'Amr and Khālid their brother Abān said when the former had become Muslims, and their father Sa'īd had died in al-Ṭā'if in the region of Ṭā'if

> Would that a dead man in Zurayba could see
> What 'Amr and Khālid are falsely introducing into religion!

[illegible]

> They obeyed the commands of women concerning me
> And assured the very enemies we were fighting.

Khālid answered him and said:

> I do not insult my brother's honour since he is my brother
> Though he does not refrain from evil words.
> When affairs went ill with him he said,
> 'Would that a man dead in Zurayba would rise from the grave!'
> Leave the dead in peace, for he has gone his way,
> And deal with the man at hand who has more need of you.

And Mu'ayqib b. Abū Fāṭima who became 'Umar's guardian of the public purse he belonged to the family of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī 'Abdullah b. Qays, an ally of the family of 'Utba b. Rabī'a b. 'Abdu Shams. 4.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā. Al-Aswad b. Nawfal. 1

From B. 'Abdu'l-Dār Jahm b. Qays with his two sons 'Amr and Khuzayma. His wife Umm Ḥarmala d. 'Abdu'l-Aswad (she died in Abyssinia) with her two children. 2.

From B. Zuhra b. Kilāb. 'Āmir b. Abū Waqqāṣ and 'Utba b. Mas'ūd an ally of theirs from Hudhayl. 2.

From B. Taym b. Murra Al-Ḥārith b. Khālid whose wife Rayṭa d. al- 782 Ḥārith b. Jubayla died in Abyssinia 1.

From B. Jumaḥ b. 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Rabī'a b. Ubayy. 1.

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr Ma'mar b. al-Ḥārith an ally of theirs from B. Zuhayd. The apostle put him in charge of the fifths of the Muslims. 1.

From B. 'Adī b. Ka'b Ma'mar b. 'Abdullah. 1

From B. 'Āmir Abū Ḥārith b. 'Amr Mālik b. Rabī'a with his wife 'Amra d. al-Sa'dī b. Waqdān. 2.

From B. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdu Qays. 1

The widows of those who had died in Abyssinia were also brought in the two boats.

The total number of the men whom the Negus sent in the two boats with 'Amr b. Umayya was 16.

Of those who migrated to Abyssinia and did not return until after Badr and the Negus did not send in the two boats to the apostle and those who came afterwards and those who died in Abyssinia were

From B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams. 'Ubaydullah b. Jaḥsh, an ally from Asad of Khuzayma with his wife Umm Ḥabība d. Abū Sufyān and his daughter Ḥabība from whom Abū Sufyān's daughter got her kunya, her own name being Ramla. 'Ubaydullah had migrated with the Muslims, but when he got to Abyssinia he turned Christian and died there as such having abandoned Islām. The apostle afterwards married his wife

Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa told me about 'Ubay- 783 dullah's turning Christian and said When he passed by the apostle's companions he used to say, 'Our eyes are opened but yours wink, i.e.

the metaphor being taken from a puppy who tries to open its eyes and

And Qays b. 'Abdullah of B. Asad b. Khuzayma who was father of

them with them when he migrated to Abyssinia. 2 men

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā: Yazīd b. Zam'a who was killed a

died in Abyssinia. 2 men

From B. Zuhra b. Kilāb: Al-Muttalib b. Azhar with his wife Ruqayya d

father's property. 1

Qays b. Thābit who was killed in Qudayd

with Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. 1.

he was killed there or not); and Hishām b. Abī Hudhayfa. 3

'Umar. 5

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: 'Abdullah b. al-Ḥārith who died in Abyssinia

B. Taym called Sa'd b. 'Amr who was killed at Ajnādayn in the cali-

Ri'āb who was killed at 'Ayn al-Tamr with Khālid b. al-Walīd when he

came from al-Yamāma in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. 13 men

[1] In Bata. Cf. Wq. Sp.

From B. [illegible] and 'Adiy b. Nadla who also died there. 2.

Adiy had a son called al-Ḥa'ik who converted with the Muslims. In

He composed some verses

Hind al-Hawf[1] heard that her husband in Mayyāfāriqīn
Is drinking from glasses and jars?
If I wished, the chief men of the city would sing to me
And dancing-girls pirouette on tiptoe.
If you're my friend, give me a drink in the largest cup
[illegible]
Perhaps the commander of the faithful will take it amiss
That we're drinking together in a tumbledown tavern

When 'Umar heard of these verses he said: 'He's right, by God [illegible]
After his deposition he came to 'Umar and pleaded that he had [illegible]
acted in the way that his verses implied, but that he was a poor [illegible]
[illegible]
Hindām b. 'Alī al-Hawf in al-Yamāma. 1
[illegible]
Abū Qays and [illegible]

The names of those who died in Abyssinia and their children were

From B. 'Abdu Shams: 'Ubaydullāh b. Jaḥsh who died a Christian

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā: 'Amr b. Umayya b. al-Ḥārith

[illegible]

B. [illegible]

[illegible]

From B. Umayya: Umm Ḥabība d. Abū Sufyān with her daughter

[illegible]

[1] Or 'the beauty'

From B. Taym b. Murra: Barra d. al-Ḥārith b. Tulayla who died on the journey and her two daughters: Ā'isha and Zaynab by al-Ḥārith born in Abyssinia. They all, together with their brother Musā b. al-Ḥārith, died on the journey from drinking foul water. Only her daughter Fāṭima, born there, survived to return.

From B. Saḥm b. 'Amr: Ramla d. Abū 'Auf b. Duhayra.

From B. 'Adī b. Ka'b: Layla d. Abū Ḥathma b. Ghānim.

From B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: Sauda d. Zam'a b. Qays, and Sahla d. Suhayl b. 'Amr and his daughter al-Muqallal and Amra d. al-Sa'ib b. Wagdān, and Umm Kulthūm d. Suhayl b. 'Amr.

From distant Arab tribes: Asmā' d. al-Nu'mān al-Khath'amiya and Fāṭima d. Sufyān b. Umayya b. Muḥarriz al-Ḥanafiya and Fukayha d. Yasār and Barka d. Yasār and Ḥawla Umm Shurayḥ b. [illegible].

These are the names of the ladies who were born to them in Abyssinia.

From B. Hāshim: 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abū Tālib.

From B. 'Abd Shams: Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥudhayfa and Sa'īd b. Khālid b. Sa'īd and his sister Amīna.

From B. Makhzūm: Zaynab d. Abū Salama b. al-Asad.

From B. Zuhra: 'Abdallāh b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Azhar.

From B. Taym: Mūsā b. al-Ḥārith b. Khālid and his sisters 'Ā'isha and Fāṭima and Zaynab, 5 boys and 5 girls.

THE FULFILLED PILGRIMAGE,[1] A.H. 7

When the apostle returned from Khaybar to Medina he stayed there from the first Rabī' (and Shawwāl) sending out raiding parties and expeditions. Then in Dhū l-'Qa'da—the month in which the pagan Arabs had prevented him from pilgrimage—he went out to make the fulfilled pilgrimage, taking in place of the names from which they had excluded him,

[illegible] These Muslims who had been excluded with him went out in A.H. 7, and when the Meccans heard of it they got out of his way. Quraysh said among themselves, Muḥammad and his companions are in destitution, want, and privation.

A man I have no reason to suspect told me that Ibn 'Abbās said: "They gathered at the door of the assembly house to look at him and his companions, and when the apostle entered the mosque he threw the end of his cloak over his left shoulder leaving his right upper arm free. Then he said: "God have mercy on a man who shows them today that he is strong." Then he touched the stone, and went out trotting, as did his companions until when the temple concealed him from them and he had touched the southern corner he walked to him[2] the black stone. Then he trotted[3] [illegible]

forty three circuits and walked the rest.' Ibn 'Abbās used to say, 'People used to think that this practice was not incumbent on them because the apostle only did it for the clan of Quraysh because of what he had heard about them until when he made the farewell pilgrimage he adhered to it and the sunna carried it on.'

Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that when the apostle entered Mecca on that pilgrimage 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa was holding the halter of his camel and saying:

> Get out of his way, you unbelievers, make way.[4]
> Every good thing goes with the apostle.
> O Lord I believe in his word.
> I know God's truth in accepting it.
> We will fight you about its interpretation,
> As we have fought you about its revelation
> With strokes that will remove heads from shoulders
> And make friend unmindful of friend (761).

[illegible] Abbān b. Ṣāliḥ and 'Abdallāh b. Abū Najīḥ from 'Aṭā' b. Abū Rabāḥ and Mujāhid Abū l-Ḥajjāj from Ibn 'Abbās told me that the apostle married Maymūna d. al-Ḥārith on that journey of his when he was having. Al-'Abbās b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib married him to her (762).[5]

The apostle remained three days in Mecca. Huwayṭib b. 'Abdu'l-Uzzā b. Abū Qays b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl with a few Quraysh came to him on the third day because Quraysh had entrusted him with the duty of sending the apostle out of Mecca. They said, 'Your term is up, so get out from us.' The apostle answered, 'How would it harm you if you were to let me stay and I gave a wedding feast among you and we prepared food and you came to?' They replied, 'We don't need your food, so get out.' So the apostle went out and left Abū Rāfi' his client in charge of Maymūna until he brought her to him in Sarif.[6] (The apostle ordered them to change the (normal) sacrificial animal and did so himself. Camels were hard to come by so he allowed them to offer cows.) The apostle consummated his marriage with her there, and then went on to Medina in Dhū l-Ḥijja (763).

THE RAID ON MU'TA IN A.H. 8

[illegible] He remained there for the rest of Dhū l-Ḥijja, while the polytheists superintended the pilgrimage, and throughout al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar and the two

[illegible] T has *fawwaqahā*. [illegible] T adds a sentence beginning which does not fit the balance of the prose.

[illegible] T [illegible] S adds the remainder of the poem with 'Allāh' in other words it belongs to 'Abd' a proverb.

[illegible] which became of outstanding importance among Muslim lawyers. Cf. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950, p. 133.

[5] A place near al-Tan'īm.

Rabi'a. In Jumada'l-'Ula he sent to Syria his force which met with disaster in Mu'ta.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr said: The apostle sent his expedition to Mu'ta in Jumada'l-'Ula in the year 8 and put Zayd b. Ḥāritha in command, if Zayd were slain then Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib was to take command, and if he were killed then 'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa. The expedition got ready to the number of 3,000 and prepared to start. When they were about to set off they bade farewell to the apostle's chiefs and saluted them. When 'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa took his leave of the chiefs he wept and when they asked him the reason he said, 'By God, it is not that I love the world and am inordinately attached to you, but I heard the apostle read a verse from God's book in which he mentioned hell: "There is not one of you but shall come to it; that is a determined decree of your Lord," and I do not know how I can return after I have been to it.' The Muslims said, 'God be with you and protect you and bring you back to us safe and sound.' 'Abdullāh said:

> But I ask the Merciful's pardon
> And a wide open wound discharging blood,
> Or a deadly lance-thrust from a zealous warrior
> That will pierce the bowels and liver,
> So that men will say when they pass my grave,
> 'God guide him, fine leader that he was, he did well!'

782 Then, when the people were about to start, 'Abdullāh came to the apostle to bid him farewell and said:

> May God confirm the good things He gave you
> As he confirmed them to Mūsā with victory.[1]
> I perceived goodness in you by a natural gift,
> God knows that I can see deeply.
> You are the apostle and he who is deprived of his gifts
> And the sight of him has no real worth (784).

Then the people marched forth, the apostle accompanying them until he said farewell and returned. 'Abdullāh said:

> May peace remain on the best companion and friend,
> The man I said good-bye to amid the palms.

They went on their way until they came to Ma'ān in Syria where they heard that Heraclius had come down to Ma'āb in the Balqā' with a host of Greeks joined by 100,000 men of Lakhm and Judhām and al-Qayn and Bahrā' and Bali commanded by a man of Bali of Irāsha called Malik b. Zāfila. When the Muslims heard this they spent two nights at Ma'ān pondering what to do. They were in favour of writing to the apostle to tell him of

[1] Sura 19, 72.
The dubious syntax and faulty rhyme in these lines is slightly corrected by LH.

the enemy's numbers: if he sent reinforcements well and good, otherwise they would await his orders. 'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa encouraged the men saying, 'Men, what you dislike is that which you have come out in search of, viz. martyrdom. We are not fighting the enemy with numbers, or strength or multitude, but we are confronting (fighting) them with that religion with which God has honoured us. So come on! Both prospects are fine: victory or martyrdom.' The men said, 'By God, Ibn Rawāḥa is right.' So they went forward and 'Abdullāh said concerning their holding back:

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> We urged on our horses from Ajā' and Sal'[1]
> Their bellies gorged with the grass they had eaten
> We gave them as shoes the smooth hard ground,
> Its surface smooth as leather.
> They stayed two nights at Ma'ān;
> After their rest they were full of spirit.
> We went forward, our horses given free rein,
> The hot wind blowing in their nostrils
> I swear that we will come to Ma'āb
> Though Arabs and Greeks be there.
> We arranged their bridles and they came furiously,
> Their dust arose in streamers
> With an army whose helmets as their points appeared
> Seemed to shine like stars.
> The woman who enjoys life our spears divorced,
> She can remarry or remain a widow (785).

Then the army went forward, and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that he was told that Zayd b. Arqam said: 'I was an orphan child of 'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa and he took me with him on this expedition riding on the back of his saddle, and as he journeyed by night I heard him reciting these verses of his:[2]

> When you have brought me and carried my gear
> A four nights' journey from the swampy ground,
> Then enjoy life and bear no blame
> And may I never return to my people at home. (And when)
> The Muslims have gone and left me
> In Syria where I wish to be
> And a near relative of mine in God,
> Though no blood relation, has brought you back,
> There I shall not care for fruit that depends on rain
> Or palms whose roots are watered by man.

I wept on hearing these words and he flicked me with his whip and said,

[1] Two mountains of Tayy.
[2] He addresses his camel.

794 'Why worry, wretched fellow, if God grants me martyrdom and you return firmly in the saddle?' Then in one of his *rajaz* poems he said

> O Zayd, Zayd of the swift lean camels,
> Long is the night you have been led, no dismount.

The people went forward until when they were on the borders of the Balqā' the Greek and Arab forces of Heraclius met them in a village called Mashārif. When the enemy approached, the Muslims withdrew to a village called Mu'ta. There the forces met and the Muslims made their dispositions, putting over the right wing Qutba b. Qatāda of the B. 'Udhra, and over the left wing an Anṣārī called 'Ubāya b. Mālik (786).

When fighting began Zayd b. Hāritha fought holding the apostle's standard, until he died from loss of blood among the spears of the enemy. Then Ja'far took it and fought with it until when the battle hemmed him in he jumped off his roan and hamstrung her and fought till he was killed. Ja'far was the first man in Islam to hamstring his horse.

Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father who said: 'My foster-father, who was of the B. Murra b. 'Auf and was in the Mu'ta raid said, "I seem to see Ja'far when he got off his sorrel and hamstrung her and then fought until he was killed as he said

> Welcome Paradise so near,
> Sweet and cool to drink its cheer
> Greeks will soon have much to fear
> Infidels, of descent unclear
> When we meet their necks I'll shear."' (787)

795 Yahyā b. 'Abbād on the same authority told me that when Ja'far was killed 'Abdullāh b. Rawāha took the standard and advanced with it riding his horse. He had to put pressure on himself as he felt reluctant to go forward. Then he said

> I swear, my soul, you shall come to the battle
> You shall fight or be made to fight.
> Though men shout and scream aloud,
> Why should you spurn Paradise?
> Long have you been at ease.
> You are nothing but a drop in a worn-out skin

He also said

> O soul, if you are not killed you will die
> This is the fate of death which you suffer.[1]
> You have been given what you hoped for.
> If you do what those two did you will have been guided aright

meaning his two companions Zayd and Ja'far. Then he dismounted and a cousin of his came up with a meat bone, saying, 'Strengthen yourself with this, for you have met in these battles of yours difficult days.' He took it and ate a bite. Then he heard the sounds of confusion in the force and threw it away saying, 'And you are still living?' He seized his sword and died fighting. Then Thābit b. Aqram took the standard. He was brother of B. al-Aylān. He called on the Muslims to rally round one man, and when they wanted to rally to him he demurred and they rallied to Khālid b. al-Walīd. When he took the standard he tried to keep the enemy off and to avoid an engagement.[2] Then he retreated and the enemy turned aside [illegible] he got away with the men.

According to what I have been told, when the army was smitten the apostle said: 'Zayd took the standard and fought with it until he was killed as a martyr, then Ja'far took it and fought until he was killed as a martyr.' Then he was silent until the faces of the Anṣār fell and they thought that something disastrous had happened to 'Abdullāh b. Rawāha. Then he said: 'Abdullāh took it and fought by it until he was killed as a martyr. I saw in a vision that they were carried up to me in Paradise upon beds of gold. I saw 'Abdullāh's bed turning away from the beds of the other two, and when I asked why I was told that they had gone on but he hesitated before he went forward.'

(T. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that when the news of Ja'far's death reached the apostle he said, 'Ja'far went by yesterday with a company of angels making for Bisha in the Yaman. He had two wings whose fore-feathers were stained with blood.'[3]

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr from Umm 'Īsā al-Khuzā'iya from Umm Ja'far d. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Abū Tālib from her grandmother Asmā' d. 'Umays said: 'When Ja'far and his companions were killed, the apostle came to me when I had just tanned forty skins (788) and kneaded my dough and washed and oiled and cleaned my children. He asked me to bring him Ja'far's sons and when I did so he smelt them and his eyes filled with tears. I asked him whether he had heard bad news about Ja'far and his companions, and he said that he had and that they had been killed that day. I got up and cried aloud and the women gathered to me. The apostle went out to his family saying, "Do not neglect Ja'far's family so as not to provide them with food, for they are occupied with the disaster that has happened to their head."[4]

'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muhammad told me from his father from 'Ā'isha the prophet's wife who said: 'When news of Ja'far's death came we saw sorrow on the apostle's face. A man went to him and said, "The women trouble us and disturb us." He told him to go back and quieten them. He went but came back again saying the same words.

[illegible]

[1] There is a play on the words here.

797 'Ā'isha here commented, 'Meddling often injures the meddler. The apostle said, 'Go and tell them to be quiet, and if they refuse throw dust in their mouths.' Ā'isha added, 'I said to myself, God curse you, for you have neither spared yourself the indignity of a snub nor are you able to do what the apostle said. I knew he could not throw dust in their mouths.'

Qutba b. Qatāda al-'Udhrī who was over the right wing had attacked Malik b. Zafila, a leader of the mutaqī Arabs, and killed him, and said:

> I pierced Ibn Zafila b. al-Irtāh with a spear
> Which went through him and then broke.
> I gave his neck a blow
> So that he bent like a bough of mimosa.
> We fed off the wives of his cousins
> On the day of Raqīqayn as sheep (789).

A Ashjaī of Hadas who heard about the advance of the apostle's army had said to her people who were a clan called B. Ghanm:

> I warn you of a proud people
> Who are hostile in their gait.
> They had their horses in single file
> And shed turgid blood.

They took heed to her words and separated themselves from Lakhm. Afterwards Hadas remained a large and prosperous tribe. Those who took part in the war that day, the B. Tha'laba a clan of Hadas, remained insignificant. When Khālid went off with the men he took the homeward road.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr
798 that when they got near Medina the apostle and the Muslims met them and the boys came running while the apostle came with the people on his beast. He said, 'Take the boys and carry them and give me Ja'far's son.' They gave him 'Abdullāh and he took him and carried him in front of him. The men began to throw dirt at the army, saying, 'You runaways, you fled in the way of God!' The apostle said, 'They are not runaways but come-agains if God will.'

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me from 'Āmir b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from one of the family of al-Hārith b. Hishām who were his maternal uncles from Umm Salama the prophet's wife who said to the wife of Salama b. Hishām b. al-'Ās b. al-Mughīra, 'Why is it that I do not see Salama at prayers with the apostle with the rest of the Muslims?' She replied, 'By God, he can't go out. Whenever he goes out the men call out "Runaway! You ran away when in the path of God!" until he has taken to sitting in his house and not going out at all.'

Qays b. al-Musahhar al-Ya'murī composed the following verses in which he made excuses for what he and the other men did that day and

shows how Khālid took precautions for their safety and got away with them.

> By God, I never cease to blame myself for stopping
> When the horses were leaping forward[1] with bolting eyes.
> I stopped there neither acting help nor acting decisively
> Nor pronouncing those for whom death was decreed
> However, I did but imitate Khālid
> And Khālid has no equal in the army
> My heart was moved for Ja'far in Mu'ta
> When an arrow was no good to an archer
> And he linked up their two wings to us
> Muhājirs not polytheists nor unarmed.

Thus Qays made clear in his verses the facts which people dispute, namely that the army kept their distance and were afraid of death, and established the fact that Khālid and his men avoided battle (790).

Among the lamentations over the apostle's companions who died at 799
Mu'ta are the lines of Hassān b. Thābit:

> A miserable night I had in Yathrib,
> Anxiety that robbed me of sleep when others slept soundly.
> At the thought of a friend my tears ran fast.
> (Memory is oft the cause of weeping.
> Nay, the loss of a friend is a calamity,
> And how many a noble soul is afflicted and endures patiently!)
> I saw the best of the believers follow one another to death,
> Though some held back behind them.[2]
> May God receive the slain at Mu'ta who went one after another.
> Among them Ja'far now horses on wings,
> And Zayd and 'Abdullāh when they too followed
> When the cords of death were active
> On the day they went on with the believers.
> The fortunate radiant one leading them to death
> Bright as the full moon—of Hāshim's sons.
> Haughty against wrong, daringly bold,
> He fought till he fell unpillowed
> On the battlefield a broken shaft in his body
> He has his reward with the martyrs.
> Gardens and green spreading trees
> We saw in Ja'far a man loyal to Muhammad,
> One who gave decisive orders
> May there ever be in Islam of Hāshim's line
> Pillars of strength and an endless source of pride

[illegible]

In Islam they are a mountain and the people round them
Are rocks piled up to a mount majestic and lofty.
Splendid leaders: of them Ja'far and his brother 'Ali
And of them Ahmad the chosen one
And Hamza and al-'Abbas and 'Aqil
And the sap of the wood from which he was squeezed.
By them relief comes in every hard dusty fight
Whenever men are in a tight corner
They are the friends of God Who sent down His wisdom to them
And among them is the purified Bringer of the Book.*

Ka'b b. Malik says

While the eyes of others slept my eye shed tears
Like the dripping of a faulty water-skin
In the night when sorrows came upon me
When I was not sobbing† I turned restlessly on my couch
Grief came repeatedly and I passed the night
As though I had to shepherd Ursa and Pacer‡
Twice as though between my ribs and bowels
A burning piercing pain afflicted me,
Sorrowing for those who one after another
Were left lying that day in Mu'ta.
God bless them the heroes,
And may plenteous rains refresh their bones!
They forced themselves for God's sake
To ignore the fear of death and cowardly failure.
They went in front of the Muslims
Like stallion foals, clad in long mail
When they were led by Ja'far and his flag
In front of their leader, and what a fine leader
Until the ranks were breached and Ja'far
Where the ranks were trapped lay prostrate.
The moon lost its radiance at his death,
The sun eclipsed and wellnigh dark
A chief of high lineage from Hashim,
In lofty eminence and authority immovable.
A people by whom God protected His servants,
To them was sent down the revealed book
They excelled other tribes in glory and honour
And their enlightened minds covered up the ignorance of others.
They would not embark on a vicious enterprise,
You could see their speaker deciding justly.

* [illegible]
† [illegible]
‡ [illegible] Ursa and Pacer [illegible] stars [illegible]

Their faces welcomed, their hands gave freely
When days of famine would excuse parsimony.
God was pleased with their guidance of His creation,
And by their good fortune the apostolic prophet was victorious.

Hawn b. Thabit mourning Ja'far

I wept, and the death of Ja'far the prophet's friend
Was grievous to the whole world.
I was distressed, and when I heard of your death said,
Who is for fighting by the flag Hawk and its shadow
With swords drawn from scabbards
Striking and lances piercing again and again?
Now Ja'far, Fatima's blessed son, is dead
The best of all creatures, most heavy is his loss.
Noblest of all in origin, and most powerful
When wronged, most submissive to right
When it was indubitably due
Most open-handed, least in unseemliness
Most lavish in generosity and kindness
Always excepting Muhammad,
Whom no living being can equal.

Mourning Zayd b. Haritha and 'Abdullah b. Rawaha he says

O eye, be generous with the last drop of thy tears
And remember in thy ease those in their graves.
Remember Mu'ta and what happened there
When they went to their defeat
When they returned leaving Zayd there.
Happy he the abode of the poor one imprisoned (in the grave).
The friend of the best of all creatures
The lord of men whose love fills their breasts,
Ahmad who has no equal,
My sorrow and my joy are for him
Zayd's position with us
Was not that of a man deceived.
Be generous with thy tears for the Khazrajite,*
He was a chief who gave freely there
We have suffered enough by their death
And pass the night in joyless grief.

A Muslim poet who returned from Mu'ta adds

Enough cause for grief that I have returned while Ja'far
And Zayd and 'Abdullah are in the dust of the gravel

Or 'That the refuge of the poor and the captive'
* i.e. 'Abdullah b. Rawaha

They met their end when they went their way
And I with the survivors am left to life's sorrows.
Three men were sent forward and advanced
To death's doubled pool of blood.

The names of those who died a martyr's death at Mu'ta:
Of Quraysh: of the clan of B. Hashim, Ja'far and Zayd.
Of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b: Mas'ūd b. al-Aswad b. Hāritha b. Nadla.
Of B. Mālik b. Hifl: Wahb b. Sa'd b. Abū Sarh.
Of the Ansār: of the clan of B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj, 'Abdullāh b. Rawāha and 'Abbād b. Qays.
Of B. [illegible] b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, al-Hārith b. Nu'mān b. Usāf b. Nadla b. 'Abd b. Auf b. Ghanam.
Of B. Māzin b. al-Najjār: Surāqa b. Amr b. Atiya b. Khansā' (791).

THE CAUSES THAT [illegible] THE CONQUEST OF MECCA, A.H. 8

After he had sent his force to Mu'ta the apostle stayed in Medina during the latter Jumādā and Rajab. Then the B. Bakr b. Abdu Manāt b. Kināna attacked Khuzā'a while they were at a well of theirs in the lower region of Mecca called al-Watir. The cause of the quarrel was that a man of B. al-Hadramī called Mālik b. Abbād—the Hadramī being at that time allies of al-Aswad b. Razn—had gone out on a trading journey and when he reached the middle of the Khuzā'a country they attacked and killed him and took his possessions. So B. Bakr attacked a man of Khuzā'a and killed him and just before Islam Khuzā'a attacked the sons of al-Aswad b. Razn al-Dīl who were the most prominent chiefs of B. Kināna—Sabrā, Kulthūm, and Dhu'ayb—and killed them in Arafa at the boundary stones of the sacred area.

804 One of the B. al-Dīl told me that B. al-Aswad during the pagan era were paid double blood [illegible] position among them while they only got a single bloodwit.

While B. Bakr and Khuzā'a were thus at enmity Islam intervened and occupied men's minds. When the peace of Hudaybiya was concluded between the apostle and Quraysh one of the conditions—according to what al-Zuhrī told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Hakam and other traditionists—was that anyone who wanted to enter into a treaty relationship with either party could do so; the B. Bakr joined Quraysh and Khuzā'a joined the apostle. When the armistice was established B. al-Dīl of B. Bakr took advantage of it against Khuzā'a in their desire to revenge themselves on them for the sons of Aswad whom they had killed. So Nawfal b. Mu'āwiya al-Dīlī, who was their leader at the time, went out with the B. al-Dīl, though all the B. Bakr did not follow him, and attacked Khuzā'a by night while they were at al-

Watir their well, killing one of their men. Both parties fell back and continued the fight. Quraysh helped B. Bakr with weapons and some of them fought with them secretly under cover of the night until they drove Khuzā'a into the sacred area. When they reached it the B. Bakr said, "O Nawfal, we are in the sacred area. Remember your God, remember your God!" He replied in blasphemous words that he had no god that day. "Take your revenge, ye sons of Bakr. By my life, if you used to steal in the sacred area, won't you take vengeance in it?" Now on the night they attacked them in al-Watir they killed a man called Munabbih who had gone out with one of his tribesmen called Tamīm b. Asad. Munabbih had a weak heart and he told Tamīm to escape for he was as good as dead whether they killed him or let him go, for his heart had given out. So Tamīm made off and escaped and Munabbih was overtaken and killed. When Khuzā'a entered Mecca they took refuge in the house of Budayl b. Warqā' and the house of a freed slave of theirs called Rāfi'.

Tamīm in excusing himself for running away from Munabbih said: 804

When I saw the B. Nufātha had advanced
Covering every plain and hill,
Rock and upland, no one else in sight,
Leading their swift wide-nostrilled horses
And I remembered the old blood feud between us,
A legacy of years gone by,
And I smelt the odour of death coming from them
And feared the stroke of a sharp sword
And knew that they would leave him they smote
Meat for mother lions and carrion for crows,
I set my feet firmly not fearing stumbling
And threw my garments on the bare ground.
I ran—no wild ass strong, lean-flanked, ran as I ran.
She may blame me, but had she been there
Her disapproval would have been urine wetting her
Men well know that I did not leave Munabbih willingly
Ask my companions (if you do not believe me) (792).

Al-Akhnas b. Ka'b al-Dīlī describing the fight between Kināna and Khuzā'a said:

Have not the most distant Aplāhā' heard
That we repulsed B. Ka'b in impotent disgrace?[a]
We made them keep to the dwelling of the slave Rāfi'
And they were confined helpless with Budayl,
In the house of a low person who accepts humiliation
After we had slaked our vengeance on them with the sword,
We held them there for many a day

[a] Perhaps the Abyssinians are meant [illegible] with arrows snapped off near the feathers etc.

Until from every pass we charged down on them.
We slaughtered them like goats
We were like lions racing to get our teeth in them
They had wronged us and behaved as enemies
And were the first to shed blood at the sacred boundary
When they pursued them with their vanguard in the wadi's bend
They were like young ostriches in full flight.[1]

Budayl b. Abdu Manāf b. Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Ajabb who was c[illegible] Budayl b. Umm Asram answered him thus:

May those people lose one another who boast
Since we left them no chief to call them to assembly save Nāfi'.
Was it for fear of a people you scorn
That you went past al-Watīr fearful, never to return?
Every day we give to others to pay bloodwit for those they have killed
While we take no help in paying our bloodwit
[illegible] our house [illegible]
Our swords silenced all complaints.
From Bayd and Tawāf to the slopes of Rajwā
We held off the attacks of [illegible]
On the day of al-Ghamīm[2] Thaqīf ran away
We terrified him with a doughty leader
Was it because the mother of one of you defecated in her house in her trepidation
While you were leaping about that we met no opposition?
By God's house you lie, you did not fight
But we left you in utter confusion (793)

When Quraysh and B. Bakr had combined against Khuzā'a and killed some of them, thereby breaking their covenanted word with the apostle in violating Khuzā'a who were in treaty with him, Amr b. Sālim al-Khuzā'ī of the clan of B. Ka'b went to the apostle in Medina. (This led to the conquest of Mecca.) He stood by him as he was sitting among the men in the mosque and said

O Lord I come to remind Muhammad
Of the old alliance between our fathers
You are sons for whom we provided the mother.
Then we made peace[3] and have not changed our minds.

[1] Fāliq is a place in Najd as A.Dh. says, but unless the action referred to occurred before they reached the [illegible] it is hard to see what the combatants were doing. As *fāliq* among the contingent that leads the pursuit of a fleeing enemy it is to be preferred here to W's *dilāf*.

A well belonging to B. Kināna. The second hemistich is a reference to the proverb 'The sword comes before recrimination'.

[2] Places belonging to Kināna. [3] Between Mecca and Medina.

[3] S. reads on this meaning for *ghamīm*, despite the last verse, on the ground that Khuzā'a had not yet become Muslims. The poem is a later accretion and the natural translation 'Then we became Muslims' is to be preferred.

Help us, now God guide you.
And call God's servants to our aid.
Among them the apostle of God prepared for war.
When he is wronged his face becomes black with anger
With a great army foaming like the sea.
Verily Quraysh have broken their promise to you,
They have violated their pledged word,
And they set men to watch out for me in Kadā'.[1]
They claim that I can get no one to help us
And they but a miserable few
They attacked us at night in al-Watīr
And killed us as we performed the ritual prayers (794).

The apostle said, 'May you be helped O 'Amr b. Sālim!'[2] Then as a cloud appeared in the sky he said, 'This cloud will provide help for the B. Ka'b.

Then Budayl b. Warqā' came with a number of Khuzā'a to the apostle in Medina and told him of their misfortune and how Quraysh had helped B. Bakr against them. Having done so they returned to Mecca. The apostle said, 'I think you will see Abū Sufyān coming to strengthen the agreement and to ask for more time.' When Budayl and his companions had got as far as 'Usfān'[3] they met Abū Sufyān who had been sent by Quraysh to strengthen the agreement with the apostle and to ask for an extension, for they were afraid of the consequences of what they had done. Abū Sufyān asked Budayl whence he had come because he suspected him of having visited the apostle. He replied that he had come along the shore and the bottom of the valley with the Khuzā'a, and denied that he had been to Muhammad. When Budayl had gone off to Mecca Abū Sufyān said, 'If Budayl came to Medina he will have given his camels dates to eat there,' so he went to where the camels had lived and split up their dung and looked at the stones. 'By God, I swear Budayl has come from Muhammad,' he said.

Having arrived at Medina he went in to his daughter Umm Habība, and as he went to sit on the apostle's carpet she folded it up so that he could not sit on it. 'My dear daughter,' he said, 'I hardly know if you think that the carpet is too good for me or that I am too good for the carpet?' She replied: 'It is the apostle's carpet and you are an unclean polytheist. I do not want you to sit on the apostle's carpet.' 'By God,' he said, 'since you left me you have gone to the bad.' Then he went to the apostle, who would not speak to him; he then went to Abū Bakr and asked him to speak to the apostle for him; he refused to do so. Then he went to 'Umar who said, 'Should I intercede for you with the apostle? If I had only an ant I would fight you with it.' Then he went in to see 'Alī with whom was Fāṭima the apostle's

[1] Or, reading *tahawwada*, 'arranged'. [2] A place on the heights above Mecca.
Or perhaps *mujrib* here means 'You shall be helped'.
[3] Two days' journey on the road from Mecca to Medina.

daughter who had sent her. [illegible] thought that that would do any good he replied that he did not, but that he [illegible] nothing else. Thereupon [illegible] camel and rode off to Quraysh who asked for his news. He said that Muhammad would not speak to him, [illegible] He had [illegible] he had to admit that he had not. They complained that ʿAlī had made a [illegible] could find nothing else to do or say.

The apostle ordered preparations to be made for a foray and Abū Bakr [illegible] He asked if the apostle had ordered her to get things ready [illegible] apostle informed the men that he was going to Mecca and [illegible] make careful preparations. He said, 'O God, take eyes and ears from Quraysh [illegible] and the men got themselves ready.

[illegible] men of Khuzāʿa, said:

It pained me though I did not see in Mecca's valley
The men of Banū Kaʿb with their heads cut off
By men who had not drawn their swords
And the many dead who were left unburied.[1]
Would that I knew if my help with its biting sting[2]
Would injure Suhayl b. ʿAmr, and Ṣafwān

That old camel who groans from his sore
This is the time for war—its girths are tightened.[1]
Don't feel safe from us, son of Umm Mujālid,
When its pure milk is extracted and its teeth are crushed.
Don't be disappointed, for our swords
Will open the door to death. (796)

[illegible] of our traditionists said that when the apostle decided to go to Mecca [illegible] intended to come at them. He gave it to a woman whom Muhammad b. [illegible] heaven of Ḥāṭib's action and sent ʿAlī and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām with [illegible] and that if she did not produce the letter they would strip her. When she saw that he was in earnest she told him to turn aside, and then she let down her locks and drew out the letter and gave it to him and he took it to the apostle. [illegible] He [illegible] God and His apostle and had never ceased to do so, but that he was not a man of standing among Quraysh and he had a son and a family there and that he had to deal prudently with them for their sakes. ʿUmar wanted to cut off his head as a hypocrite but the apostle said, 'How do you know, ʿUmar, perhaps God looked favourably on those who were at Badr and said, "Do as you please for I have forgiven you."' Then God sent down concerning Ḥāṭib 'O you who believe, choose not My enemies and yours as friends so as to show them kindness' as far as the words 'You have a good example in Abraham and those with him when they said to their people We are quit of you and what you worship beside God, we renounce you and between us and you [illegible]ty and hatred will ever endure until you believe in God alone.'

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī from ʿUbaydullah b. ʿAbdullah b. ʿUtba b. Masʿūd from ʿAbdullah b. ʿAbbās told me: Then the apostle went on his journey and put over Medina Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. Ḥuṣayn [illegible] Ghifārī. He went out on the 10th of Ramaḍān and [illegible]ed until when he reached al-Kudayd between ʿUsfān [illegible] with 10,000 Muslims: Sulaym numbered 700 and some say 1,000; and [illegible] The Muhājirīn [illegible]

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[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] warriors. This is implied in the v.l. in the Dīwān which [illegible] Ḥassān was no fighter. He relied on his tongue to hurt the enemy.

[1] He is compared to a camel [illegible]

[illegible]

When the apostle had reached Marr al-Zahrān Quraysh were completely
[ignorance] of the fact and did not even know what he was doing. On that 821
night Abū Sufyān b. Harb and Hakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqā
went out searching for news by eye or ear when al-'Abbās had met the
in the way [795].

Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and 'Abdullāh b. Abū
Umayya b. al-Mughīra had met the apostle also in Nāqa'u'l-Fajj between
Mecca and Medina and tried to get in to him. Umm Salama spoke to
him about them, calling them his cousin and his brother-in-law. He
replied: I have no use for them. As for my cousin he has wounded
[illegible]
of me in Mecca. When this was conveyed to them Abū Sufyān who had
his little [illegible] with him said, By God, he might let me in or I will take his
little bag of raisins and we will wander through the land until we die of
hunger and thirst. When he heard this the apostle felt sorry for them and
let them come in and they accepted Islam. Abū Sufyān recited the following
verses about his Islam in which he excused himself for what had gone
before

By thy life when I carried a banner
To give al-Lāt's cavalry the victory over Muḥammad
I was like one going astray in the darkness of the night,
But now I am led on the right track
I could not guide myself, and he who with God overcame me
Was he whom I had driven away with all my might
I used to do all I could to keep men from Muḥammad
And I was called a relative of his, though I did not claim the relation.
They are what they are. He who does not hold with them
Though he be a man of sense is blamed and given the lie.
I wanted to be on good terms with them (Muslims) 822
But I could not join them while I was not guided.
Say to Thaqīf I do not want to fight them;
Say, too, 'Threaten somebody else!'
I was not in the army that attacked 'Amr.
I had no part with hand or tongue
'Twas tribes that came from a distant land,
Strangers from Sabāra and Surdad (798).

They allege that when he recited his words 'He who with God overcame
me was he whom I had driven away with all my might' the apostle
punched him on the chest and said, 'You did indeed!'

When the apostle camped at Marr al-Ẓahrān 'Abbās said, 'Alas Qu-
raysh, if the apostle enters Mecca by force before they come and ask for
protection that will be the end of Quraysh for ever. I sat upon the apostle's

[795] T. reads following Yūnus's version of [illegible] has a slightly longer text. Only significant
[illegible] be noted

white mule and went out on it until I came to the arak trees, thinking that
I might find some woodcutters or milkers or someone who could go to
Mecca and tell them where the apostle was so that they could come out
and ask for safety before he enters the town by assault. As I was going
along with this intent suddenly I heard the sound of Abū Sufyān (T.)[1] and
Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl talking together. Abū Sufyān was saying,
'I have never seen such fires and such a camp before.' Budayl was saying,
'These, by God, are (the fires of) Khuzā'a which war has kindled.' Abū
Sufyān was saying, 'Khuzā'a are too poor and few to have fires and camps
like these.' I recognized his voice and called to him and he recognized my
voice. I told him that the apostle was here with his army and expressed 823
concern for him and for Quraysh. I bade you he will behead you, so
ride on the back of his mule so that I can take you to him and ask for your
him protection. So he rode behind me and his two companions returned.
Whenever we passed a Muslim fire we were challenged, and when they
saw the apostle's mule with me riding it they said it was the prophet's uncle
riding his mule until I passed by. I saw a fire. He challenged me and got
up and came to me, and when he saw Abū Sufyān on the back of the beast
he cried, 'Abū Sufyān, the enemy of God!' Thanks be to God who has
delivered you up without agreement or word.' Then he ran towards the
apostle and I made the mule gallop, and the mule won by the distance a
slow beast will outrun a slow man. I dismounted and went in to the
apostle and 'Umar came in saying the same words and adding, 'Let me
take off his head.' I told the apostle that I had promised him my protec-
tion, then I sat by him and took hold of his head and said, 'By God none
shall talk confidentially to him this night without my being present,' and
when 'Umar continued to remonstrate I said, 'Gently, 'Umar. If he had
been one of the B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b you would not have said this, but you
know that he is one of the B. 'Abdu Manāf.' He replied, 'Gently, Abbās!
for by God your Islam the day you accepted it was dearer to me than the
Islam of al-Khaṭṭāb would have been had he become a Muslim. One thing
I surely know is that your Islam was dearer to the apostle than my father's
would have been.' The apostle told me to take him away to my quarters
and bring him back in the morning. He stayed the night with me and I took
him in to see the apostle early in the morning and when he saw him he
said, 'Isn't it time that you should recognize that there is no God but
Allāh?' He answered, 'You are dearer to me than father and mother. How
great is your clemency, honour, and kindness. By God, I thought that had
[illegible]
He said, 'Woe to you, Abū Sufyān, isn't it time that you recognize that I 824
am God's apostle?' He answered, 'As to that I still have some doubt.'

I said to him, 'Submit and testify that there is no God but Allāh and that
Muḥammad is the apostle of God before you lose your head,' so he did so.
I pointed out to the apostle that Abū Sufyān was a man who liked to have
some cause for pride and asked him to do something for him. He said, 'Hi

[illegible] he who enters the mosque is safe.' When he went off to go back the apostle told me to remain here in the narrow part of the wadi where the mountain [illegible]

The apostle passed [illegible] Abbas, who are these?' and when I told him he said that none could with-[illegible] that one he had nothing to say against it.

[illegible] a force you cannot resist. He who enters Abū Sufyān's house is safe." [illegible] what has spoken. He who enters Abū Sufyān's house will be safe.' 'Get [illegible] the mosque.

[illegible] Abū Najīḥ told me that when the apostle came to Thaniyyat [illegible] the sound of the soldiers.

[illegible] Abū Bakr, from his father from his grandmother Salmā, daughter of Qays, wife of the apostle, [illegible] black.' 'These are the horses,' he said. Then she told him that she would [illegible] the apostle [illegible] the mosque. [illegible] the apostle [illegible] the house. The girl had a white complexion and a man who said that she was

[illegible] not leave the old man in the house so that I could come to him there?' [illegible] He made him sit before him and stroked his chest and asked [illegible] his head was as white as sidewein, and the apostle told them to dye it. [illegible]

Abdullāh b. Abū Najīḥ told me that the apostle divided his force at Dhū Ṭuwā ordering al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām to go in with some of the men from Kadā [illegible] ordered to go in with some of the men from Kadā.

Some traditionists allege that when he'd started off he said,

> [illegible]
> [illegible]

and one of the soldiers [illegible] the apostle [illegible] after him and take the flag from him and enter with it himself.

[illegible] with the troops pouring into Mecca in front of the apostle who entered [illegible]

[illegible] Abū Bakr said that when he [illegible] the apostle [illegible] why he was doing so. When he said he was [illegible] he [illegible] the apostle [illegible] he said that he would give him one of those [illegible]

> I have no excuse if today they advance,
> Here is my weapon, a long-bladed lance,
> & two-edged sword in their faces will dance!

[illegible]

[illegible] There is no mention of this place, but it is mentioned frequently by al-Azraqī, Makka, [illegible]

Kurz b. Jābir, one of the B. Muhārib b. Fihr, and Khunays b. Khālid b. Rabī'a b. Asram, an ally of B. Mudlaj, who were in Khālid's cavalry, were killed. They had taken a road of their own apart from Khālid and were called together. Khunays was killed first and Kurz put him between his feet and fought in his defence until he was slain, saying meanwhile:

> Safā' of the B. Fihr knows
> The pure of face and heart
> That I fight today in defence of Abū Sakhr

Khunays was surnamed Abū Sakhr (801).

Salama b. al-Mayla', one of Khālid's horsemen, was killed, and the polytheists lost about 12 or 13 men; then they took to flight. Hubāb ran off and went into his house and told his wife to bolt the door. When she asked what had become of his former words he said:

> If you had witnessed the battle of Khandama
> When Safwān and 'Ikrima fled
> And Abū Yazīd was standing like a pillar[1]
> And the Muslims met there with their swords
> Which cut through arms and skulls,
> Only confused cries being heard
> Behind us their cries and groans,
> You would not have uttered the least word of blame (802)

The apostle had instructed his commanders when they entered Mecca only to fight those who resisted them, except a small number who were to be killed, even if they were found beneath the curtains of the Ka'ba. Among them was 'Abdullāh b. Sa'd, brother of the B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. The reason he ordered him to be killed was that he had been a Muslim and used to write down revelations; then he apostatized and returned to Quraysh and fled to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān whose foster-brother he was. The latter hid him until he brought him to the apostle after the situation in Mecca was tranquil, and asked that he might be granted immunity. They allege that the apostle remained silent for a long time till finally he said yes. When 'Uthmān had left he said to his companions who were sitting around him: 'I kept silent so that one of you might get up and strike off his head!' One of the Anṣār said, 'Then why didn't you give me a sign, O apostle of God?' He answered that a prophet does not kill by pointing (803).

[illegible] a Muslim and the apostle sent him to collect the poor tax in company with one of the Anṣār. He had with him a freed slave who served him. (He was a Muslim.) When they halted he ordered the latter to kill a goat for him and prepare some food, and went to sleep. When he woke up the man had

[illegible]

does nothing, so he attacked and killed him and spearheaded. He had two singing-girls Fartanā and her friend who used to sing satirical songs about the apostle, so he ordered that they should be killed with him.

Another was al-Huwayrith b. Nuqaydh b. Wahb b. 'Abd b. Quṣayy, one of those who used to insult him in Mecca (804).

Another was Miqyas b. Ḥubāba because he had killed an Anṣārī who had killed his brother accidentally, and returned to Quraysh as a polytheist. Abū Sirra, freed slave of one of the B. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, and 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl, Sāra had insulted him in Mecca. As for 'Ikrima, he fled to the Yaman. His wife Umm Ḥakīm d. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām became a Muslim and asked immunity for him and the apostle gave it. She went to the Yaman in search of him and brought him to the apostle and he accepted [illegible] (T[illegible] [illegible] to relate, according to what they say, that what T[illegible] turned him to Islam when he had gone to the Yaman was that he had determined to cross thence to Abyssinia and when he found a ship the master said, 'O servant of God, you cannot travel in my ship until you acknowledge that God is one and disavow any rival to Him, for I fear that if you do not do so we should perish.' When I asked if none but such persons was allowed to travel in his ship he replied, 'Yes, and he must be sincere.' So I thought: 'Why should I leave Muhammad when this is what he has brought us? Truly our God on the sea is our God on the dry land.' Thereupon I recognized Islam and it entered into my heart.) 'Abdullāh b. Khaṭal was killed by Sa'īd b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī and Abū Barza al-Aslamī acting together. Miqyas was killed by Numayla b. 'Abdullāh, one of his own people. Miqyas's sister said of his killing:

> By my life, Numayla shamed his people
> And distressed the winter guests when he slew Miqyas
> Whoever has seen a man like Miqyas
> Who provided food for young mothers in hard times.

As for Ibn Khaṭal's two singing-girls, one was killed and the other ran away until the apostle asked for immunity, gave it her. Sarāra Sāra, who lived until in the time of 'Umar a mounted soldier trod her down in the valley of Mecca and killed her. Al-Huwayrith was killed by 'Alī.

Sa'īd b. Abū Hind from Abū Murra, freed slave of 'Aqīl b. Abū Ṭālib, told me that Umm Hānī' d. Abū Ṭālib said: When the apostle halted in the upper part of Mecca two of my brothers-in-law from B. Makhzūm fled to me. (She was the wife of Hubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī.) 'Alī came in swearing that he would kill them, so I bolted the door of my house on them and went to the apostle and found him washing in a large bowl in which was the remains of dough while his daughter Fāṭima was screening him with his garment. When he had washed he took his garment and wrapped herself in it and prayed eight bendings of the morning prayer

[illegible]

Then he came forward and welcomed me and seated me after I had come. When I told him about the two men and 'Ali he said, 'We give protection to whomsoever you give protection and we give safety to those you protect. He [illegible] Nay.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. 'Abdallah b. [illegible] Zubayr said, 'Sa'ib told me that the apostle [illegible] at Mecca when the people had [illegible] [illegible] the Ka'ba [illegible] a stick which he had in his hand. Then [illegible] 'Uthman and took the key of the Ka'ba from him, and when the door was opened he went in. There he found a dove made of wood. He broke it in his hands and threw it away. Then he stood by the door of the Ka'ba while the men in the mosque gathered to him.'

Ibn Ishaq [illegible] from Ab-Sa'id b. Abu Sa'id from 'Ata' b. 'Abdallah b. Abbas: 'The apostle entered Mecca on the day of the conquest and [illegible] the idols which Ibrahim had accomplishment with [illegible] The apostle was standing by them with a spear in his hand striking [illegible] Then he proceeded to them with his staff and they collapsed on their faces one after the other.

When the apostle possessed the same power on the day of the conquest he ordered that [illegible] the idols which were there. The Ka'ba was then purified and burned with fire and incense up. Fudala b. al-Mulawwah al-Laythi said commemorating the day of the conquest:

> Had you seen Muhammad and his troops
> The day the idols were smashed when he entered,
> You would have seen God's light become manifest
> And darkness covering the face of idolatry.

Ibn Ishaq [illegible] from Nafi' b. 'Abdallah b. Nafi' and other scholars: Quraysh had put pictures in the Ka'ba including two of Jesus son of Mary and Mary (on both of whom be peace!). I. Shihab said: Aqmal d. Shaqq said that a woman of Khuzaa came to the pilgrimage of the Arabs and when she saw the pictures of Mary in the Ka'ba she said, 'My father and my mother be your ransom! You are merely an Arab woman!' The apostle [illegible] 'Are the pictures of Jesus and Mary [illegible]'

A [illegible] said that the apostle [illegible] in the chest of the Ka'ba and said: 'There is no God but Allah alone, the Lord of [illegible] He has made good His promise and helped His servant. He has put to flight the

[1] Other explanations given for the word [illegible] are 'Shed their gore on and [illegible]'

[illegible]

[illegible]

† Here ends the information of 'Umar b. Ma'ib al-Hafiz from Qatada al-Sadusi.

confederates alone. Every claim of privilege[1] or blood or property are [illegible] pilgrims. The unintentionally slain is a quasi-intentional way by club or [illegible] them to be pregnant. O Quraysh, God has taken from you the haughtiness of paganism and its veneration of ancestors. Man springs from Adam [illegible] We created you from male and female and made you into peoples and tribes that you may know one another; of a truth the most noble of you in God's sight is the most pious[2] to the end of the passage. Then he added, 'O Quraysh, what do you think that I am about to do with you?' They replied, 'Good. You are a noble brother, son of a noble brother.' He said, 'Go your way for you are the freed ones.

[T] Thus the apostle let them go though God had given him power over their lives and they were his spoil. For this reason the Meccans [illegible] called 'the freed ones'. Then the populace gathered together in Mecca to do homage to the apostle in Islam. As I have heard, he sat waiting for them on al-Safa while 'Umar remained below him imposing conditions on the people who paid homage to the apostle promising to hear and obey God and His apostle to the best of their ability. This applied to the men, when they had finished he dealt with the women. Among the Quraysh women who came was Hind d. 'Utba who came veiled and disguised [illegible] was afraid that the apostle would punish her. According to what I heard when they approached him he asked if they gave their word not to associate [illegible] you have not laid on the men and we will carry it out. He said, 'And you shall not steal.' She said, 'By God, I used to take a little of Abu Sufyan's [illegible] Sufyan who was present when she said this told her that so far as the past [illegible] 'Utba!' and she said, 'I am. Forgive me what is past and God will forgive you.' He said, 'And do not commit adultery.' She answered, 'Does a free woman commit adultery, O apostle of God?' He said, 'And you shall not kill your children.' She said, 'I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the one to know about them!' 'Umar laughed immoderately at her reply. He said, 'You shall not invent slanderous tales.' She said, 'By God, slander is disgraceful, but it is sometimes better to ignore it.' He said, 'You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good.' She said, 'We should [illegible] apostle said to 'Umar, 'Accept their oath,' and he asked God's forgiveness for them while 'Umar accepted their homage on his behalf. The apostle never used to take the women's hands. He did not touch a woman nor did [illegible]

one touch him except one whom God had made lawful to him or was one [illegible] according to what some traditionists had told him was in this wise: a vessel containing water was put in front of the apostle and when he had the [illegible] the vessel was then withdrawn and the woman did the same. Then after [illegible] said, 'Go, I have accepted your homage,' and added nothing further.]

[illegible] the Ka'ba he [illegible] the right of guardianship the keeper of the well or the supervisor of the pilgrims, but the apostle called to 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and said, 'Here is your key; today is a day of good faith.' [illegible]

[illegible] Abū Sufyān of Asharas from one of his informants said: 'We had with us a Persian man called Abū Rūzbih. [illegible] he stood by [illegible] Ibn al-Ashras al-[illegible] was among the group there was no way to get at them. He moved so briskly that one could tell where he was. So he fleeced and when he heard his [illegible] pressing on it so that he killed him. Then they rushed upon the party who [illegible] Abū Rūzbih. But there had no Ashras.

On the morrow of the conquest of Mecca Ibn al-Ashras[1] came into Mecca to look round and find out what the situation was. Now he was still a polytheist, and Khālid [illegible] and [illegible] him: but when we drew away he rat at him and thrust his sword in his belly. By God, I can almost see him now with his entrails flowing forth [illegible] 'Have you done it, you men of Khuzā'a?' until he collapsed and fell. The apostle said, 'Stop this killing, Khuzā'a: there has been too much killing even if there were profit in it. I will see the bloodwit for the man you have killed.'

[illegible] Rabī'ah b. [illegible] al-Muqawwam [illegible] said: 'I was with the apostle when Khālid had done his deed, and I heard the apostle say, 'Khālid is too proud to kill,' thereby rebuking him.

[1] pp. 554–5 [illegible] 15
On Ibn al-Ashras see [illegible]. A strange nickname. 'Ibn al-Ashras' means 'Bedelyield' or the like

[illegible] said: 'When 'Amr b. al-Zubayr[1] came to Mecca to fight his brother 'Abdallāh I came to him and said, 'Listen! When we were with the apostle the day after the conquest of Mecca, Khuzā'a attacked a man of Hudhayl and killed him, he being a polytheist. The apostle arose and addressed [illegible] saying, "God made Mecca holy the day He created heaven and earth, and it is the holy of holies until the resurrection day. It is not lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood therein [illegible] down trees therein. It was not lawful to anyone before me and it will not be lawful to anyone after me. Indeed, it is not lawful for me except at this time because of (God's) anger against its people. Now it has regained [illegible] former holiness. Let those here now tell those that are not here. If anyone should say, 'The apostle killed men in Mecca,' say God permitted His apostle to do so but He does not permit you. Refrain from killing [illegible] it. Since you have killed a man I will pay his bloodwit. If anyone is killed [illegible] or the blood-money." Then the apostle paid the bloodwit for the man whom Khuzā'a had slain.' 'Amr replied, 'Be off with you, old man. We know more about its sanctity than you. It does not protect the shedder of blood, nor the man who casts off his allegiance nor him who withholds ox.' Abū Shuraylh answered, 'I was there and you were not. The apostle ordered us who were present to tell those who were absent. I have told you and the responsibility now rests with you.' (807)

Umayya went out to Judda to take ship to the Yaman. 'Umayr b. Wahb [illegible] from him to cast himself into the sea, and asked him to grant him immunity. The prophet agreed to do so, and 'Umayr asked him for a sign to prove it, and he gave him the turban with which he had entered Mecca. 'Umayr took it and overtook Ṣafwān just as he was about to embark. He begged him not to commit suicide and produced the token of his [illegible] Ṣafwān told him to be off and not to speak to him. He replied, 'My parents be your ransom. He is the most virtuous, most pious, most clement, and best of men, your very cousin. His honour is your honour.' He replied, 'I go in fear of my life because of him.' He answered, 'He is too clement and too honourable to kill you.' So he went back with him to the apostle and told him that 'Umayr had said that he had promised him immunity. He said that that was true. Ṣafwān asked for two months in which to make up his mind, and he gave him four months. 'Sob'

Az-Zuhrī told me that Umm Ḥakīm d. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and F[illegible] d. al-Walīd (who was married to Ṣafwān, while Umm Ḥakīm's husband

was 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl) had become Muslims. The latter asked immunity for her husband and the apostle granted it and she joined him in the Yaman and brought him back. When 'Ikrima and Ṣafwān became Muslims the apostle confirmed their first marriages.

Sa'īd b. Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit told me that Ḥassān directed a single verse and no more at L. al-Ziba'rā who was in Najrān at the time:[1]

> Do not be without a man, hatred of whom
> Has made you live in Najrān in utmost misery!

827 When this reached L. al-Ziba'rā he went to the apostle and accepted Islam. Then he said:

> O apostle of God, my tongue is repairing
> The mischief I did when a perishing (sinner)
> When I followed Satan in going astray.
> (He who turns aside with him must perish.)
> My flesh and my bones believe in my Lord.
> My heart bears witness that you are the warner
> I will drive the clan of Lu'ayy from you there,
> All of them being deceived.

When he became a Muslim he said also:

> Cares and anxieties withheld sleep from me,
> And night pitch black was agitated above me
> Because I heard that Aḥmad had blamed me
> I passed the night like a man with fever
> O best of those, a swift light-footed
> Straight-running camel ever carried,
> Forgive me for what I said and did
> When I went wandering in error,
> What time Ṣaḥr gave me most misleading orders,
> And Makhrama did the same:
> When I supported evil courses
> Led by those who erred, whose way was ill-omened.
> Today my heart believes in the prophet Muḥammad,
> He who misses this is a loser.
> Enmity has passed, its ties are ended,
> Kinship and reason call us together
> Forgive my mistakes—my parents be thy ransom,
> For you are compassionate having found mercy.
> Upon you is the sign of God's knowledge,
> A light most bright and a seal imprinted.

[1] This is interesting because the Qur'ān [illegible] which [illegible] poetry [illegible] as though Ḥassān [illegible] indeed knew that they had been written on to Ḥassān's line and received the imperative.

> After His love He gave you His proof to honour you
> And God's proof is great.
> I testify that your religion is true
> And that you are great among men.
> And God testifies that Aḥmad is the chosen,
> The noble one, cynosure of the righteous,
> A prince whose lofty house is from Ḥulwān,
> Strong from top to bottom (809).

As for Huhayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī, he lived there until he died 828
an unbeliever. His wife was Umm Hāni' d. Abū Ṭālib whose name was Hind. When he heard that she had become a Muslim he said:

> Does Hind long for you or do you know that she has asked about you?
> Thus distance produces many changes.
> On a high inaccessible fort in Najrān she has banished my sleep.
> When night falls her phantom roams abroad.
> O that reproacher who wakes me at night and blames me!
> She reproaches me by night—may her error err exactly!
> Asserting that if I obey my family I shall perish,
> But will anything but the loss of her kill me?
> But I am of a people who if they do their utmost
> They attain their end forthwith.
> I protect the rear of my tribe
> When they wheel beneath the spear points
> And the swords in their hands become like
> The sticks boys play with, no shade but the swords.[1]
> I loathe the envious and their wishes
> God will provide food for myself and my family
> Words spoken without truth
> Are like an arrow without a head.
> If you have followed Muḥammad's religion
> And the ties of kinship drew you to your kin,
> Then stay far distant on a high round rock,
> Dry dust as only moisture (810).

The Muslims who were present at the conquest of Mecca numbered 10,000 of B. Sulaym (so some say 7000), 700 of B. Ghifār, 400 of Aslam, 400 of Muzayna (1,003), and the rest of them were from Quraysh and the Anṣār and their allies and parties of Arabs from Tamīm and Qays and Asad.

[1] This line is an imitation of L. 31 in the *Mu'allaqa* of 'Amr b. Kulthūm:

> Ka'anna sufūfahā ghudwa qawāriḥun
> qaṭafnā'ūnā ṭayrun ghiyāla ṭā'iri

Some manuscripts favour a rendering 'hooded nags'. In either case the meaning is that they regarded the swords as mere toys.

[2] The poet apostrophizes himself.

Among the poems about the conquest is the following from Ḥassān b. Thābit

From Dhātu'l-Aṣābi' and al-Liwā'[1] to 'Adhrā'[2]
Traces have disappeared, their camping-ground is empty
The camps of B. al-Hashās[3] are a desert
Obliterated by wind and rain.
There used always to be a friend there, 629
Its pastures held choice camels and sheep.
But leave that! Who will rid me of the night vision
Which keeps me from sleep when night's first hours have gone,
Of Sha'thā'[4] who fills me with longing
So that my heart cannot be cured of it?
She is like the wine of Bayt Ra's
Mixed with honey and water.
All draughts that could be mentioned
Cannot be compared with that wine
We blame it for what we do amiss
If we are quarrelsome or insolent to others.
When we drink it we are as kings and lions,
Nothing can keep us from the fray
May we lose our horses if you do not see them[5]
Raising the dust-clouds, their rendezvous Kadd'
They dig at the tents turning their necks to one side,
The thirsty lances couched above their shoulders
As our horses raced along,[6]
The women flapped their veils in their faces.
If you don't oppose us we shall celebrate the 'Umra,
The conquest will be completed and the covering removed.
But if you do, expect a fight on the day
When God helps those He pleases
Gabriel, God's messenger, is with us and
The holy spirit has no equal.
God said, 'I have sent a man
Who speaks the truth if you will profit by experience

[illegible]

I bear witness to him, so prose[7] confess him truthful.
But you said, 'We will not and we do not wish to.
And God said, 'I have sent an army.
The Anṣār accustomed to the fray
Every day we get from Ma'add[8]
Cursing, battle, or lampooning.
We will repulse with verses those who lampoon us
And smite them when war breaks out.
Give Abū Sufyān a message from me,
For what was hidden has become clear
Namely that our swords have left you a slave
The heads of the 'Abdu'l-Dār mere bondwomen
You lampooned Muhammad and I answered for him: 630
There is a reward for that with God.
Would you lampoon him whom you cannot equal?
(The worse of you be a ransom for the better of you!)
You have lampooned the pure blessed *ḥanīf*
God's trusted one whose nature is loyalty.
Is he who lampoons God's apostle
And he who praises and helps him equal?
My father, my grandfather and my honour
Protect Muhammad's honour against you.
My tongue is a sharp sword without a flaw
My verse a sea which the buckets cannot make turbid (8.1).

Aus b. Zunaym al-Dilī apologizing to the apostle for what 'Amr b. Sālim al-Khuzā'ī said about them said

Was it you by whose orders Ma'add was led?
May God guided them and said to you, 'Testify
No camel ever carried a purer man
More [illegible] in his promise than of [illegible]
[illegible] on the good, more lavish in giving
When he went for [illegible] like a polished Indian sword
More generous in giving a rich Yamani robe hardly worn
And the horse that was easily first in the race
Know, O apostle of God, that you will get me
Also that a threat from you is as good as fulfilled
Know, O apostle, that you have power
Over them that dwell in highland and plain
Know that the rulers, the elders of Khuzā'a
Are liars which break every promise
They [illegible] the apostle has [illegible] them.

[illegible]

Were it true may my hand never lift a whip!
I merely say, 'Woe to the mother of the heroes
Who were slain in unhappy unlucky days'
Those who their equal in blood killed them
And great was my weeping and dismay.
Your would break the covenant of your [illegible]
'Abd b. 'Abdullah and the daughter of Mahwad.
Dhu'ayb and Kulthum and Salmā went successively to death,
So if my eye does not weep let me grieve.
There is no clan like Salmā and his brothers;
Are kings the same as slaves?
I have not broken with custom or shed blood
Consider: you who know the truth, and act!

Tudayl b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Umm Aqram answered him

Anas wept Bazza, how loud was his cry.
He should have wept for Adiy unavenged and destroyed
You wept, Abū Aba, because they were blood relations
That you might have an excuse if none started a war
Noble warriors killed them on the day of Khandama,
Nufayl and Ma'bad among them if you inquire,
If your tears flow for them you will not be blamed
And if the eye does not weep then be sad (812).

Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā said concerning the day of the conquest:[a]

Muzayna and the Banū Khuffāf that day
Expelled the people of al-Hulaylaq[b] from every ravine.
We smote them with our sharp swords
The day the good prophet entered Mecca.
We came on them with seven hundred from Sulaym
And a full thousand from Banū 'Uthmān.
We smote their shoulders with cut and thrust
And shot them with our feathered shafts.
You could hear among the ranks their whisper
As if he scorched and were split from its binding.[c]
We went with lances straight levelled

[illegible]

While our horses wheeled among them.
We came back plundering as we would
While they went back disconsolate.
We pledged our faith to the apostle
In sincere friendship.
They heard what we said and determined
To depart from us that day of fear (813).

KHĀLID'S EXPEDITION AFTER THE CONQUEST TO THE B. JADHIMA OF KINĀNA AND 'ALI'S EXPEDITION TO REPAIR KHĀLID'S ERROR

The apostle sent out troops in the district round Mecca inviting men to God. He did not order them to fight. Among those he sent was Khālid b. al-Walīd whom he ordered to go to the lower part of the flat country as a missionary. He did not send him to fight. He subdued the B. Jadhima and killed some of them (814).

Hakim b. Hakim b. 'Aqlad b. Hunayf from Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali said: When he took possession of Mecca the apostle sent Khālid forth as a missionary. He did not send him to fight. He had with him the Arab tribes of Sulaym b. Mansūr and Mudlij b. Murra, and they subdued B. Jadhima b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kināna. When the people saw him they grasped their weapons, and Khālid said, 'Lay down your arms, for everybody has accepted Islam.'

A traditionist of B. Jadhima who was one of our companions told me: "When Khālid ordered us to lay down our arms one of our men called Jahdam said, 'Woe to you, B. Jadhima! This is Khālid. If you lay down your arms you will be bound, and after you have been bound you will be beheaded. By God, I'll never lay down my arms.'" Some of his people took hold of him saying, 'Do you want to shed our blood? Everyone else has accepted Islam and laid down their arms, war is over and everybody is safe.'" They persisted to the point of taking away his arms, and they then [illegible]

Hakim b. Hakim from Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali told me: As soon as they had laid down their arms Khālid ordered their hands to be tied behind their backs and put them to the sword, killing a number of them. When the news reached the apostle he raised his hands to heaven and said: 'O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khālid has done' (815).

Hakim on the same authority told me that the apostle summoned 'Ali and told him to go to these people and look into the affair and abolish the practices of the pagan era. So 'Ali went to them with the money the apostle had sent and paid the bloodwit and made good their monetary loss even for

[illegible]

a dog's head. When all blood and property had been paid he he still had some money over. He asked if any compensation was still due and when [illegible] the rest of the money on behalf of the [illegible] together he and their kinsmen [illegible] money. Then he returned and reported to the apostle what he had done and he approved it saying: 'Then the apostle stood up and faced the Qibla and raised his voice so that his accents could be seen and said: 'O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khālid has done.' Then he said three times.

[illegible] Khālid and said that he said: 'And [illegible] Abū-Salama b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī ordered me to do so and he said: 'The apostle has ordered you to fight them because they hung back from Islām.' (§ 6)

[illegible] had said to them when they had drawn their swords and he saw what Khālid was doing with the B. Jadhīma: 'O B. Jadhīma, the battle is here. I give you full warning of the disaster into which you have fallen.' I have heard that Khālid and Abd'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf had words about this. [illegible] that he had only avenged 'Abdu-'l-Rahmān's father. He maintained that he was a liar because he himself had killed his father's slayer, but Khālid had taken compensation for his uncle al-'Āṣī b. al-Mughīra so that there was bad feeling between them. Hearing of this the apostle said: 'Khālid, leave the companions alone, for by God if you had a mountain of gold you spent in the cause of God, it would not approach the merit of my companions.'

[illegible] Sālim b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm and [illegible] Hārith b. Zuhayr and 'Abdu-'l-[illegible] b. 'Abdu-'l-Ashad [illegible] Hishām b. Zuhayr and 'Abdu-'l-[illegible] b. 'Abdu-'l-Ashad whom Khālid had given over to the Banū-Sulaym. Al-'Āṣī took his son 'Uthmān and 'Auf took his son 'Abdu-'l-Rahmān. When they got [illegible] he [illegible] of the B. Jadhīma [illegible] died in the Yemen, to his heirs. One of these men called Khālid b. Hishām claimed a man met them in the Jadhīma territory before they could get in the dead man's family. They refused to give it up. A fight for the possession of the [illegible] took place during which [illegible] Al-'Āṣī and his son [illegible] the property of [illegible] and 'Auf [illegible] Abū-'l-Rahmān killed Khālid b. Hishām [illegible] slayer of his father. [illegible] B. Jadhīma [illegible] had been [illegible] by them [illegible] Khālid [illegible] afterwards. [illegible] compensation for blood and property [illegible] Quraysh [illegible] was [illegible]

One of the B. Jadhīma had thought some say it was a woman called Salmā:

> Had not one tribe said to another: Be Muslims,
> Sulaym, that day, would have met a strong opponent

[1] Lit. Ubul

> Been and the sons of Ishāq and Where would have matters been
> Until they left the camels groaning in pain.
> How many warriors did you see on the day of Ghumaysā'
> Dead, never wounded before, always giving the wounds?
> (Or) made husbandmen women remain with the marriageables
> And separated the dam who were separated from their young (?)

Ashja b. Mirdās answered her, some say it was al-Jahhāf b. Hakīm al-Sulamī:

> Stop this idle talk' reflection opponent
> Are we always to be the hero of the battle
> Khālid was more to be excused than you
> The day he took the plain way to the affair
> Helped by God's command driving towards you
> (Horses) which stumble not going left and righ
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> Steers vanqued showing their teeth in shards of dust.
> If we have bereaved you, Sulaym,
> You have left men and women to bewail Malik.

Al-Jahhāf b. Hakīm al-Sulamī said

> Heaven given free rein were with the prophet at Hunayn
> Bleeding from their wounds;
> In Khālid's raid too their heaven
> Galloped in the sacred area
> We set our force against the spears
> Faces never given to be slapped
> I am not one to throw my garments from me?
> Whenever a warrior clashes his lances,
> But my colt beneath me bears me
> To the heights' with my sharp sword.

Ta'labā b. 'Utba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas from al-Zuhrī from Ibn Abū Hadrad al-Aslamī [illegible] I was with Khālid a member [illegible] a young man of the B. Jadhīma who was about ten years ago spoke to me. His hands were tied to his neck by an old rope and the women were around us in a group a short distance away. He asked me to take hold of the rope and lead him to the women so that he might say what he had to say and when bringing him back and do what we had with him. I said that that was a

[illegible]

small thing to ask and I led him to them. As he stood by them he said: 'Fare you well, Khubaysha, though life is at an end.'

Tell me when I sought and found you in Halya
Or came on you in al-Khawlaniq,
Was I not a lover worthy to be given what he asked,
Who undertook journeys by night and noonday?
I did no wrong when I said when our people were together,
Reward me with love before some misfortune befalls!
Reward me with love before distance divides
And the chief goes off with a dear one from parted.
For I was never disloyal to our secret truth
And my eye never looked admiringly at another
When the tribe's troubles distracted me from love
Even then the attraction of love was there (818).

The same authority told me that she said: 'May your life be prolonged seven and ten continuous years and eight thereafter.' Then I took him away and he was beheaded.

Abū Firās b. Abū Sunbata al-Aslamī from some of their shaykhs from one who was present said: She went to him when he was beheaded and wept over him and kept on kissing him until she died at his side.

One of the B. Jadhīma said:

God requite Mudlij for the evil they did us
Wherever they go or rest.
They took our goods and divided them
The spears came at us not once nor twice.
Were it not for the religion of Muhammad's people
Their cavalry[1] would have fled and been driven off.
What hindered them from helping a squadron
Like a swarm of locusts loose and scattered abroad?
If they repent or return to their (right) way
We will not repay them for what the squadron lost.[2]

Wahb of the B. Layth answered him:

We called Āmir to Islam and the truth.
It is not our fault if Āmir turned their backs.
What happened to Āmir, confound them, is not our fault
Because their minds were foolish and went astray.

One of the B. Jadhīma said:

Congratulate B. Ka'b on the coming of Khālid and his companions
The morn when the squadrons came on us.
Ibn Kuwaylid showed no desire for revenge

[1] Reading with C. Mayd
[2] Or, reading the passive with W., 'for the squadron having been left away'.

You would have been content had you not been there.
Our men do not keep their foes from us,
Nor is the malady of the day of al-Ghumaysā' cured.

A young man of B. Jadhīma who was sending his mother and his two sisters in their flight from Khālid's force said: 839

Set free your skirts, let your garments trail:
Walk as chaste women who do not quail.
We guard our women, we will not fail.

Young men of B. Jadhīma known as B. Mustaliq were composing rough verse when they heard of Khālid, and one of them said:

Safrā' white of flanks whom a man with flocks and camels
Possesses, knows that I will do all a man can do that day.

And another said:

Safrā' who diverts her husband well known.
She who eats but a morsel of meat.
That today I will deliver a swift blow
As one leaving the sacred area hits sluggish pregnant camels

And another said:

No long-maned lion with ponderous paws,
Perverse man and tawny whiskers,[1]
Roaring twixt jungle and thicket when the noon is cold,
Whose only food is man,
Is fuller than I was that day, I swear

KHĀLID'S JOURNEY TO DESTROY AL-'UZZĀ

Then the apostle sent Khālid to al-'Uzzā which was in Nakhla. It was a temple which the tribe of Quraysh and Kināna and all Mudar used to venerate. Its guardians and wardens were B. Shaybān of B. Sulaym, allies of B. Hāshim. When the Sulamī guardian heard of Khālid's coming he hung his sword on her, climbed the mountain on which she stood, and said:

O 'Uzzā, make an annihilating attack on Khālid,
Throw aside your veil and gird up your train. 840
O 'Uzzā, if you do not kill this man Khālid
Then bear a swift punishment or become a Christian.[2]

When Khālid arrived he destroyed her and returned to the apostle.

[1] prefer this reading to W.'s (Mah. ed.)
[2] 'Or you are [illegible] for [illegible] and punishment.' Tanaṣṣar really means 'become a Muslim' because the speaker at that date saw no difference between the two religions.

[illegible] al-Zuhri from 'Ubaydallah b. 'Abdallah b. 'Utba b. Mas'ud [illegible] The apostle entered on Mecca after he had conquered it for the Meccan nation, shortening prayers. The conquest of Mecca took place on the seventh Ramadan [illegible]

THE BATTLE OF HUNAYN, A.H. 8

When Hawazin heard how God had given the apostle possession of Mecca, Malik b. 'Auf al-Nasri collected them together [illegible] to him also of Thaqif and all Nasr [illegible] and Sa'd b. Bakr [illegible] of Hilal. There were no others present from Qays 'Ailan [illegible] and Kulayb of the Sa'd Bakr [illegible] was present. Among the B. Jusham was Durayd b. al-Simma, a very old man without any consideration [illegible] for he was an experienced leader. Thaqif had two leaders. Qarib b. al-Aswad b. Mas'ud b. Mu'attib commanded the Ahlaf, and Dhu'l-Khimar Subay' b. al-Harith b. Malik and his brother Ahmar commanded the B. Malik. The general direction of affairs lay with Malik b. 'Auf al-Nasri. When he decided to attack the apostle he placed with the men their cattle, wives, and children. When he halted at Autas the men assembled to him, among them Durayd b. al-Simma in a sort of howdah in which he was carried. As soon as he arrived he inquired what wadi they were in and when he was told that it was Autas he said that it was a fine place for cavalry. 'Not a hill with jagged rocks, nor a plain full of dust, but why do I hear the groaning of camels and the braying of asses, and the crying of children and the bleating of sheep?' They told him that Malik had brought them with the men, and he immediately inquired for him and said, 'O Malik, you have become the chief of your people and this is a day which will be followed by great events.' He then inquired about the cattle and the women and children, and Malik explained that his purpose in bringing them and putting them behind the men was to make them fight to the death in their defence. He made a sound indicative of dismay[1] and said, 'You sheep-tender, do you suppose that anything will turn back a man that runs away? If all goes well nothing will help you but sword and lance. If [illegible]

asked what had happened to Ka'b and Kilab, and when he heard that they were not there he said, 'Bravery and force are not here; were it a day of lofty deeds Ka'b and Kilab would not have stayed away. I wish that you had done what they have done. What clans have you got?' They told him 'Amr b. 'Amir and 'Auf b. 'Amir, and he said, 'Those two spears of 'Amir can do nothing either way. You've done no good, Malik, by sending forward the mainbody, the mainbody of Hawazin, to meet the cavalry. Send them up to the high and inaccessible part of their land and meet the

apostle[illegible] on horseback. If all goes well those behind can pay you, and if the battle goes against you you will have stained your lance and sword. Malik answered, 'I won't do it. You are an old dotard. You will either [illegible] back.' He could not bear Durayd's having any credit in the matter. However men said that they would obey him and Durayd said, 'This is a day which I do not witness (as a warrior) and did not absent myself.

> Would that I were young again!
> I would ride forward gently
> Leading long-haired steeds
> Like young ostriches (Rajz)

[1657] Durayd was the chief of the B. Jusham and their leader and prominent man. But old age had overshadow him so that he was feeble. The B. [illegible] was Durayd b. al-Simma b. Bakr b. Aldatan b. Judi'a b. Ghaziya b. Tudhum b. Mu'awiya b. Bakr b. Hawazin. Then Malik said to the men, 'As soon as you see them, break your scabbards and attack them as one man.'

[illegible] informed me that he was told that Malik said our spies who came back were there with disturbed. We took he asked what an agreed had happened to them, they said, 'We saw white men on piebald horses and we scattered in your sight.' And, by God, even that did not turn him back from the course he intended.

We hear that [illegible] among them he gave [illegible] b. Abu Hadrad al-Aslami to them and ordered him to go among them and see what they were doing. He returned all alone, [illegible] he was. Abdallah b. Abu Hadrad said, 'Umar said that he was a liar. He replied, 'You [illegible] Abu Hadrad had said. 'Umar said that he was a liar. He replied, 'You were in error and God guided you, 'Umar.']

When the apostle decided to go out against Hawazin he was told that Safwan b. Umayya had some armour and weapons, so he sent to him [illegible] thought he was in that, 'Have a proclamation among [illegible] of their weapons of [illegible] we may fight our [illegible] Safwan asked, 'Are [illegible] demanding them by force, Muhammad?' He said, 'No, they are a loan [illegible] He said that in their [illegible] he gave them a hundred coats of mail with their [illegible] to go back to them. Then [illegible] the apostle [illegible] to return them and he provided it.

[illegible] Muslims and [illegible] of his companions who had gone out with him when he [illegible] Mecca [illegible]

[1] The gloss' was one who changed his religion, in this case the newly converted Muslims

843 all. The apostle left in charge of Mecca 'Attāb b. Asīd b. Abū'l-'Īs b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams to look after the men who had stayed behind. Then he went forward to meet Hawāzin.

'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī said,

The year the ghoul of their people has smitten Ri'l[1]
In the midst of their tents, for the ghoul has many forces.
Alas for the mother of Kilāb when the cavalry of Ibn Hawdha
And Insān[2] came on them unopposed.
Deny not your kindred, strengthen the bonds with your protégés,
Your cousins are Sa'd and Duhmān.[3]
You will not return them though it is a flagrant disgrace (not to do so),
As long as milk is in the captured camels.
It is a disgrace by whose shame Hadam[4] has been covered
And Dhū Shaughar and Silwān[5] flow with it.
It is no better than what Hadhal roasted
When he said, 'All roasted wild ass is inedible.'[6]
Hawāzin are a good tribe save that they have a Yamānī disease
If they are not treacherous they are deceitful.
They have a brother—had they been true to their covenant
And had we reduced them by war they would have been kindly
Take to Hawāzin one and all
A plain message of advice from me.
I think God's apostle will attack you in the morning
With an army extending over all the plain,
Among them your brother Sulaym who will not let you go.
And the Muslims, God's servants, Ghassān.
On his right are the Banū Asad
And the redoubtable Banū 'Abs and Dhubyān.
The earth almost quaked in fear.
And in the van are Aus and 'Uthmān.

Aus and 'Uthmān are two tribes of Murayna (816).

844 Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī from Sinān b. Abū Sinān al-Dī'alī from Abū Wāqid al-Laythī told me that al-Hārith b. Mālik said: We went forth with the apostle to Hunayn fresh from paganism. The heathen Quraysh and other Arabs had a great green tree called Dhāt Anwāt to which they used to come every year and hang their weapons on it and sacrifice beside it and devote themselves to it for a day. As we were going with the apostle we saw a great lote tree and we called out to the apostle from the sides of the way: Make us a tree to hang things on such as they have. He said, 'Allāh

[illegible]

[illegible] Silwān of Adā'i.

A metaphorical [illegible]

akbar! By Him who holds my life in His hand, You have said what Moses' people said to him: "Make us a god even as they have gods." He said: "You are an ignorant people. You would follow the customs of those who were before you."'[1]

Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda from 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Jābir from his father Jābir b. 'Abdullāh told me: When we approached Wādī Hunayn we came down through a wadi wide and sloping. We were descending gradually in the morning twilight. The enemy had got there before us and had hidden themselves in its bypaths and side tracks and narrow places. They had collected and were fully prepared, and by God we were terrified when as we were coming down, the squadrons attacked us as one man. The people broke and fled none heeding the other. The apostle withdrew to the right and said, 'Where are you going, men? Come to me. I am God's apostle. I am Muhammad the son of 'Abdullāh.' And not for nothing did the camels bump one unto the other. The men ran away except that a 845
number of Muhājirūn and Ansār and men of his family remained with the apostle. Of the Muhājirūn who stood firm were Abū Bakr and 'Umar, of his family 'Alī and al-'Abbās and Abū Sufyān b. al-Hārith and his son and al-Fadl b. 'Abbās, and Rabī'a b. al-Hārith and Usāma b. Zayd and Ayman b. Umm Ayman b. 'Ubayd who was killed that day (822).

There was a man of Hawāzin on a red camel carrying a black banner at the end of a long spear leading Hawāzin. When he overtook a man he thrust him with his spear. When people moved out of his reach he lifted his spear to those behind him and they went after them.

When the men fled and the rude fellows from Mecca who were with the apostle saw the flight some of them spoke in such a way as to disclose their enmity. Abū Sufyān b. Harb said: 'Their flight will not stop before they get to the sea!' He had his divining arrows with him in his quiver. Jawla b. al-Hanbal cried (822) (he together with his brother Safwān b. Umayya was a polytheist during the respite which the apostle had given him): 'Surely sorcery is vain today.' Safwān said, 'Shut up! God smash your mouth! I would rather be ruled by a man of Quraysh than a man of Hawāzin' (823).

Shaybe b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Talha, brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār, said: I said, Today I will get my revenge on Muhammad (for his father had been killed at Uhud). Today I will kill Muhammad. I went round him to kill him and something happened to stay my purpose so that I could not do it and I knew that he was protected from me.

One of the Meccans told me that when the apostle left Mecca for Hunayn and saw the great number of God's armies that were with him he said, 'We 846
shall not be worsted today for want of numbers.' Some people allege that a man of B. Bakr said this.

Az-Zuhrī from Kathīr b. al-'Abbās from his father told me: I was with the apostle holding the ring of the bridle which I had put between the jaws

[1] Sūra v. 24.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] found only prisoners handcuffed with the spoils.

[illegible] Muslim where he accepted [illegible] baptized. I am your brother's son, O apostle of God."

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr said that the apostle returned and saw Umm Salama d. Malhan who was with her husband Abu Talha. She was [illegible] had a knife with her and Abu Talha asked why, and she said, "I took the knife so that if a pagan came near me [illegible] Do you hear what Umm Sulaym al-Ramayṣā' says, O apostle?"

When he set out for Hunayn the apostle had joined B. Sulaym to [illegible] and when the men fled Mālik b. 'Auf said, encouraging his horse:

> Forward, Malik!* This is a difficult day
> Such as I am such as this turns out to the fight.
>
> [illegible]
>
> * [illegible]
> † [illegible]

> If the front and rear ranks are lost
> Still they come head after head,
> Squadrons the eyes tire in counting.
> I tend to thrust with a spear dripping with blood
> When the lurking craven was blanched
> I would make a wide rush whence blood gushed audible
> Blood spurting from its midst
> Sometimes in spouts, sometimes quietly flowing.
> The spear shaft broken in it.
> O Zayd, O Ibn Hanbam, where are you fleeing?
> Now teeth are gone, old age has come.
> The white long-veiled women know
> That I am no tyro in such affairs
> When the chaste wife is sent out from the curtains.*

Malik also said

> Forward, Malik! They are fine horsemen.
> Do not think that the enemy have gone (Raj)

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told from Abu Qatada al-[illegible] of the Muslims passed by and stripped him, and when the fighting was over and we had [illegible] the apostle said, "Who killed a man who had taken a [illegible] spoil." I said the apostle spoke [illegible] admitted that I had spoken the truth and that the spoil was in his possession, "So pay him to his satisfaction on my behalf from my spoil." Abu Bakr said, "No, by Allah, he should not give [illegible] with you as his prey? Restore the spoil of the man he killed to him." The apostle [illegible] I said, "Restore the spoil of the man he killed to him." The man [illegible] I ever held.

[illegible] Abu Qatada from Ishaq b. Abdullah b. Abu Talha [illegible] Abu Qatada said, "I killed a man and I saw a man take the spoil of Hunayn men

* [illegible]

My father Isḥāq b. Yasār told me that he was told from Jubayr b. Muṭ'im. Before the people fled and men were fighting one another I saw the like of a black garment coming from heaven until it fell between us and the enemy. I looked, and lo black ants everywhere filled the wadi. I had no doubt that they were the angels. Then the enemy fled [illegible] power over them a Muslim woman said

> Allah's cavalry have beaten Al-Lāt's cavalry
> And Allah best deserves to hold fast (Rabb).

When Hawāzin were put to flight the killing of Thaqīf among the B. Mālik was so [illegible] flag among whom were Uthmān b. Abdullāh b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabīb. Their flag was with Dhū'l-Khimār [illegible] where he was killed [illegible] Abdullāh took it and fought by it until he was killed.

Amr b. Wahb b. al-Aswad told me that when news of his death reached the apostle he said, 'God curse him. He used to hate Quraysh.'

[illegible] Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas told me that a young uncircumcised Christian slave was killed with Uthmān, and while one of the Anṣār was plundering he [illegible] him and found that he was uncircumcised. He called out at the top of his voice, 'Look, you Arabs, God knows that Thaqīf are uncircumcised!' Mughīra b. Shu'ba [illegible] his hand [illegible] would go out from them among the Arabs, and told him not to say that for the man concerned was only a Christian slave. Then he began to uncover the slain and showed that they were circumcised.

The flag of the Aḥlāf was with Qārib b. al-Aswad, and when the men were routed he [illegible] and his [illegible] people fled. Only two men of the Aḥlāf were killed and one of the B. Ghiyara called Wahb and another of B. Kubba called al-Julāḥ. When the apostle heard of the killing of al-Julāḥ he said, 'The chief of the young men of Thaqīf except Dhū'l-Khimār has been killed [illegible] by him al-Ḥārith b. Uwayf.'

Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, mentioning Qārib b. al-Aswad and his flight from his father's sons, and Dhū'l-Khimār and his shouting up his people to death, said

> Who will tell Ghaylān and 'Urwa from me
> (I think one who knows will come to him).
> I send to tell you something
> Which is different from what you say which will go round
> That Muḥammad is a man, an apostle to my Lord
> Who errs not, neither does he sin
> We have found him a prophet like Moses,
> Any who would rival him in goodness must fail.

> Evil was the state of the B. Qasiy in Wajj
> When each one's affairs were decreed
> They lost the day (and every people has a ruler
> And fortunes change
> We came on them like lions of the thickets
> The armies of God came openly.
> We came at the main body of B. Qasiy
> Almost flying at them in our rage.
> Had they stayed I swear we would have come at them
> With armies and they would not have got away
> We were as lions of Liya[1] there until we destroyed them
> And al-Nuṣūr[2] were forced to surrender
> There was a day before that day at Ḥunayn which is past
> And blood then flowed freely
> In former days there was no battle like this.
> Men of long memories have never heard of such.
> We slew B. Ḥutayṭ in the dust by their [illegible]
> [illegible] away
> Dhū'l-Khimār was not the chief of a people
> Who possessed intelligence to blame or disapprove.
> He led them on the road to death
> As everyone could see.
> Those who escaped were choked with terror.
> A multitude of them were slain
> The tongued man could not help in such a case
> Nor he who was too shy and hesitant to attack
> He destroyed them and he perished himself
> They had given him the leadership and the leaders fled.
> Banū 'Auf's horses went at a fair pace
> Fed on fresh grass and barley
> But for Qārib and his father's sons
> The fields and castles would have been divided
> But they attained prominence
> By the lucky advice they were given
> They obeyed Qārib and they had good fortune
> And good sense that brought them glory
> If they are guided to Islām they will be found
> Leaders of men while time lasts.
> If they do not accept it they call
> For God's war in which they will have no helper
> As war destroyed the B. Sa'd
> And fate the clan of B. Ghaziya.
> The B. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr

[1] Qual is a name of Thaqīf and Wajj is a wadi in al-Ṭā'if.
[2] A place near al-Ṭā'if.
[3] The family of Mālik b. 'Auf al-Naṣrī.

Were like a flock of sheep coming bleating to Islam.
We said, 'Be Muslims: we are your brethren,
For our breasts are free from enmity.'
When the people came to us they seemed
Blind to hatred after peace had come (847).

When the polytheists were routed they came to al-Ṭā'if. Mālik b. Auf was with them and others were encamped in Auṭās. Some of them made for Nakhla, but only the B. Ghiyara of Thaqīf. The apostle's cavalry followed those who took the road to Nakhla, but not those who went to the passes.

Rabī'a b. Rufay' b. Ubbān b. Tha'laba b. Rabī'a b. Yarbū' b. Sammāk b. Auf b. Imru'u-Qays who was called after his mother Ibn Dughunna more often (828) overtook Durayd b. al-Ṣimma and took hold of his camel's halter thinking that he was a woman because he was in his howdah. And lo, it was a man; he made the camel kneel and it was a very old man—Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. The young man did not know him and Durayd asked him what he wanted and what was his name. He told him and said that he wanted to kill him, and struck him with his sword to no effect. Durayd said, 'What a poor weapon your mother has given you! Take this sword of mine that is behind the saddle in the howdah and strike me with it above the spine and below the head, for that is the way I used to strike men. Then when you come to your mother tell her that you have killed Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, for many a the day I have protected your women.' The B. Sulaym allege that Rabī'a said, 'When I struck him he fell and exposed himself, and lo his crotch and the inside of his thighs were like paper from riding horses bareback.' When Rabī'a returned to his mother he told her that he had killed him and she said, 'By God, he set free three mothers and grandmothers of [illegible]

By Anas d. Durayd said of Rabī'a's killing him

By God I did not fear the army of fate
On Durayd's account in the valley of Sunayna
God repay the B. Sulaym for him
And may ingratitude rend them for what they have done.
May He give us the blood of their best men to drink
When we lead an army against them.
Many a calamity did you avert from them
When they were at the point of death.
Many a noble woman of theirs did you free
And others you loosed from bonds.
Many a man of Sulaym named you noble
As he died when you had answered his call.
Our reward from them is ingratitude and grief

[illegible]

Which melts our very bones.
May the traces of your cavalry after hard travel
In Dhū Rayn as far as the desert of al-Nuhāq be effaced!

Anas also said

They said, 'We have killed Durayd.' 'True,' I said
And my tears flowed down my garment.
Were it not for Him who has conquered all the tribes
Sulaym and Ka'b would have seen what counsel to follow.
A great army of pungent smell
Would have attached them continuously wherever they were (829).

The apostle sent Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī on the track of those who had gone towards Auṭās and he overtook some of the fugitives. In the skirmishes which followed Abū 'Āmir was killed by an arrow and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, his cousin, took the standard. He continued the fight and God gave him the victory and routed the enemy. It is alleged that Salama b. Durayd shot Abū 'Āmir in the knee and the wound proved fatal. He said

If you ask about me I am Salama,
The son of Samādir to one who asks further
I smite with my sword the heads of the Muslims.

Samādir was his mother.

The B. Naṣr killed many of B. Ri'āb and they allege that 'Abdallāh b. Qays, called b. al-Aṣrif, one of B. Wālib b. Ri'āb, said to the apostle, "B. Ri'āb have perished," and they allege that the apostle said, 'O God, make good their losses.'

Mālik b. Auf during the flight stopped with some of his horsemen at a pass on the road and told them to wait until the weak ones passed and those in the rear had caught up, and they did so. Mālik said of that

Were it not for two charges on Muḥāj,
The way would be difficult for the camp followers,
But for the charge of Dubnāb b. Naṣr
At the palms where al-Shuqq* flows
Ja'far and Banū Hilāl would have returned discomfited
Riding two on a camel in their distress (830).

Salama b. Durayd who was conducting his wife until she escaped them said

You would have me forget though you are unhurt
And though you know that day at the foot of al-Arrub
That I protected you and walked behind you
Watching on all sides when to ride would have been a boon,
When every well-poised warrior with flowing locks
Fled from his mother and did not return to his friend (831).

[illegible]

856 One of our companions told us that the apostle that day passed by a woman whom Khālid b. al-Walīd had killed while men had [illegible] round her. When he heard what had happened he sent word to Khālid and forbade him to kill child, or woman, or hired slave.

One of B. Sa'd b. Bakr told me that the apostle said that day, 'If you get hold of Bujād, a man of B. Sa'd b. Bakr, don't let him escape you, for he had done great wrong.' When the Muslims took him they led him away with his family and with him (T. his sister) al-Shaymā' d. al-Hārith (T. b. Abdullāh b. Abdu'l-'Uzzā, foster-sister of the apostle. They treated her roughly as they brought her along and she told the Muslims that she was the foster-sister of the apostle, but they did not believe her until they had brought her to the apostle.

Yazīd b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'dī told me that when she was brought to the apostle she claimed to be his foster-sister, and when he asked for proof she
857 said, 'The bite you gave me in my back when I carried you at my hip.' The apostle acknowledged the proof and stretched out his robe for her to sit on and treated her kindly. He gave her the choice of living with him in affection and honour or going back to her people with presents, and she chose the latter. The B. Sa'd allege that he gave her a slave called Makhūl and a slave girl, the one married the other and their progeny still exists (857).

The names of those martyred at Hunayn were

From Quraysh of B. Hāshim: Ayman b. 'Ubayd.

From B. Asad b. Abdu'l-'Uzzā: Yazīd b. Zama'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad. A horse of his called al-Janāh threw him and killed him.

From the Anṣār: Surāqa b. al-Hārith b. Adiy from B. 'Ajlān.

From the Ash'ariyūn: Abū Āmir al-Ash'arī.

The captives of Hunayn were brought to the apostle with their property. Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī (T. al-Qārī) was over the spoils and the apostle ordered that the captives and the animals should be brought to al-Ji'rāna and he kept in ward there.

Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā said about Hunayn:

> But for God and His servant you would have turned back
> When fear overwhelmed every coward
> On the slope the day our opponents met us
> While the horses galloped at full stretch,
> Some running clutching their garments,
> Others knocked sideways by hooves and chests.
> 858 God honoured us and made our religion victorious
> And glorified us in the worship of the Compassionate
> God destroyed them and dispersed them all
> And humiliated them in the worship of Satan (859).

'Abbās b. Mirdās said about the battle of Hunayn:

> By the swift horses on the day of Muzdalifa
> And by what the apostle recites from the Book
> I liked the punishment Thaqīf got yesterday on the side of the valley
> They were the chief of the enemies from Najd
> And their killing was sweeter than drink.
> We put to flight all the army of B. Qusay.
> The full weight fell on B. Ri'āb.
> The tents of Hilāl in Aurīd
> Were left covered with dust.
> If our horses had met B. Kilāb's army
> Their women would have got up as the dust arose.[1]
> We galloped among them from Bum to al-Aurīd[2]
> Panting after the spoil
> With a loud-voiced army, among them
> The apostle's squadron advancing to the fray (860).

'Atiyya b. 'Ufayyif al-Nafrī answered him:

> Does Rifā'a boast about Hunayn?
> And 'Abbās son of her who sucks milkless sheep!
> For you to boast is like a maid who struts about
> In her mistress's robes while the rest of her is bare![3]

'Atiyya spoke these two verses because of 'Abbās's vehemence against Hawāzin. Rifā'a was of Juhayna.

'Abbās b. Mirdās also said:

> O Seal of the Prophets, you are sent with the truth 861
> With all guidance for the way
> God has built up love upon you
> In His creation and named you Muhammad.
> Then those who were faithful to your agreement with them,
> An army over whom you set al-Dahhāk,
> A man with sharp weapons as though
> When the enemy surrounded him he saw you.[4]
> He attacked those of (his) kith and kin
> Seeking only to please God and you.

[1] Or 'to wail over the dead.'

[2] A place in Jurash country. The Aurīd are three black mountains near water belonging to 'Abdallāh b. Ḥibrī.

[3] Jilā generally means a hide or skin but can be applied to the skin of a human being.

[4] This is what the 'commentators' propose, but the line seems impossibly bad. If we understand dhawb in mean 'wound' and treat yashūr as a hy-form of ashāra with ḥawsh subjected to it (cf. Suyūṭī's Muzhir, Cairo, i 483) we could render:

> A man scarred by weapons,
> When the enemy surrounded him he was like an arifa tree

I owe this suggestion to Dr Arafat. The arifa is a thorny tree. The use of the accusative for the comparative is not without parallel. Cf. Wright ii, 138.

I tell you I saw him charging in clouds of dust
Crushing the heads of the polytheists[1]
Now throttling with bare hands,
Now splitting their skulls with his sharp sword.[1]
The B. Sulaym hastened before him
With continual cuts and thrusts at the enemy.
They walked beneath his banner there
Like lions with a haunt they mean to defend.
They did not hope for consideration of kinship
But obedience to their Lord and your love.
These were our doings for which we are renowned.
And our Helper is your Lord.

He said also:

If you saw, O Umm Farwa, our horses
Some red riderless and lame!
The battle had reduced their fatness.
Blood gushed from deep wounds
Many a woman whom our prowess protected
From the hardship of war so that she[1] had no fear, said,
'There are none like those who came to make an agreement
Which forged an inseparable link with Muhammad.
A deputation among them Abū Qatan, Hurāba
And Abū'l-Ghayth and Wāsi' and al-Miqna
And he who led the hundred which brought
The nine hundred to a complete thousand.
Banū Auf and the clan of Mukhāshin collected six hundred
And four hundred were brought from Khufāf
Then when the prophet was helped by our thousand
He handed us a fluttering standard.
We conquered with his flag and his commission bequeathed[2]
A glorious life and authority that will not cease
The day that we formed the prophet's flank
In the vale of Mecca when spears were quivering 'twixt
Our answer to him who called us to our Lord in truth
We went helmeted and unmailed alike,
With long mail whose mesh David chose
When he weaved iron, and 'Tubba' too.
By Hunayn's two wells we had a train
Which slew the hypocrites—an immovable army.
By us the prophet gained victory: we are the people who

C adds here:

Smiting the heads of the warriors with it
If you had seen us—we his protector you would have been satisfied

[1] Or 'their people' (ahlihā).
[2] The choice of words brings out the double meaning of 'lying' and 'making an agreement'.

In any emergency inflict loss and do well
We drove off Hawāzin that day with spears
Our cavalry was submerged in rising dust
When even the prophet feared their bravery, and as they came *on* *[illegible]*
The sun all but ceased to shine thereat
Banū Jusham were summoned and the hordes of Nuṣr
In the midst while the spears were thrusting
Until the apostle Muhammad said,
'O Banū Sulaym, you have kept your word, now desist.'
We went off and but for us their bravery
Would have injured the believers and they would have kept what they had gained.

He also said:

Mijdal is deserted by its people and Mutāli'
And the plain of Atik, and its cisterns are empty.
We had homes, O Jurd, when all life was pleasant
And the change of abode[1] brought the tribe together.
Long absence afar has changed my beloved,
But can a happy past ever return?[2]
If you seek the unbelievers I do not blame you,
But I am a helper and follower of the prophet.
The best of embassies I know summoned us to them,
Khuzayma, and al-Marrār and Wāsi',
So we came with a thousand of Sulaym finely clad
In armour woven by David.
We halted him lord at the two mountains of Mecca
And it was to God that we paid homage
We entered Mecca publicly with the guided one by force of arms,
While the dust arose in all directions.
Sweat covered the backs of the horses
And warm blood from within grew hotter
On the day of Hunayn when Hawāzin came against us
And we could scarcely breathe
We stood steadfast with al-Dahhāk
Struggle and combat did not dismay us.
In front of the apostle a banner fluttered above us
Like the rapid movement of a cloud.
The night that Dahhāk b. Sufyān fought with the apostle's sword
And death was near
We defended our brother from our brother.[3]

[1] Mutāli' is a mountain in Najd.
[2] One MS has 'after time's changes' which is a cliché that is often used by the poets and may well be right here.
[3] The point is that he is of Sulaym who was from Qays to whom Hawāzin belonged. The lineage runs: Aylān—Qays—Khaṣafa—'Ikrima—Mansūr, the father of Hawāzin and Sulaym.

Had we a choice we would have followed our own kin,
But God's religion is the religion of Muhammad.
We are satisfied with it. It contains guidance and law.
By it he set our affairs right after we had erred
And none can avert the decree of God.

He also said:

The last link with Umm Mu'ammal is broken,
She has changed her mind contrary to her promise:
She had sworn by God she would not break the link,
But she did not keep her word or fulfil her oath.
She is of Banū Khufāf who summer in the vale of al-Aqīq'
And occupy Wajra and 'Urf in the deserts.
Though Umm Mu'ammal follow the unbelievers
She has made me love her more despite her distance from me.
Someone will tell her that we refuse to do so
And seek only our Lord in alliance
And that we are on the side of the guide, the prophet Muhammad,
And number a thousand which (number) no (other) tribe reached.
With strong warriors of Sulaym
Who obey his orders to the letter.
Khufāf and Dhakwān and 'Auf whom you would think
Were black stallions walking among the she-camels
As though our reddish-white mail and helmets*
Clothed long-eared lions which meet one another in their lairs.
By us God's religion is undeniably strong.
We added a like number to the clan that was with him.
When we came to Mecca, our banner
Was like an eagle soaring to dart on its prey
(Riding) on horses which gazed upwards.
You would think when they gallop in their bits there is a swarm of jinn among them,[3]
The day we trod down the unbelievers
And found no deviation or turning from the apostle's order
In a battle and which the people heard only
Our calls urging to fight and the smashing of skulls
By swords that sent heads flying from their base
And severed the necks of warriors at a blow.
Often have we left the slain cut to pieces

[1] A wadi in the Hijaz.

The reading here should be *bayḍa* 'helmets' not *bīḍa* 'swords' as in C. The word is left unpointed in W. The poet is comparing the chain links depending from the helmets to the long ears of lions.

[3] This line is difficult. A.Dh. says *mawāhibū* means its pegs or pins (*watad*) while Z. suggests that it means 'where animals pasture' (*ma'ā ilā ma'ā*) and is followed by Dy. W. Arafat for the rendering given above.

And a widow crying Alas! over her husband
'Tis God not man we seek to please
To Him belongs the seen and the unseen.

He also said:

What ails thine eye painful and sleepless,
Its lash feeling like a piece of chaff?
Sorrow brings sleeplessness to the eye
And tears now cover it, now flow down
Like a string of pearls with the stringer
The thread breaks and they are scattered.
How far off is the home of her you long for,
Al-Summān and al-Ḥatar stand in the way!
Talk no more of the days of youth.
Youth is gone and scant white locks have come,
And remember the fighting of Sulaym in their settlements
And Sulaym have something to boast about
They are the people who helped God
And followed the apostle's religion while men's affairs were confused
They do not plant young palms in their midst
And cows do not low in their winter quarters.
But steeds like eagles are kept near them
Surrounded by multitudes of camels.
Khufāf and 'Auf were summoned on their flanks
And the clan of Dhakwān armed and keen to fight.
They smote the armies of the polytheists openly
In Mecca's vale, and killed them quickly,
Until we departed, and their dead
Were like uprooted palms in the open valley
On Ḥunayn's day our stand strengthened religion,
And with God that is stored up.
Then we risked death in the gloom
As the black scattered dust cleared away from the horses
Under the banner with al-Dahhāk leading us
As a lion walks when he enters his thicket
In a narrow place where war pressed hard,
Sun and moon were almost blotted out by it.
We devoted our lances to God in Autās,
We helped whom we would and we became victorious
Until certain people returned to their dwellings, who
But for us and God would not have returned.
You will see no tribe great or small
But we have left our mark upon them

[1] Poem quoted: the hamāsah. Beckendorf, *Ar. Spruche*, 173 reads *Ashābīnā* and renders: 'In their Edge we der Kaiserfalge Brust hin und her zerr' and refers to Noldeke, *Z. Gramm.* 75 and Fleischer, i. 184 f.

He also said

O rider with whom there became
A strong, sturdy firm footed she-camel,
If you come to the prophet say to him as you should
When the assembly is quiet,
'O best that ever rode a camel
Or walked the earth, if souls are weighed,
We were faithful to our covenant with you
When the cavalry were driven off by warriors and wounded
When there flowed from all the sides of Buthba
A multitude which shook the mountain paths
Until we came on the people of Mecca with a squadron
Glittering with steel, led by a proud chief.
Composed of Sulaym's sturdiest men
Capped in strong iron mesh with iron tops
Blooding their shafts when they dashed into battle.
You would think them glowering lions
They engaged the squadron wearing their badges,
Sword and spear in hand
At Hunayn we were a thousand strong
By which the apostle was reinforced.
They defended the believers in the vanguard.
The sun was reflected a thousand times from their steel.
We went forward, God guarding us,
And God does not lose those He guards.
We made a stand in Manqib,[2]
Which pleased God, what a fine stand it was!
On the day of Autas we fought so fiercely
That the enemy had enough and cried Stop
Hawazin appealed to the brotherhood between us—
The breast that supplied them with milk, is dry—
Until we left them like wild asses
Which wild beasts have continually preyed upon (835).

He also said.

We helped God's apostle, angry on his account,
With a thousand warriors apart from unarmed men,
We carried his flag on the end of our lances,
His helper protecting it in deadly combat
We dyed it with blood, for that was its colour.
The day of Hunayn when Safwan thrust with his spear
We were his right wing in Islam,
We had charge of the flag and displayed it,

[1] A clan of Sulaym.

[2] On the Mecca-Ta'if road

We were his bodyguard before other troops,
He consulted us and we consulted him.
He summoned us and named us intimates first of all
And we helped him against his opponents.
God richly reward that fine prophet Muhammad
And strengthen him with victory, for God is his helper (836)

He also said.

Who will tell the peoples that Muhammad, God's apostle,
Is rightly guided wherever he goes
He prayed to his Lord and asked His help alone.
He gave it graciously fulfilling His promise.
We journeyed and met Muhammad at Qudayd,
He intending to do with us what God had determined.
They doubted about us in the dawn and then
They saw clearly warriors on horseback with levelled lances,
Firmly clad in mail, our infantry
A strong force like a rushing torrent
The best of the tribe if you must ask
Were Sulaym and those who claimed to be Sulaym,
And an army of Helpers who did not leave him
Obeying what he said unquestioningly
Since you have made Khalid chief of the army
And promoted him he has become a chief indeed
In an army guided by God whose commander you are
By which you smite the wicked with every right
I swore a true oath to Muhammad
And I fulfilled it with a thousand bridled horses.
The prophet of the believers said, Advance!
And we rejoiced that we were the vanguard.
We passed the night at the pool of Mustadh
There was no fear in us but desire and preparedness (for war)
We obeyed you till all the enemy surrendered
And until in the morning we overtook the crowd, the people of Tuhamiyyah.
The piebald steed with reddish barrel went astray[2]
And the chief was not content till it was marked.
We attacked them like a flock of grouse the morning affrights
Everyone was too concerned to see to his fellow,
From morn till eve till we left Hunayn
With its watercourses streaming with blood.
Wherever you looked you could see a fine mare

[1] A hill two marches distant from Mecca for pilgrims coming from the Yemen.

[2] Even such a conspicuous animal was lost in the great crowd. The meaning of the next line may be 'The chief was not content until he wore a distinguishing mark'

And its rider lying beside a broken lance.
Hawāzin has recovered their herds from us
And it pleased them that we should be disappointed and deprived (of them).

Durayd b. al-Ḥārith b. Juhaym b. 'Abd b. Ḥabīb b. Mālik b. 'Auf b. Yarbū' b. 'Ubayd al-Sūhānī said concerning Hunayn (Thaqīf had killed Kindaḥ b. al-Ḥakam b. Khālid b. al-Sharīd, so he killed Mihjan and a nephew of his, both of Thaqīf)

We brought our horses without unclothing them
To Jirash[1] from the people of Zayyān and al-Fam,
Killing the young lions and making for the temples
Built before our day and not yet destroyed.
If you boast of the killing of Ibn al-Sharīd
I have left many widows in Wajj.[2]
I killed the two of them avenging Ibn al-Sharīd
Whom your promise of protection deceived and he blameless.
Our spears slew the men of Thaqīf
And our swords inflicted grievous wounds.

He also said:

Tell the men with you who have wives,
Never trust a woman
After what a woman said to her neighbour,
Had the raiders not returned I should have been in the house.'[3]
When she saw a man whom the fierce heat of a torrid land
Had left with blackened face and fleshless bones,
You could see his leanness at the end of the night
As he was clad in his mail for a raid
I am always in the saddle of a thick short-haired mare,
My garment touching my belt.[4]
One day in quest of booty,
Another, fighting along with the Ansār.
How much fertile land have I travelled,
How much rough uneven ground at gentle pace
Thus I might change her state of poverty.
And she did not want me to return, the baggage! (937)

867 Mālik b. 'Auf excusing his flight said:

Slit-eared camels straying from the track
Prevented sleep for even an hour.
Ask Hawāzin do I not injure their enemy

[1] In the Yamen.
[2] I.e. at the disposal of callers.
[3] As she have retired inward sound and bolt and garments would have the true direction. The husband is speaking at this point.
[4] A place in al-Ṭā'if.

And help any of them who suffers a loss?
Many a squadron did I meet with a squadron,
Half of them mailed, half of them without armour.
Many a place which would appal the bold
Did I occupy first, as my people well know.
I came down to it and left brothers coming down
To its waters—waters of blood,[1]
When its waters rolled away they bequeathed to me
The glory of life and spoil to be divided.
You charged me with the fault of Muhammad's people,
But God knows who is more ungraceful and unjust.
You forsook me when I fought alone
Too forsook me when Khath'am fought.
When I built up glory one of you pulled it down.
Builder and destroyer are not equal.
Many a man who becomes thin in winter, hasing to glory,
Generous, devoted to lofty aims,
I stabbed with a black shaft of Yazan's work[2]
Headed by a long blade.
I left his wife turning back his friend 868
And saying, You cannot come at so-and-so.
Fully armed I opposed the spears
Like a target which is pierced and split.

An anonymous poet also said about Hawāzin mentioning their expedition against the apostle with Mālik b. 'Auf after he had accepted Islam

Recall their march against the enemy when they assembled
When the flags fluttered over Mālik
None was above Mālik on the day of Hunayn[3]
When the crown glittered on his head
Until they met courage when courage led them
Wearing their helmets, mail, and shields.
They smote the men till they saw none
Round the prophet and until dust hid him.
Then Gabriel was sent down from heaven to help them
And we were routed and captured.
If any other but Gabriel had fought us
Our noble swords would have protected us.
'Umar al-Fārūq escaped me when they were put to flight
With a thrust that soaked his saddle in blood.[4]

[1] Ghawr sometimes, as here, means 'the track of the fight'.
[2] Or, camp, one of the kings of Himyar. ed.
[3] Or 'Mālik was a king, none above him'.
[4] That is the natural conclusion of the line, but as there is no record of 'Umar having been wounded in this battle the meaning may be that he escaped a thrust which would have soaked his saddle in blood.

A woman of B. Jusham lamenting two of her brothers who were slain at Hunayn said:

O eyes, be generous with your tears
For Mālik and al-'Alā'; be not niggardly
They were the slayers of Abū 'Āmir
Who held a sword with streaky marks,
They left him a bleeding lump[1]
Staggering, feebly unsupported.

Abū Thawāb Zayd b. Suhār, one of B. Sa'd b. Bakr, said:

Have you not heard that Quraysh conquered Hawāzin
(Misfortunes have their causes),
There was a time, Quraysh, when if we were angry
Red blood flowed because of our rage.
There was a time, Quraysh, when if we were angry
It seemed as though snuff were in our nostrils.
And now Quraysh drive us
Like camels urged on by peasants.
I am not in a position to refuse humiliation
Nor am I disposed to give in to them (838).

'Abdullāh b. Wahb, one of B. Tamīm of the clan of Lusayyid, answered [illegible]:

By God's command we smote those we met
In accordance with the bear command.
When we met, O Hawāzin,
We were saturating heads with fresh blood.
When you and B. Qaṣī assembled
We crushed opposition like beaten leaves.
Some of your chiefs we slew
And we turned to kill both fugitive and steadfast
Al-Multāth lay with outstretched hands,
His dying breath sounding like a gasping young camel.
If Qays 'Aylān be angry
My snuff has always subdued them.

Khidāl b. al-'Auja'a al-Nasrī said:

When we drew near to the waters of Hunayn
We saw repellent black and white shapes
In a dense well-armed throng. If they had thrown them
At the peaks of Uwāl they would have become flat.
If my people's chiefs had obeyed me
We should not then have met the thick[2] cloud

Cf. 856 f.

[1] conjecture mulakhlakhī for mulakhlakhī which gives a poor sense. On p. 870 n. 2 the MSS. vacillate between Aulāsa and Aurāsa, and again we favour the latter reading. However, some such meaning as 'lashing' might be ascribed to mulakhlakhī. [illegible] says it means 'thin'.

Nor should we have met the army of Muhammad's people,
Eighty thousand reinforced by Khindif.

THE CAPTURE OF AL-ṬĀ'IF, AH 8

When the fugitives of Thaqīf came to al-Ṭā'if they shut the gates of the city and made preparations for war. Neither 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd nor Ghaylān b. Salama were present at Ḥunayn or at the siege of al-Ṭā'if; they were in Jurash learning the use of the testudo, the catapult, and other instruments. When he had finished at Ḥunayn the apostle went to al-Ṭā'if. 870

Ka'b b. Mālik when the apostle came to that decision said:

We put an end to doubt in the lowlands and Khaybar,
Then we gave our swords a rest.
We gave them the choice and could they have spoken
Their blades would have said, Give us Daus or Thaqīf.
May I be motherless if you do not see
Thousands of us in your courts.
We will tear off the roofs in the valley of Wajj
And we will make your houses desolate,
Our swiftest cavalry will come on you
Leaving behind a tangled mass.
When they come down on your courts
You will hear a cry of alarm
With sharp cutting swords in their hands like flashes of lightning
By which they bring death to those who would fight them
Tempered by Indian smiths—not beaten into plates.
You would think that the flowing blood of the warriors
Was mingled with saffron the morn the forces met.
Good God! had they no adviser
From the peoples who knew about us
To tell them that we had gathered
The finest blood horses and that we had brought an army
To surround the walls of their fort with troops?
Our leader the prophet, firm,
Pure of heart, steadfast, continent,
Straightforward, full of wisdom, knowledge, and clemency,
Not frivolous nor light minded.
We obey our prophet and we obey a Lord
Who is the Compassionate, most kind to us.
If you offer peace we will accept it
And make you partners in peace and war.
If you refuse we will fight you doggedly.
'Twill be no weak faltering affair
We shall fight as long as we live

[2] Dalsa, a son of wrinkle

Till you turn to Islam, humbly seeking refuge.
We will fight not caring whom we meet
Whether we destroy ancient holdings or newly gotten gains
How many tribes assembled against us
Their finest stock and allies
They came at us thinking they had no equal
And we cut off their noses and ears
With our fine polished Indian swords,
Driving them violently before us
To the command of God and Islam,
Until religion is established, just and straight, and
Al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā and Wudd are forgotten
And we plunder them of their necklaces and earrings.
For they had become established and confident,[1]
And he who cannot protect himself must suffer disgrace.

Kināna b. 'Abdu Yālīl b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr answered him:

He who covets us wishing to fight us (let him come).
We are in a well-known home which we never leave.
Our fathers were here long since
And we hold its wells and vineyards.
'Amr b. 'Āmir put us to the test aforetime[2]
And the wise and intelligent told them about it,
They know if they speak the truth that we
Bring down the high looks of the proud.
We force the strong to become meek
And the wrongdoer to become known to the discerning.
We were light mail the legacy of one who trusted men[3]
Gleaming like stars in the sky.
We drive them from us with sharp swords,
When they are drawn from the scabbard we do not sheathe them.

Shaddād b. 'Ārid al-Jushamī said about the apostle's expedition to al-Ṭā'if:

Don't help al-Lāt for God is about to destroy her.
How can one who cannot help herself be helped?
She that was burned in black smoke and caught fire,
None fighting before her stones, is an outcast.[4]
When the apostle descends on your land
None of her people will be left when he leaves.

[1] The meaning of this hemistich may be: 'And then they protected (Islam) and had peace'.
[2] This is a lie as the Arabs through their common descent.
[3] Their into position the tribe turned aside in disdain.
[4] i.e. 'Amr b. 'Āmir.
[5] Lit. 'not one for whom blackbirds must be paid'

The apostle journeyed by Nakhlatu'l-Yamāniya, and Qarn, and al-Muliyh and Bulqatu'l-Rughā' of Liya. A mosque was built there and he 839
prayed in it.

'Amr b. Shu'ayb told me that when he came there that day he allowed retaliation for homicide and that was the first time such a thing happened in Islam. A man of B. Layth had killed a man of Hudhayl and he killed him in retaliation. When he was in Liya the apostle ordered that the fort of Mālik b. 'Auf should be destroyed. Then he went on a road called al-Dayqa.[1] As he was passing along it he asked its name. When he was told that it was 'the strait' he said, 'No, it is the easy.'[2] Then he went by Nakhb till he halted under a lote tree called al-Ṣādira near the property of a man of Thaqīf. The apostle sent word to him, 'Either come out or we will destroy your wall.'[3] He refused to come out so the apostle ordered his wall to be destroyed.

He went on until he halted near al-Ṭā'if and pitched his camp there. Some of his companions were killed by arrows there because the camp had come too close to the wall of al-Ṭā'if and the arrows were reaching them. The Muslims could not get through their wall for they had fastened the gate. When these men were killed by arrows he (T. withdrew and) pitched his camp near where his mosque stands today. He besieged them for some twenty days (840).

He had two of his wives with him: Umm Salama d. Abū Umayya (T. and another with her). He struck two tents for them and prayed between the tents. Then he stayed there. When Thaqīf surrendered 'Amr b. Umayya b. Wahb b. Mu'attib b. Mālik built a mosque over the place where he prayed. There was a pillar in the mosque. Some allege that 'no man never rises over it any day but a creaking noise'[4] is heard from it. The apostle besieged them and ought them bitterly and the wounded exchanged arrows (840), until when the day of storming came at the wall of al-Ṭā'if a 839
number of his companions went under a testudo and advanced up to the wall to breach it. Thaqīf let loose on them scraps of hot iron so they came out from under it and Thaqīf shot them with arrows and killed some of them. The apostle ordered that the vineyards of Thaqīf should be cut down and the men fell upon them cutting them down.

Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba went up to al-Ṭā'if and called to Thaqīf to grant them safety so that they could speak to them. When they agreed they called on the women of Quraysh and B. Kināna to come out to them for they were afraid that they would be captured, but they refused to come. They were Āmina d. Abū Sufyān who was married to 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd by whom she gave birth to Dā'ūd b. 'Urwa (844), and

[1] There are places in the area of Ṭā'if.
[2] As we should say 'a tight scrape' and therefore an inauspicious name which has to be altered.
[3] al-Wazīr
[4] Ja'ba means a wall and also the garden which is surrounded.
[5] sarīf. I. al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, sub voce, explains this word from the creaking of a door's [illegible] and decision given out by a roof when the wood moves (expands in the heat).

al-Firdaysiya d. Suwayd b. Amr b. Tha'laba whose son was 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Qirib and al-Fuqaymiya Umayma d. the intercessor Umayya b. Qal When they refused to come out Ibn al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd said to the [illegible] men, 'Let me tell you of something better than that which you have come about. You know where the property of B. Aswad is.' (The apostle was between it and al-Ṭā'if in a valley called al-'Aqiq.) 'There is no property in [illegible] than this property of B. Aswad. If Muhammad cuts down its trees it will never be cultivated again, so speak to him and let him take it for himself or leave it to God and kinsmen, for there is a well-known relationship between us.' They allege that the apostle left it to them.

I have heard that the apostle said to Abū Bakr while he was besieging [illegible] pecked at it and spilt it. Abū Bakr said, 'I don't think that you will [illegible] your desire from them today.' The apostle said that he did not think so [illegible]

Then Khuwayla d. Hakīm b. Umayya b. Ḥāritha b. al-Auqaṣ al-Sulamiya, wife of 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn, asked the apostle to give her the jewellery of Bādiya d. Ghaylān b. Salama, or the jewellery of al-Fāri'a d. 'Aqil d. God gave him victory over al-Ṭā'if for they were the best bejewelled women of Thaqīf. I have been told that the apostle said to her, 'And if Thaqīf is not permitted to me, O Khuwayla?' She left him and went and told 'Umar, who came and asked the apostle if he had really said that. On hearing that he had, he asked if he should give the order to break camp, and receiving his permission he did so.

When the army moved off Sa'īd b. 'Ubayd b. Ṣafī b. Abū 'Amr b. Aḥlaj called out, 'The tribe is holding out.' 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn said, 'Yes nobly and gloriously.' One of the Muslims said to him, 'God smite you, 'Uyayna. Do you praise the polytheists for holding out against the apostle when you have come to help him?' 'I did not come to fight Thaqīf with [illegible] he answered, 'but I wanted Muhammad to get possession of al-Ṭā'if so that I might get a girl from Thaqīf whom I might tread (?) make pregnant so that she might bear me a son, for Thaqīf are a people who produce intelligent children.'

During his session there came of the slaves besieged in al-Ṭā'if came to him and accepted Islam and he freed them. One whom I do not suspect from 'Abdullāh b. Muḥaddam from men of Thaqīf said that when al-Ṭā'if surrendered some of them talked about these slaves, but the apostle refused to do anything saying that they were God's free men. One of those who spoke about them was al-Ḥārith b. Kalada (844).

Now Thaqīf had seized the family of Marwān b. Qays al-Dawsī, he having become a Muslim and helped the apostle against Thaqīf. Thaqīf [illegible] is based: that the apostle said to Marwān b. Qays, 'Seize in revenge for your family the first man of Qays that you meet.' He met Ubayy b. Mālik

al-Qusayrī and took him until they should return his family to him. Al-[illegible] b. Salama al-Kindī took the women in [illegible] and spoke to Thaqīf until they let Marwān's family go, and he freed Ubayy. Al-Dabbāb in reference to what passed between him and Ubayy said

> Will you forget my kindness, O Ubayy b. Mālik
> The day the apostle looked away from you?
> Marwān b. Qays led you by his reins
> Submissive as a well-trained horse.
> Some of Thaqīf behaved badly to you,
> (If severe comes to them asking for trouble they get it!)
> Yet they were your relatives and their minds turned to you
> When you were almost in despair (843).

These are the names of the Muslims who were martyred at al-Ṭā'if.

From Quraysh: the clan of B. Umayya b. 'Abd al-Shams: Sa'īd b. Ka'b b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya and 'Urfuṭa b. Junādib, an ally from al-Azd b. al-Ghawth (844), the clan of B. Taym b. Murra: 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr was shot by an arrow and died of it in Medina after the death of the apostle; the clan of Makhzūm: 'Abdullāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra was an arrow that day; the clan of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b: 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir b. Rabī'a an ally; the clan of B. Sahm b. 'Amr: [illegible] b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. 'Adī and his brother 'Abdullāh; the clan of B. Sa'd b. Layth: Julayḥa b. 'Abdullāh.

From the Anṣār: from B. Salima: Thābit b. al-Jidh'a; from B. Mālik b. al-Najjār: al-Ḥārith b. Sahl b. Abū Sa'sa'a; from B. Sālim al-Mu'allā: B. 'Abdullāh; from al-Aws: Rāfi' b. Thābit b. Thābit b. Zayd b. Lawdhān b. Mu'āwiya.

Twelve of the apostle's companions were martyred at al-Ṭā'if, seven from Quraysh, four from the Anṣār and a man from B. Layth.

When the apostle left al-Ṭā'if after the fortnight and he came to Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā and commemorating Ṭā'if wars and al-Ṭā'if

> (Al-Ṭā'if) was a sequel to the battle of Hunayn
> And Autās and al-Abraq where
> Hawāzin gathered their force in their folly
> And were dispersed like scattered birds.
> The (men of al-Ṭā'if) could not hold a single place against us
> Except their wall and the bottom of the trench.
> We showed ourselves that they might come forth,
> But they shut themselves in behind a barred gate.
> Our unmailed men returned[1] to a strong surging force
> Fully armed glittering with death-dealing weapons
> Compact, dark green, (lit. like thorn trees in Hadan[2])
> It would become as though it had not been crushed[3]

[1] The alternative 'wounded' (lit. of death) seems less fitting. Ahwal is pl. of hawl.
[2] A mountain in Najd.
[3] [illegible]

With the gust of [illegible]
Now separated now coming together as they are led,
[illegible]
In like a shimmering pool ruffled by the wind,
Well-woven armour which reaches to our ankles
Woven by David and the family of Muharriq.[1]

DIVISION OF THE SPOIL OF HAWĀZIN AND GIFTS TO [illegible]

When he set off [illegible] the apostle [illegible] he said, 'O God, guide Thaqif and bring them (to Islam).'

[illegible] Zuhayr said, 'O Apostle of God, in the enclosures are your paternal and maternal aunts and the women who suckled you who used to look after you. [illegible] worthy men. (845).

Then he said

Show pity on us, apostle of God, generously
For you are the man from whom we hope and expect good.
Have pity on a people whom fate has [illegible]
[illegible]

The apostle said, 'Which are dearest to you? Your sons and your wives or your cattle?' [illegible] what we most desire.' He said, 'So far as concerns what I and the B. [illegible]

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[1] [illegible]

[illegible] I will then give them to you and make supplication on your behalf.' When the apostle had ended the noon prayers they did as he had ordered them, and he said what he had promised to say. Then the [illegible] said, No. 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn said No on behalf of himself and B. Fazāra [illegible] have put me to shame.' Then the apostle said, 'He who holds to his right to these captives shall have six camels for every man from the first booty I [illegible]

Abū Wajza Yazīd b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'dī told me that the apostle gave [illegible]

[illegible] and in the men were running about, and when I asked why they told me that the apostle had [illegible]

The apostle asked the Hawāzin deputation about Mālik b. 'Auf and [illegible] excellent Muslim and at the time he said

I have never seen or heard of a man
Like Muhammad in the whole world
Faithful to his word and generous when asked for a gift
And when you wish he will tell you of the future.
When the squadron shows its strength
With spears and swords that strike,
In the dust of war he is like a lion
Guarding its cubs in its den.

The apostle put him in command of those of his people who had accepted Islam, and those tribes (?) round al-Ṭā'if were Thumāla, Salima, and Fahm. He began to fight Thaqīf with them; none of their flocks could come out but he raided them until they were in sore straits. Abū Miḥjan b. Ḥabīb b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafī said:

Enemies have always dreaded our neighbourhood
And now the Banū Salima raid us!
Mālik brought them on us
Breaking his covenant and solemn word.
They attacked us in our settlements
And we have always been men who take revenge.

880 When the apostle had returned the captives of Hawāzin to their people he rode away and the men followed him crying, 'O apostle, divide our spoil of camels and herds among us' until they forced him back against a tree and his mantle was torn from him and he cried, 'Give me back my mantle, men, for by God if you had as many sheep as the trees of Tihāma I would distribute them among you; you have not found me niggardly or cowardly or false.' Then he went to his camel and took a hair from its hump and held it aloft in his fingers, saying, 'Men, I have nothing but a fifth of your booty even to this hair, and the fifth I will return to you. So give back the needle and the thread, for dishonesty will be a shame and a flame and utter ignominy to a man on the resurrection day.' One of the Anṣār came with a ball of camel hair, saying, 'O apostle, I took this ball to make a pad for a sore camel of mine.' He answered, 'As for my share in that you can keep it!' 'If it has come to that,' he said, 'I do not want it,' and he threw it away (846).

The apostle gave gifts to those whose hearts were to be won over, notably the chiefs of the army, to win them and through them their people. He 881 gave to the following 100 camels: Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, his son Mu'āwiya, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār (847), al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, Suhayl b. 'Amr, Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Abū Qays, al-'Alā' b. Jāriya al-Thaqafī an ally of B. Zuhra, 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr, al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī, Mālik b. 'Auf al-Naṣrī, and Ṣafwān b. Umayya.

He gave less than 100 camels to the following men of Quraysh: Makhrama b. Naufal al-Zuhrī, 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī, Hishām b. 'Amr

brother of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy and others. He gave 50 to Sa'īd b. Yarbū' b. 'Ankatha b. 'Āmir b. Makhzūm and to al-Sahmī (848).

He gave 'Abbās b. Mirdās some camels and he was dissatisfied with them and blamed the apostle in the following verses:

It was spoil that I gained
When I charged on my horse in the plain
And kept the people awake lest they should sleep
And when they slept kept watch.
My spoil and that of 'Ubayd my horse
Is shared by 'Uyayna and al-Aqra'.
Though I protected my people in the battle,
Myself unprotected I was given nothing
But a few small camels
To the number of their four legs.
Yet neither Ḥiṣn nor Ḥābis[1]
Surpass my father in the assembly,
And I am not inferior to either of them 882
And he whom you abase today will not be exalted (849).

The apostle said, 'Go and cut off his tongue from me,' so they gave him more until he was satisfied, this being what the apostle meant by his order (850).[2]

Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī told me that a companion 883 said to the apostle 'You have given 'Uyayna and al-Aqra' a hundred camels each and left out Ju'ayl b. Surāqa al-Ḍamrī!' He answered, 'By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, Ju'ayl is better than the whole world full of men like those two; but I have treated them generously so that they may become Muslims, and I have entrusted Ju'ayl to his Islam.'

Abū 'Ubayda b. Muhammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir from Miqsam Abu'l- 884 Qāsim freed slave of 'Abdullah b. al-Ḥārith b. Naufal told me: I went in company with Talīd b. Kilāb al-Laythī to 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ as he was going round the temple with his sandals in his hand, and we asked him whether he was with the apostle when the Tamīmite spoke to him on the day of Ḥunayn. He said that he was and that a man of Tamīm called Dhu'l-Khuwayṣira came and stood by the apostle as he was making gifts to the men and said, 'Muhammad, I've seen what you have done today.' 'Well, and what do you think?' he answered. He said, 'I don't think you have been just.' The prophet was angry and said, 'If justice is not to be

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[1] These were the fathers of the two men mentioned in line 6.

[2] [illegible] a pretty story on the absurd statement of an ignorant commentator that Muhammad was so ignorant of metre that he could not [illegible] though he was [illegible] the greatest Arab of all time. Here the words of [illegible] 'We have not taught him poetry. That does not befit him' [illegible] he only [illegible] what had been spoken by others before him. [illegible], ed. F. Krenkow, Beyrout, 1936, pp. 72 f.

[illegible] with me then where will this end? [illegible] I also intend to be allowed to [illegible] and [illegible] and have a following who will go so deeply into religion that they will come out of it as an arrow comes out of the target. [illegible] at the butt end and there is nothing on it, there at the notch and there is nothing on it. It went through before flesh and blood could release on it.

[illegible]

[illegible] Abdullah b. Abd Rabbihi told me that one of the apostle's companions who was at Bedr and whom I think people have said was Nu'man b. Nafi' came to the side of the apostle, wearing a rough sandal, when my camel pricked him and the tip of my sandal hit the apostle's shank and hurt him. He hit my foot with his whip saying, "You hurt me. Get behind!" so I went behind him. The [illegible] the apostle was looking for me and I thought it was because I had hurt him [illegible] I said, "I [illegible] very big [illegible] with my whip. Now I have announced you to compensate you for it," and he gave me eighty shekels for the one blow he struck me.

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada from Mahmud b. Labid from Abd Sa'id al-Khudri told me. When the apostle had distributed booty among Quraysh and the Bedouin tribes and the Muslims were hurting, one of Ansar said the matter in hand and called a group that included one of their men. He said the apostle has met his own people. So he went to the apostle and told him what had happened. He asked, 'Where do you stand in this matter?' He said, 'I stand with my people.' 'Then gather your people in this enclosure,' he said. He did so, and when some of the Muhajirs came, he let them come, while others he sent back. When he had put them together in four and said the apostle came to them, and after praising and thanking God he addressed them thus: 'O men of Ansar, what is this I hear of you? Do you think ill of me in your hearts? Did I not come to you when you were astray and God guided you, poor and God made you rich, you were enemies and God reconciled your hearts?' They answered, 'Yes indeed.' And the apostle was more kind and generous. He continued, 'Why don't you answer me, O Ansar?' They said, 'What shall we answer you, O apostle? To God and His apostle belongs the favour and kindness.' He said, 'But you could have said, and you would have spoken the truth and been believed, 'You came to us discredited and we believed you; deserted and we helped you; a fugitive and we took you in; poor and we comforted you.' Are you disturbed in mind because of the good things of this life by which I win over a people that their faith became firm? Would you not be satisfied, O people of Ansar, that people should take goods and herds while you take the apostle back with you to your homes? By God, what you say is better than what they have taken. If it were not for the emigration I would be one of the Ansar. If all people went one way and the Ansar went another way, I would take the way of the Ansar. O God have mercy on the Ansar, their sons and their sons' sons.' The people wept until the tears ran down their beards so they said, 'We are satisfied with the apostle as our lot and portion.' Then the apostle went off and they dispersed.

THE APOSTLE MAKES THE LESSER PILGRIMAGE FROM AL-JI'RANA

When the [illegible] left al-Ji'rana to make the lesser pilgrimage. We have spoken about the case of the spoils which he had left in Muhammad [illegible] Marwa. Zubayr. Having completed the pilgrimage he returned to Medina. He left Attab b. Usayd in charge of Mecca. He also left behind with him Mu'adh b. Jabal to instruct the people in religion and to teach them the Qur'an. He himself was followed by the case of the spoil (§54).

The [illegible] pilgrimage was in 10 [illegible] and he returned to Medina towards the end of that month or in Dhu'l-Hijja (§55).

The people about the ruler-ships that were in the city the people Ansar said to the Ansar made the pilgrimage with the Muslims that year [illegible]. The people of the Ta'if [illegible] and abstinence of those who were from the tribe the apostle set in [illegible] of the year I was [illegible] of the following year.

THE AFFAIR OF KA'B B. ZUHAYR AFTER THE DEPARTURE FROM AL-TA'IF

When the apostle arrived for Medina after his departure from al-Ta'if [illegible] Zuhayr b. Abu Sulma [illegible] to him to inform Ka'b telling him that the apostle had killed some of the men in Mecca who had spoken ill of him [illegible] Muhammad in the Mecca. And he [illegible] all detractors. If men came and the poet life then come quickly to the apostle, for he does not kill anyone who comes to him in repentance. If you do not do this, then get to safety wherever you can place. Ka'b had said

> Give Bujayr a message from me
> Do you accept what I said, confirmed you?
> Tell us plainly if you don't accept, when I say
> [illegible]
> To a religion I cannot find his fathers ever held
> And you cannot find that your father followed!

[illegible]

[illegible] book with you the apostle of God. By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad that he will not [illegible] [illegible] Ansar. [illegible] The people wept until the tears ran down their beards so they said, "We are satisfied with the apostle as our lot and portion." Then the apostle went off and they dispersed.

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> [illegible]
> To a religion I cannot find his fathers ever held
> And you cannot find that your father followed!

[illegible]

If you don't accept what I say I shall not grieve
Nor say if you stumble God help you!
Al-Ma'mun has given you a full cup to drink
And added a second draught of the same (854).

Bujayr said to Ka'b:

Who will tell Ka'b that that for which you wrongly blame me
Is the better course?
To God alone not al-'Uzzā and al-Lāt
You will escape and be safe while escape is possible,
On a day when none will escape
Except a Muslim pure of heart.
Zuhayr's religion is a thing of naught
And the religion of Abū Sulmā is forbidden to me.

Ka'b used the title al-Ma'mun (855) simply for the reason that Quraysh used to name the apostle thus.

856 When Ka'b received the missive he was deeply distressed and anxious for his life. His enemies in the neighbourhood spread alarming reports about him saying that he was as good as slain. Finding no way out, he wrote his ode in which he praised the apostle and mentioned his fear and the slanderous reports of his enemies. Then he set out for Medina and stayed with a man of Juhayna whom he knew, according to his information. He took him to the apostle when he was praying morning prayers, and he prayed with him. The man pointed out the apostle to him and told him to go and ask for his life. He got up and went and sat by the apostle and placed his hand in his, the apostle not knowing who he was. He said, 'O apostle, Ka'b b. Zuhayr has come to ask security if I bring you as a repentant Muslim. Would you accept him as such if he came to you?' When the apostle said that he would, he confessed that he was Ka'b b. Zuhayr.

Ayyub b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me that one of the Anṣār leapt upon him asking to be allowed to behead the enemy of God, for the apostle told him to let him alone because he had come repentant breaking away from his past. Ka'b was angry at this tribe of the Anṣār because of what this man had done and moreover the men of the Muhājirūn spoke only well of him. In his ode which he recited when he came to the apostle he said

Su'ād is gone, and today my heart is love-sick, in thrall to her, unrequited, bound with chains.
And Su'ād, when she came forth on the morn of departure, was but as a gazelle with bright black downcast eyes.
When she smiles, she lays bare a shining row of side-teeth that seems to have been bathed once and twice in (fragrant) wine-
Wine mixed with pure cold water from a pebbly hollow where the north-wind blows, in a bend of the valley.
From which the winds drive away every speck of dust, and it brims over with white-foamed torrents fed by showers gushing from a cloud of moth.
Oh, what a rare mistress were she, if only she were true to her promise and would hearken to good advice!
But here is a love in whose blood are mingled pining and lying and faithlessness and inconstancy. 857
She is not stable in her affection—even as ghouls change the hue of their garments—
And she does not hold to her pledged word otherwise than to sieves hold water.
The promises of 'Urqūb were a parable of her, and his promises were naught but vanity.
I hope and expect that women will ever be ready to keep their word, but never methinks, are they ready.
Let not the wishes she inspired and the promises she made beguile thee; to, these wishes and dreams are a delusion.
In the evening Su'ād came to a land whither none is brought save by camels that are excellent and noble and fleet.
To bring him there, he wants a stout she-camel which, though fatigued, loses not her wonted speed and pace,
One that largely bedews the bone behind her ear when she sweats, one that sets herself to cross a trackless unknown wilderness
Scanning the high grounds with eyes keen as those of a solitary white ewe, when stony levels and sand-hills are kindled (by the sun)
Big in the neck, fleshy in the back, surpassing in her make the other daughters of her sire
Thick-necked, full-cheeked, robust, male-like, her flanks wide, her front (tall) as a milestone;
Whose tortoise-shell skin is not pierced at last even by a lean (hungry) tick on the outside of her back,
A hardy beast whose brother is her sire by a noble dam, and her sire's brother is her dam's brother, a long-necked one and sturdy,
The *qarīd*[1] crawls over her, then her smooth breast and flanks cause it to slip off
Cruper-like is she, her side dabbed with firm flesh, her elbow-joint[2] far removed from the ribs
Her nose aquiline, in her generous ears are signs of breeding plain for the expert to see, and in her cheeks smoothness.
Her muzzle juts out from her eyes and throat, as though it were a pick-axe.
She lets a tail like a leafless palm-branch with small tufts of hair hang down over a sharp-edged (unrounded) udder from which its teats do not take away (milk) little by little.[3]

[1] A large species of tick.
[2] i.e. the muscle which is far forward.
[3] i.e. not a camel for riding, nor for milking.

Though she be not trying, she runs along on light slender feet that skim the ground as they fall,

[850] With tawny hock-tendons—feet that leave the gravel scattered and are not shod so that they should be kept safe from the blackness of the heaped stones.

The swift movement of her forelegs, when she sweats and the mirage enfolds the hills.

On a day when the chameleon basks in some high spot until its exposed part is roiled as in fire.

And, the grey cicalas having begun to hop on the gravel, the camel-driver bids his companions take the siesta—

Resembles the bearing of hand on hand by a bereaved grey-haired woman who rises to lament and is answered by those who have lost many a child,

One wailing shrilly, her arms weak, who had no understanding when news was brought of the death of her firstborn son.

She tears her breast with her hands, while her tunic is rent in pieces from her collar-bones.

The folk walk on both sides of my camel, saying 'Verily, O grandson of Abú Sulmá, thou art as good as slain',

And every friend of whom I was hopeful said, 'I will not help thee out; I am too busy to mind thee.'

I said, 'Let me go my way, may ye have no father! for whatever the Merciful hath decreed shall be done.

Every son of woman, long though his safety lasts, one day is borne upon a gibbous bier.

I was told that the Messenger of Allah threatened me [with death], but with the Messenger of Allah I have hope of finding pardon.

Gently, may thou be guided by Him who gave thee the gift of the Koran, wherein are warnings and a plain setting-out (of the matter).

Do not punish me, when I have not sinned, on account of what is said by the informers, even should the (false) savings about me be many.

Ay, I stand in such a place that if an elephant stood there, seeing (what I see) and hearing what I hear

The sides of his neck would be shaken with terror—if there be no forgiveness from the Messenger of Allah.

I did not cease to cross the desert, plunging betimes into the darkness when the mantle of Night is fallen,

Till I laid my right hand, not to withdraw it, in the hand of the avenger whose word is the word of truth.

For indeed he is more feared by me when I speak to him—and they told me I should be asked of my lineage—

Than a lion of the jungle, one whose lair is amidst dense thickets in the lowland of Ashbah.[1]

[1] Referring to his journey to the Prophet, who had already given the order for his death.

He goes in the morning to feed two cubs, whose victual is human flesh [851] rolled in the dust and torn to pieces.

When he springs on his adversary, 'tis against his law that he should leave the adversary ere he is broken.

From him the men of the broad dale flee in affright, and most do not walk in his wadi.

Albeit ever in his wadi is a trusty foe, his armour and hardware raiment smeared with blood—ready to be devoured.

Truly the Messenger is a light whence illumination is sought—a drawn Indian sword, one of the swords of Allah,

Amongst a band of Kuraish, whose spokesman said when they professed Islam in the valley of Mecca, 'Depart ye!'

They departed, but no weaklings were they or shirkers in battle or without weapons and courage.

They march like splendid camels and defend themselves with blows when the short black men take to flight.

Warriors with scarce high and straight, clad for the fray in mail-coats of David's weaving,[2]

Bright, ample, with pierced rings strung together like the rings of the *qal'a*.[3]

They are not exultant if their spears overtake an enemy or apt to despair if they be themselves overtaken.

The spear-thrust falls not but on their breasts: for them there is no shrinking from the pangs of death (852).[4]

Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada said: When Ka'b said, 'When the short black men take to flight', he meant us, the Aus: because of the way one of us had treated him. He singled out the Muhajirs among the apostle's companions for praise. This excited the Aus's anger against him. After he had become a Muslim he spoke in praise of the Aus and mentioned their tribe with the apostle and their position among the Yemen tribes:

He who loves a glorious life [853]
Let him ever be with the horsemen of the righteous Aus,
Who transmit glorious deeds from father to son.
The best men are they, sons of the best men.
Who launch with their arms spears
Like long Indian swords,
Who peer forward unswerving
With eyes red as burning coals.

[1] Probably a list of the people of Medina, some of whom had urged Muhammad to show the quiet no mercy.

[2] David is described in the Quran (21:80) as a maker of coats of mail.

[3] Name of a place.

[4] A phrase whose description of death are drunk. By the courtesy of the Cambridge University Press, I take this translation from *Translations of Ancient Poetry and Prose* by my old friend R. A. Nicholson.

Who devote their lives to their prophet
On the day of hand-to-hand fighting and sudden attacks,
They purify themselves with the blood of infidels
They consider that an act of piety
Their tents in view of their martyred dead
Accustomed to hunt on a hallowed district
If you come to them for assistance
You are in a world of the incomparable beauty of spiritual gains.
They answer: All don't a blow on the day of Badr
Are brought the downfall of all Nadir
If people knew all that I know about them
Those who dispute with me would recognize the truth of what I say
There are a people who richly deserve the night-travellers,
Who answer at a time of dearth. [illegible]

THE RAID ON TAIFA, AH 9

The apostle stayed in Medina from Dhu' Hijja to Rajab and then gave orders to prepare to raid the Byzantines. The following account is based on what ar-Zuhri and Yazid b. Ruman and 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and [illegible] b. [illegible] b. Qurtan and other authorities told me, some supplied information which others lacked.

The apostle ordered his companions to prepare to raid the Byzantines as he had a hard time that were hard pressed, the hour was approaching and there was a drought from [illegible]. T. and shade was sought a drought and the people wished to stay in the shade with their fruit and dwelling at their ease. Now the apostle seldom did not reveal whatever he was doing except on the day of a raid and determined that he was making for a place which [illegible] that which he actually intended. [illegible] the only exception, for he said publicly that he was making for the Byzantines because the journey was long, the season difficult and the enemy in great strength, so that the more intend made suitable preparations. He ordered them to get ready and told them that he was making for the Byzantines. [illegible] he also got ready despite of their slackness for the position he could to say nothing of their response for the expedition of the Byzantines.)

One day when he was making his arrangements the apostle said to Jadd b. Qays of B. Salima, "Would you like to help the B. Asfar, Jadd?" He replied, "O Allah, you allow me to stay behind and not tempt me, for everyone knows that I am strongly addicted to women, and I am afraid that if I see the Byzantine women I shall not be able to control myself." The apostle gave him permission to remain behind and turned away from him. It was [illegible]

about him that the verse came down: "There are some who say, Give me leave to stay behind, and do not tempt me. Surely they have fallen into temptation already and hell encompasses the unbelievers." [illegible] that he stayed behind from the Byzantine women, the temptation he had fallen into was greater in that he being back from the apostle and thought to please himself rather than the apostle. And said, "We are still a believed here."

The Quraishites said one to another: "Don't go forth in the heat," thinking unbelievers said, denying the truth, and creating disagreement about the apostle. He could not down concerning them. And they said, "Do not hurry in the heat." Say: "The fire of hell is hotter, did they but understand. Let them laugh a little and let them weep much as a reward for what they were earning." [illegible]

The apostle went forward unexpectedly with his preparations and ordered the men to get ready with all speed. He urged the men of means to help in preparing money and material for Allah's work. T. and persuaded them. The wealthy were generous in money and started on a number work Good. T. Thus b. Allah spent a larger sum than any had ever done. Bakr.

Those groups Muslims known as "the Weepers" Abdullah and others from B. Amr b. Auf came to the apostle and asked him to provide them with mounts for they were without mounts. These men were Salim b. [illegible] T. Ibn b. Zaid, brother of B. Harisha; Abu Layla Abdullah, Rahmah b. Ka'b, brother of B. Malik b. al-Najjar; Amr b. Humam b. al-Jamuh, brother of B. Salima; Abdullah b. al-Mughaffal al-Muzani al-Ju'ayl; Hermi b. Abdullah, brother of B. Waqif; and Irbaz b. Sariya al-Fazari. He said that he had no means to give them and they turned back. There was flowing with tears for great sign they had not the wherewithal to meet the expense of the raid.

News reached Ibn Thabit b. Qays b. Ka'b al-Nadir and Abu Layla and Abdullah b. Mughaffal as they were weeping, and when he asked what they were crying for they told him that they had applied to the apostle for a mount, but that he had none to give them and they had nothing. Thereupon he gave them a [illegible] and they mounted it and he provided them with some dates and so they went off with the apostle.

Neither Bakrawi spoke to [illegible] for that group, but God would not accept their excuse. I have been told that they were from B. [illegible] (T. One of them was Khuzaf b. Isaf b. Rabida.)

When the apostle's mind was clear he determined to go off. Now there was a number of Muslims who were slow to make up their minds so that they stayed behind without any doubt or misgivings. They were Ka'b b. Malik b. Abu Ka'b, brother of B. Salima; Murara b. al-Rabi, brother of B. Amr b. Auf; Hilal b. Umayya, brother of B. Waqif; Abu

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] apostle had not set in pitched his camp by Thaniyyat's [illegible]

[illegible] B. 'Auf b. al-Kharraj, and Abdullah b. Nahid was brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf and Rifa'a b. Zayd b. al-Tabit was brother of B. Qaynuqa'. Then [illegible] adversaries and upset things for you.'

[illegible] of him. On hearing this 'Ali seized his weapons and caught up with the apostle when he was [illegible] heard the apostle saying these words to 'Ali.

[illegible] in the sun and the wind and the heat and Abu Khaythama is in a cool [illegible] would be Abu Khaythama, and so it was. Having dismounted he came

[illegible] He told the apostle what had happened [illegible]

When the apostle passed [illegible] water not use it for ablutions. If you have need may of it for dough, then shed it to the camels and eat some of it. Let none of you go out at night [illegible] carried away by a wind which cast him on the two mountains of Tayy [illegible] Madan by a way of Tayy. This story comes from 'Abdullah b. A[illegible] to me (Ibn

[illegible] they were satisfied and carried away all the water they needed.

[illegible] 'Abdu'l-Ashhal told me that he said to Mahmud, 'Do the men know the [illegible] would cover us each other. Then Mahmud said [illegible] some of my relations [illegible] went to him saying "Woe to you! Have you anything more to [illegible] He said, "It is a passing cloud!"*

[illegible] the course of the journey the apostle's camel strayed and his [illegible] Banu. He had in his company Zayd al-Lusayt al-Qaynuqa'i who was a [illegible] from heaven when he doesn't know where his camel is?" [illegible]

* Ibn Ishaq's Maghazi (page [illegible]). Dozy's account of this place is double [illegible]

only what God has told us and God has shown us where it is. [illegible]

[illegible] God has rid you of him.' Finally it was reported that Abū Dharr had [illegible] Abū Dharr waited on his camel and when it walked slowly such [illegible] spoke said that he hoped it was Abū Dharr, and when the people had [illegible] on Abū Dharr. He walks alone and he will die alone and be raised alone.

Burayda b. Sufyān al-Aslamī from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī from 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd told me that when 'Uthmān called Abū Dharr to al-[illegible] the spoke said that he hoped it was Abū Dharr, and when the people had [illegible] the stone had almost trodden on it. The slave got up and said, 'This is Abū Dharr the apostle's companion. Help us to bury him.' 'Abdul [illegible]

A band of hypocrites, among them Wadī'a b. Thābit, brother of B [illegible] God has rid you of him.' Finally it was reported that Abū Dharr had [illegible] Abū Dharr waited on his camel and when it walked slowly such [illegible] spoke said that he hoped it was Abū Dharr, and when the people had [illegible] on Abū Dharr. He walks alone and he will die alone and be raised alone.

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A band of hypocrites, among them Wadī'a b. Thābit, brother of B [illegible]

[illegible] we concerning what you have said.'

[illegible] 'We were merely chatting and joking, O apostle.' Then God sent down, 'If you ask them they will say, We were merely chatting and joking.'[1] [illegible] disgrace me.'[2] The man who was pardoned in this verse was Makhsh-shin and he was named 'Abdu'l-Rahmān. He asked God to kill him as a martyr with none to know the place of his death. He was killed on the day of al-Yamāma and no trace of him was found.

When the apostle reached Tabūk Yuhanna b. Ru'ba governor of Ayla [illegible] them a document which they still have. He wrote to Yuhanna b. Ru'ba thus: 'In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. This is a [illegible] by land and sea. They and all that are with them, men of Syria, and the Yamān, and seamen, all have the protection of God and the protection of Muhammad the prophet. Should any one of them break the treaty by introducing some new factor then his wealth shall not save him, it is the [illegible] strained from going down to their wells or using their roads by land or sea [illegible] at Dūma, Ukaydir b. 'Abdu'l-Malik was a man of Kinda who was ruler of [illegible] It was a moonlit night with a bright moon and Ukaydir was on the roof with his wife. The cows were rubbing their horns against the gate of the [illegible] hand in the past and urged him to go after them. He called for his horse. [illegible] them a brother called Hassān. As they were riding the apostle's cavalry fell on with them and seized him and killed his brother. Ukaydir was wearing a gown of brocade covered with gold. Khālid stripped him of this and sent it to the apostle before he brought him to him.

Ā'ishā b. 'Umar b. Qatāda from Anas b. Mālik said, I saw Ukaydir's [illegible]

and admiring it and the apostle said, 'Do you admire this? By Him in whose hand is my life the napkins of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh in Paradise are better than this.'

Then Khālid brought Ukaydir to the apostle who spared his life and made peace with him on condition that he paid the poll-tax. Then he released him and he returned to his town. A man of Ṭayyi' called Bujayr b. Bujra remembering the words of the apostle to Khālid 'You will find him hunting wild cows,' and what the cows did that night in bringing him out of his fort was to confirm what the apostle had said:

Blessed is He who drove out the cows.
I see God guiding every leader.
Those who turn aside from yonder Tabūk, (let them)
For we have been ordered to fight.

[illegible] The apostle stayed in Tabūk some ten nights, not more. Then he returned to Medina.

On the way there was water issuing from a rock—enough to water two or three riders. It was in a wadi called al-Mushaqqaq. The apostle ordered that no one who arrived at it before him should take water from it until he came. A number of the hypocrites got there first and drew water from it. When the apostle arrived he stood by it and saw no water there. He asked who had got there first and was told their names. He exclaimed, 'Did not I forbid them to take water from it until I came?' Then he cursed them and called down God's vengeance on them. Then he alighted and placed his hand under the rock and water began to flow into his hand as God willed. Then he sprinkled the rock with the water and rubbed it with his hand and prayed as God willed him to pray and water burst forth, as one who heard it said, with a noise like thunder. The men drank and satisfied their need from it. The apostle said, 'If you live, or those of you who live, will hear of this wadi that it is more fertile than its neighbours.'

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī told me that 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd used to say: I got up in the middle of the night when I was with the apostle in the raid on Tabūk when I saw a light near the camp. I went after it to look at it and lo it was the apostle with Abū Bakr and 'Umar and 'Abdullah Dhu'l-Bijādayn al-Muzanī had died and there they dug a grave for him. The apostle was in the grave and Abū Bakr and 'Umar were lowering him down to him as he was saying, 'Bring your brother near to me,' so they let him down and as he arranged him for burial he said, 'O God, I am pleased with him, be Thou pleased with him.' 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd used to say, 'Would that I had been the man in the grave.' (865)

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī reported from Ibn Ukayma al-Laythī from Ibn Akhī Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī that he heard Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. al-Ḥuṣayn, who was one of the companions who did homage to the apostle beneath the tree, say: When I raided with the apostle I journeyed by night with him. While we were at al-Akhḍar near the apostle God cast a heavy sleep on us and I began to wake up when my camel had come near the apostle's camel. I was afraid that if I came too near his foot would be hurt in the stirrup. I began to urge my camel away from him until sleep overcame me on the way. Then during the night my camel pushed against his while his foot was in the stirrup and I was awakened by his voice saying, 'Look out.' I asked his pardon and he told me to carry on. The apostle began to ask me about those who had dropped out from B. Ghifār and I told him. He asked me about the people with long straggling red beards and I told him that they had dropped out. Then he asked about the men with short curly hair and I explained that I did not know that they were of us. 'Yes, yes,' he said, 'they are those who own cattle in Shabakatu Shadakh' [illegible] and I remembered that they were among B. Ghifār but I did not remember them until I recalled that they were a clan of Aslam who were allies of ours. When I told him this he said, 'What prevented one of these when he fell out from mounting a zealous man in the way of God on one of his camels?' The most painful thing to me is that the emigrants from Quraysh and the Anṣār and Ghifār and Aslam should stay behind.

THE OPPOSITION MOSQUE

The apostle went on until he stopped at Dhū Awān, a town an hour's daylight journey from Medina. The owners of the mosque of opposition had come to the apostle as he was preparing for the raid, saying, 'We have built a mosque for the sick and needy and for nights of bad weather, and we should like you to come to us and pray for us there.' He said that he was on the point of travelling, and was preoccupied, or words to that effect, and that when he came back if God willed he would come to them and pray for them in it.

When he stopped in Dhū Awān news of the mosque came to him, and he summoned Mālik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of B. Sālim b. 'Auf, and Ma'n b. 'Adīy or his brother 'Āṣim, brother of B. al-'Ajlān, and told them to go to the mosque of those evil men and destroy and burn it. They went quickly to B. Sālim b. 'Auf who were Mālik's clan, and Mālik said to Ma'n, 'Wait for me until I can bring fire from my people.' So he went in and took a palm branch and lighted it and then the two of them ran into the mosque where its people were and burned and destroyed it and the people ran away from it. A portion of the Quran came down concerning them: 'Those who chose a mosque in opposition and unbelief and to cause division among believers'[1] to the end of the passage.

The twelve men who built it were: Khidhām b. Khālid of B. 'Ubayd b. Zayd, [illegible] one of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf; his house opened on to the schismatic mosque. Tha'laba b. Ḥāṭib of B. Umayya b. Zayd. Mu'attib b. Qushayr. Abū Ḥabība b. al-Az'ar of B. Ḍubay'a b. Zayd. 'Abbād b. Ḥunayf,

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[1] Sūra 9. 108.

brother of Sahl of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, Jimmayn b. 'Antar and his two sons Mujamma' and Zayd, Nabtal b. al-Harith, Bujayr and Bujayr b. Lubaba, all of B. Qubaysh, and Wadi'a b. Thabit of B. Umayya b. Zayd, the clan of Abu Lubaba b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir.

The apostle's mosques between Tabuk and Medina are well known and named. They are the mosques at Fatah, Thanaiyatu'l-Wada', Zaribu'l-Ashtar, Dhu Awan, Dhu Hussa, Dhu Salim, Dhu Ashal, Ad, Jalanda al-Barik at the end of Kuraidha, Shiqq Dhi Ilal, Fi'l-Sunt, Hazzu, Fi'l-Sunt, Hazzu, al-Ruwaytha, al-Ruwaytha, the mosque under the water tower at Wadi Sajir, al-Ruwaytha, Shiqqu'l-Ruwaytha, the Shiqqs of B. 'Ludhra, Dhu'l-Marwa, Fayd', and Dhu Khushub.

THE THREE MEN WHO ABSTAINED FROM THE RAID ON TABUK

When the apostle came to Medina he found that some disaffected persons had stayed behind. Among them were three Muslims who had not held back through doubt or disaffection, namely Ka'b b. Malik, Murara b. al-Rabi', and Hilal b. Umayya. The apostle had his companions not to speak to these three. The disaffected who had stayed behind came and made excuses with oaths and he forgave them, but another [illegible] that the apostle accepted their excuses. The Muslims who followed behind [illegible] and [illegible] not speak to them. They avoided them. He waited [illegible] waiting them.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik said that his father, whom he used to lead about when he was blind, [illegible] Ka'b telling his story he said he had been from the moment he was with at Tabuk, and the story of his two companions.

I had never held back from any raid the apostle had undertaken except the battle of Badr, and that was an engagement which some was blamed neither by God nor the apostle for stopping behind, because the apostle had gone out only to find the Quraysh caravan when God brought him and his enemies together without previous arrangement. I was present with the apostle on the night when we pledged our faith in Islam, and I should not prefer to have been at Badr rather than there even if the battle of Badr is more famous. The fact was that when I stayed behind at the raid on Tabuk I had never been stronger and healthier. Never before had I possessed two camels. Whenever the apostle wished a raid he prevaricated that he had another objective except on this occasion. He raided it in violent heat and faced a long journey and a powerful enemy and he made what they had to do so that they might make adequate provision, and he told them the direction he intended to take. The Muslims who followed him were many and he did not enroll them in a book. He means by that a register. He did not enroll them in a written register. The few who wanted to absent themselves

thought that they could conceal it from him so long as an revelation came down from God about it. The apostle made this raid when the fruits were ripe and shade was desirable so that men were nearer home in it. The apostle made his preparations and he Muslims likewise and started to go on ready with them and I used to go out having done what was necessary saying to myself, 'I can do that when I want to,' and I continued procrastinating until the men had acted with energy and in the morning they and the apostle had gone while I had made no preparations. I thought that I could get ready a day or two later and then join them. Day after day passed and I had done nothing saying to myself 'he needs but give his orders and I am left behind.' I thought of going and overtaking them and I wish that I had done so but I did not. After the apostle had gone when I went about among the men it pained me to see only those who were accused of disaffection or a man whom God had excused because of his helpless weakness. The apostle did not remember me until he reached Tabuk when he asked, as he was sitting among the men, what had become of me. One of the B. Salima said that my fine clothes and concern at my appearance kept me at home. Mu'adh b. Jabal said that that was an evil thing to say and that they knew nothing but good of me. But the apostle was silent.

When I heard that the apostle was on his way back from Tabuk I was smitten with sorrow and began to think of a lie I could tell to escape from his anger and get some of my people to support me in it. Now when I heard that he was near at hand falsehood left me and I knew that I could only escape by telling the truth, so I determined to do so. In the morning the apostle entered Medina and began with the mosque and after performing two rak'as he sat down to meet the men. Those who had stayed behind came and began to make excuses with oaths – there were about eighty of them – and the apostle accepted their public declarations and oaths and asked the divine forgiveness for them, referring their secret thoughts to God. Last of all I came and saluted him and he smiled as one who is angry. He told me to come near, and when I sat before him he asked me what had kept me back and had I not bought my mount. I said, 'O apostle of God, were I sitting with anyone else in the world I should count on escaping his anger by an excuse, for I am astute in argument. But I know that if I tell you a lie today you will accept it and that God will soon cause your anger against me to cease, and if I tell you the truth which God makes you angry with me I have hopes that God will forgive me for it. By God I have no excuse. I was never stronger and richer than when I stayed behind.' The apostle said, 'As for this man he has spoken the truth. But get up until God decides about you.' So I got up and some of B. Salima came to accompany me and followed me saying, 'By God we have never known you do anything before this and you were unable to excuse yourself to the apostle as the others who stayed behind did. It would have sufficed if the apostle had asked pardon for your sin.' They kept at me until I wanted to go back to the apostle and give the lie to myself. [illegible] asked them if any others were in

[illegible]

[illegible] I said, 'Stay with the Mountain, and go [illegible] with [illegible] the apostle [illegible] while he was [illegible] prayers, asking [illegible] the mountain [illegible] I said, 'Will I should pray [illegible] and stay a [illegible] go [illegible] I performed my prayer [illegible] and when I turned towards him he [illegible] stage from me. When I had [illegible] from the [illegible] of the Mountain I walked off and climbed over the wall of Abu Qubais [illegible] 400 archers. He was my cousin and the descent of [illegible] to me. I prayed [illegible] God to aid me against my enemies [illegible] Abu Qubais I adjure you by [illegible] the way you prayed that I have [illegible] God and His apostle [illegible] but he answered me not a word. Again I adjured him and he was silent, again, that he said 'God and His apostle know best.' At this my eyes stage [illegible] tears and I jumped up and climbed over the wall.

In the morning I walked in the market place where stage one of the Nabatean [illegible] brought [illegible] to sell food to Medinan [illegible] to me. When he [illegible] he said, 'Do you not [illegible] that [illegible] badly. God has not put you in a house of humiliation and loss, so come to [illegible] me over.' so I took the letter to the oven and burned it.

[illegible] the apostle's messenger came to me and told me that the apostle ordered me I should [illegible] my wives [illegible] I asked whether this meant that I was to divorce [illegible] Not, I was to separate [illegible] and approach her. My two companions received similar orders. I told my wife to return to her family and [illegible] should give a decision on the matter. This was at 10 [illegible] to the apostle and said that he was [illegible] a message [illegible] to her morning [illegible] He said there was no provided that he did not approach her. [illegible] said the apostle [illegible] a decision towards her and that her remaining was no prohibited [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] 'One of my female suggested that I should ask the apostle permission [illegible] the apostle, but I declined to do so because I did not know what he would [illegible] say in reply since I was a young man. Two more nights passed until fifty

nights since the apostle had forbidden men to speak to us were complete. I prayed the morning prayer on the roof of one of our houses in the manner of the Jewish night in the way that God had prescribed. The earth, spacious as it is, closed on me and my soul was deep [illegible] I was sitting a man on the top of a [illegible] I came to my [illegible] I heard the voice of a [illegible] morning under the top of the [illegible] 'Good news, Ka'b, Ka'b!' I fell down prostrate, knowing that relief had come at last.

[illegible] prayer and men went off to tell us the good news. They went to my two [illegible] from Salon rus until he came over the mountain, and the voice was quicker [illegible] name, I tore off my clothes and gave them to him as a reward for good tidings, and by God at the time I had no others and had to borrow more [illegible] I went into the mosque and there was the apostle surrounded by men. I [illegible] other muhajir did so. (Ka'b never forget this action of Talha.)

[illegible] the best day of your life. Good news to you!' I said, 'From you or from [illegible] favoured me. From the day I told the apostle that to the present day I [illegible]

God sent down, 'God has forgiven the prophet and the emigrants and [illegible] merciful to them and to the three who were left behind,' as far as the words 'And be with the truthful.'[1]

[illegible]

[1] The language is borrowed from Sura 9 p. 116.
[2] Of [illegible] + 'second' is a possible alternative.

you return to them that you may turn from them. Do turn from them for they are unclean and their resting place is hell, in reward for what they have earned. They swear to you that you may be satisfied with them, and if you are satisfied with them God is not satisfied with an evil people.

We (three were kept back from the affair of those from whom the apostle accepted an apology when they came to him and he asked forgiveness for them. And the apostle postponed our affair until God gave His judgement, and about that God said, 'And to the three who were left behind.'

When God said the word Shuhbil's had nothing to do with our holding back from the raid, but to his holding us back and postponing our affair from those who swore to him and made excuses which he accepted.

614 THE ENVOYS OF THAQIF ACCEPT ISLAM, A.H. 9

The records concerned from Tabik in Ramadan and so that month the deputation of Thaqif came to him.

When the apostle came down from Tabuk 'Urwa b. Mas'ud al-Thaqafi followed him quickly to catch up with him before he got to Medina, and accepted Islam. He asked that he might go back to his people as a Muslim, but the apostle mentioned his people say—'They will kill you,' for the apostle knew the proud spirit of opposition that was in them. 'Urwa said that he was dearer to them than their Sacrificers (Ibid).

He was a man who was loved and shrewd and he went out calling his people to Islam and hoping that they would not oppose him because of his position among them. When he went up to an upper room and showed himself to them after he had invited them to Islam and showed his religion to them they shot arrows at him from all directions, and one hit him and killed him. The B. Malik allege that one of their men killed him, his name was Aus b. Auf, brother of B. Sa'ad b. Malik. The Aslam allege that one of their men from B. Ashja' b. Malik called Wahb b. Jabir killed him. It was said to 'Urwa, 'What do you think about your death?' He said, 'It is a gift which God has honoured me with and a martyrdom which God has led me to. I am like the martyrs who were killed with the apostle before he went away from you; so bury me with them.' They did bury him with them and they allege that the apostle said about him, 'Among his people he is like the hero of Yasin among his people.'

Thaqif delayed a month months after the raising of 'Urwa. There they took counsel among themselves and decided that they would not fight the Arabs all around them, who had paid homage and accepted Islam.

Ya'qub b. 'Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that 'Amr b. Umayya, brother of B. Dhamri and an speaking terms with Abdu Yalil b. Amr and there was bad feeling between them. Amr was a most crafty man and he walked to Abdu Yalil and entered his dwelling and sat down

to him to come out to him. 'Abdu Yalil expressed great surprise that Amr [illegible] surprise. 'You have seen how the affair of this man has progressed. All [illegible] look to your case.' Thereupon Thaqif took counsel and said one to another, 'Don't you see that your herds are not safe, none of you can go out without being cut off?' So after conferring together they decided to send a man to the apostle as they had sent 'Urwa. They spoke to 'Abdu Yalil who was a contemporary of 'Urwa, and laid the plan before him, but he refused to act, fearing that on his return he would be treated as 'Urwa. He said that he would not go unless they sent some men with him. They decided to send two men from al-Ahlaf and three from B. Malik, six in all [illegible] Shurahbil b. Ghaylan b. Salima b. Mu'attib, and from B. Malik 'Uthman b. Abu'l-'As b. Bishr b. Abdu Dhuhmân, brother of B. Yasar and Aus b. Auf, brother of B. Salim b. Auf, and Numan b. Kharsha b. Rabi'a, brother of B. al-Harith. 'Abdu Yalil went with them as leader in charge of the affair. He took them with him only out of fear of meeting the same fate as 'Urwa and in order that each man on his return could secure the attention of his clan.

When they approached Medina and halted at Qanir they met there al-[illegible] companions, for the companions took this duty in turn. When he saw [illegible] that they could get a document guaranteeing their people and their [illegible] apostle while al-Mughira reposed his companions and brought the [illegible] salutation of paganism. When they came to the apostle he pitched a [illegible] as intermediary between them and the apostle until they got their document [illegible] They would not eat the food which came to them from the apostle until Abu Bakr came and until they had accepted Islam and had got their document.

Among the things they asked the apostle was that they should be allowed to retain their idol Al-Lat undisturbed for three years. The apostle refused and they continued to ask him for a year or two, and he refused. Finally they asked for a month after their return home, but he refused to agree to any set time. All that they wanted as they were going to phase was to be safe from their fornication and wantonness and children by

[illegible] and they did not want to frighten their people by demanding the [illegible] they had accepted Islam. The apostle refused this, but he sent Abu Sufyan b. Harb and al-Mughira b. Shu'ba to destroy it. There had been talked that he would destroy Dhu'l-Khalasa and that they should not have to break their idols with their own hands. The apostle said: 'We discover you from breaking your idols with your own hands, but go for greater there is no good in a religion which has no progress.' They said that they would perhaps have thought it was demanding.

When they had accepted Islam and the apostle had given them their duties he appointed [illegible] b. Abi'l-'As over them although he was the youngest of them. This was because he was the most zealous in studying Islam and learning the Qur'an. Abu Bakr had sent the apostle this.

Ibn Ishaq—Abdullah b. Abbas b. Sufyan b. Rabi'a al-Thaqafi from one of the deputations told me: 'We used to come to an place where we had become Muslims and we learned with the apostle for the sake of Islam, and bring our religion and our knowledge from the apostle. He would come to us on the morning [illegible] and we would say: "We are ship the above [illegible]." He would say: "I left the apostle sitting at dawn, so as to make the dawn [illegible] and he would bring our evening [illegible] and we would say: "We [illegible] that the [illegible] and he would say: "I did not [illegible] to you until the apostle had [illegible]." Then he would put his hand on the dish and eat from it (Ibn).

[illegible] Abu Bakr from Muhammad b. Abdullah b. al-Mughira from [illegible] b. Abbas. He said: 'The last thing the apostle commanded us was when he sent me to Thaqif was to be brief in prayer, to measure men by their weakness [illegible] for there were old and young, sick and infirm among them.

When they had accomplished their task and had set out to return to their country the apostle sent with them Abu Sufyan and al-Mughira to destroy the idol. They travelled with the deputation and when they neared al-Ta'if al-Mughira wanted to send on Abu Sufyan in advance. The latter refused and said: 'Let us go to his people while he remains in his property in Ta'if.' When al-Mughira observed he went up to the idol and struck it with a pickaxe. His people that [illegible] who were around in fronts of him fearing that he would be slain or killed up. Al-'Uzza had been. The custody of Thaqif came and with their hands uncovered beseeching her and saying:

> O wasp for our protector
> Polytheists would neglect her
> Where swords need a corrector (Ibn).

Abu Sufyan, as al-Mughira smote her with the axe, said: 'Also for you, also!' When al-Mughira had demolished her and taken what was on her and [illegible]

her people to come for Abu Sufyan whom her jewellery and gold and beads had been collected.

Now Abu Mulayh b. 'Urwa and Qarib b. al-Aswad had come to the [illegible] whom you will,' and they said, 'We choose God and His apostle.' The [illegible] Even so.

[illegible] Abu Sufyan to smash the idolatry of al-'Uzza and al-Aswad from the property of the idol, and when [illegible] had collected its money for said Abu Sufyan that the apostle had ordered him to smash those idols also, and he [illegible] own injury in what the apostle of God Muhammad has ordered.

ABU BAKR LEADS THE PILGRIMAGE, A.H. 9

The apostle remained there for the rest of the month of Ramadan and Shawwal and Dhu'l-Qa'da. Then he sent Abu Bakr in [illegible] the hajj in the year 9 to enable the Muslims to perform their hajj while the [illegible] duly departed.

A discussion arose about performing the breaking of the agreement between the apostle and the polytheists that none should be kept back from the temple where he spoke to it, and that none need fear during the sacred month. That was a general agreement between him and the polytheists generally, there were particular agreements between the apostle and the Arab tribes he specified among. And there came down about it and about

[illegible] a place in al-[illegible]

the disaffected who held back from him in the raid on Tabūk, and about

if you repent it will be better for you, and if you turn back know that

punishment except those polytheists with whom you have made a treaty,
i.e. the special treaty for a specified term, 'since they have not come short

in their duty, 'then kill the polytheists wherever you find them, and seize
them and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush. But if

their way. God is forgiving, merciful. If one of the polytheists,' i.e. one

entered into an agreement with Quraysh on the day of al-Hudaybiya

clan of Quraysh who had broken it. They were al-Dil of B. Bakr b. Wā'il
who had entered into the agreement of Quraysh. He is one exception to

[1] Ibn 9. This chapter is a commentary on it

would send news of it to Abū Bakr. He said, 'None shall transmit it from

shall enter Paradise, and no polytheist shall make pilgrimage after this

year. When Abū Bakr saw him he asked whether he had come to give

Ali arose and proclaimed what the apostle had ordered him to say, and he

no treaty or compact except for one with whom the apostle had an agree-

to be feared if you are believers? Fight them. God will punish them by

God is knowing, wise.' 'Or do you think that you will be left (alle' when

about what you do' (870).

[illegible] fights in the way of God? They are not equal with God.'

[illegible] enemy and how God sent down help after they had abandoned one another. Then He said (v. 28) 'The polytheists are nothing but unclean so let them not approach the sacred mosque after this year of theirs, and if [illegible] used to enjoy,' and God said, 'If you fear poverty God will enrich you [illegible] them by way of poll tax from the people of scripture [illegible] to them a painful punishment [illegible] of the Arabs in the matter. *Nasī'* means making profane months which God has declared holy and vice versa. 'The number of the months with [illegible] wicked; they allow it one year and forbid it another year that [illegible] good to them. But God does not guide a disbelieving people.'

[illegible]

[illegible] when the twain were in the cave.'

[illegible] concerned with their worldly life.

[illegible]

God said, 'Say: An ear of good to you,' i.e. he hears good and believes it.

Then He said, 'They swear by God to you to please you, but God and

Sultans, because he disapproved of what he heard them saying.

his mind. His repentance and his state became excellent as I have heard.

Then He said, 'And of them is he who made a covenant with God: If He

The men who made a covenant with God were Tha'laba b. Hatib and Mu'atib b. Qushayr, both of B. Amr b. 'Auf.

were and such as can only give their efforts and scoff at them, God will

of B. 'Ajlan, because the apostle incited and urged men to almsgiving.

the alms. They laughed at him saying, 'God can do without Abu 'Aqil's

what they said one to another when the apostle

were. They said, Go not forth in the heat. Say: The fire of hell is much

as far as the words 'and let not their wealth and children astonish you

I have chosen.' It was said to me, 'Ask pardon for them or ask it not. If

was verses came down: 'And never pray for any one of them who dies

and died an evil-doer.'" Afterwards the apostle never prayed over a

Then He said: And when a sūra is sent down: Believe in God and strive along with His apostle, men of wealth among them asked your

beneath which rivers flow wherein they shall abide for ever: that is the

mount them you said I cannot find a beast on which to mount you, turned

wherewithal to spend.' These were the weepers.

He mentioned their rank and their excuse to the Muslims and said,

God will not be satisfied with an evil people.'

Then He mentioned the Badawin and the disaffected among them and

as expenses in the way of God as a tax and await evil fortune for you.

The evil fortune will be theirs and God is hearing, knowing.

'Then He mentioned the sincere and faithful believers among them and said: 'And of the Bedouin there is he who believes in God and the last day and regards what he spends and the prayers of the apostle as acceptable offerings with God. It is an acceptable offering for them.'

'Then He mentioned the first emigrants and helpers and their merit and the goodness towards which God guaranteed them. Then he passed with them where some dishonesty in questions got He said, 'God is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him.' Then He said: 'And of the Bedouin around you there are the dishonest and of the people of Medina there are those who are stubborn in dissimulation, (so persist in it and refuse to be ashamed) we shall punish them twice. The punishments with which God threatened them twice according to the information in their good deed where their practice in helping and there is some sign of the punishment [illegible] then their punishment in the grave when they get there (this the great punishment to which they will be brought, the punishment of hell eternally. Then He said: 'And there are others who acknowledged their faults. They mixed a good deed with another that was bad: perhaps God will relent towards them, for He is forgiving, merciful.'

Then He said: 'Take alms from their wealth wherewith to purify and sanctify them' to the end of the passage. Then He said: 'And there are others who are postponed to God's decree: either He will punish them or relent towards them.' They are the three who were left in the rear and the apostle postponed their case until their forgiveness came from God. Then He said: 'And as for those who chose a mosque out of opposition' to the end of the passage. Then He said: 'God has bought from the believers their lives and their wealth for the Garden that will be theirs.' Then comes the narrative dealing with Tabuk to the end of the chapter.

In the time of the prophet and afterwards Tuwa was called al Malaba. 'Many women a land have the secret thoughts of men.' Tabuk was the last raid that the apostle made.

THE POETRY OF QAIS'IN ZUHEIRA'IN THE BATTLE

Hassan b. Thabit, commenting the battles and campaigns in which the Ansar fought in company with the apostle, said: (872)

> Am I not the best of Ma'add in family and valor?
> If all of them be reckoned and counted?
> A people all of whom witnessed Badr with the apostle
> Neither talking short nor stammering.
> There gave him their battle-axe no one betrayed it,
> And there was no shame in their pledged word,
> On the day when in the glen of Uhud

* [illegible]

† [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Ma'add [illegible]

> Well-armed lions blinking like a lion [illegible]
> And the day of Bir Qa'ra where dust rose above them as they rode
> They did not flinch nor fear.
> At Dhi'l-Uthaiya they encountered them with the swords
> Armed with sword and spear.
> At Waddin they drove out the people
> Galloping along till hill and mountain stopped us.
> And the night when they sought their enemy for God's sake
> (And God will reward them for what they did)
> And the raid on Najd, where with the apostle
> They gained much spoil and booty
> And the night in Bonaya when they fought with him
> He gave them a second taste of conflict.
> And the raid of al-Qa' when we scattered the enemy
> As camels are scattered before their drinking-place.
> They were the people who paid him homage
> To the point of war—they encountered war and left him not.
> In the raid on Mecca they were on guard among his troops
> Neither right-handed nor hasty.
> At Khaybar they were in his squadrons
> Each man walking like a hero facing death
> With swords quivering in their right hands
> [illegible] through darkness [illegible] straight.
> The day the apostle went to Tabuk seeking God's reward
> They were his first standard-bearers.
> They had the conduct at war it it seemed good to them
> [illegible] advance on [illegible] raised the lance.
> These are the people, the prophet's Ansar.
> And they are my people—to them I totally [illegible] my descent a [illegible] lineal
> They dwell numerously, faith unbroken,
> And when they were killed it was for God's sake (873).

Hassan also said:

> We were kings of men before Muhammad
> And when [illegible] we had the supremacy
> God the most [illegible] honoured us with
> Bygone days that have no parallel
> [illegible] God and His apostle and They [illegible]
> And God has given us a name which has no equal,
> Those people of name are the best of all people.
> Whatever is counted good my people are worthy of it.
> They surpass all their predecessors in generosity
> And the way to their generosity is never barred.
> When men come to their assemblies they do not [illegible] unanimously.

Nor are they mean when asked for a gift.
They are immutable in war and peace.
To fight them is death, to make peace ease.
Their sojourner's house is high and inaccessible.
While staying with us he enjoys respect and hospitality
If one of them assumes a debt he pays it
Without defaulting or running into debt.
He who speaks speaks the truth,
Their clemency is constant, their judgement just.
He whom the Muslims trusted while he lived[1]
And he whom the angels[2] washed of his impurity were of us (874).

Husain also said:

These are my people if you ask,
Generous when a guest arrives.
Large are the cooking-pots for the gamesters
Wherein they cook the fat-humped camels.
They give the sojourner a life of plenty
And protect their friend when he is wronged.
They were kings in their lands,
They call for the sword when injustice is flagrant.[3]
They were kings over men—never by others
Have they been ruled even for a short time.
Tell[4] about 'Ad and its peoples
Of Thamūd and the survivors of Iram,
Of Yathrib where they had built forts among the palms
And cattle-were housed there.
Watering camels which the Jews trained
Saying, Off with you, and Come
They had what they wanted of wine and pleasure,
An easy life free of care.
We came to them with our equipment
On our white war-loving camels:
Beside them we led war-horses
Covered with thick leather.
When we halted on the sides of Sirāt[1]
And made fast the saddles with twisted ropes
They were scared by the speed of the horses
And the sudden attack from the rear.
They fled swiftly in terror
As we came on them like lions of the jungle

[1] Sa'd b. Mu'ādh according to A.Dh
[2] The word generally rendered 'apostle'. The story of Hanzala has been given above p. 377
[3] Another reading is 'they display anger'
[4] Or, 'They told' &c. A minaret at Medina.

On our long, carefully tended mares
Which were not out of condition from long stabling,
Dark bays, spirited,
Strong jointed like arrows,
Carrying horsemen accustomed to fighting warriors
And to smiting down brave foes.
Kings when (others) behaved as tyrants in the land, 935
Never retreating but always advancing.
We came back with their leading men
And their women and children also were divided among the victors.
We inherited their houses when they had gone
And remained there as owners.
When the rightly guided apostle brought us the truth
And light after darkness
We said, 'You speak the truth, O God's apostle,
Come and dwell with us.
We bear witness that you are the slave of God
Sent in light with an upright religion.
We and our children are a protection for you
And our wealth is at your disposal.
Such are we if others give you the lie,
So shrink not from proclaiming aloud,
Proclaim what you have hidden
Openly without concealing it
The erring ones came with their swords
Thinking that he would be slain.
We attacked them with our swords,
Fighting the miscreants of the peoples in defence
With our brightly polished swords
Fine-edged, biting, cutting.
When they encountered hard bones
They did not recoil or become blunted.
Such have our nobles bequeathed us
In ancestral glory and proud fame.
When one passes another takes his place
And he leaves a scion when he dies.
There is none who is not indebted to us,
Though he may have been disloyal (875).

THE YEAR OF THE DEPUTATIONS, A.H. 9

When the apostle had gained possession of Mecca, and had finished with Tabūk and Thaqīf had surrendered and paid homage, deputations from the Arabs came to him from all directions (876).

[1] Act as a judge in our affairs (or property).

In deciding their attitude to Islam the Arabs were only waiting to see what happened to this clan of Quraysh and the sanctuary. For Quraysh were the leaders and guides of men, the people of the sacred temple, and the pure stock of Ishmael son of Abraham, and the leading Arabs did not oppose this. It was Quraysh who had declared war on the apostle and opposed him, and when Mecca was occupied and Quraysh became subject to him and he subdued it to Islam, and the Arabs knew that they could not fight the apostle or display enmity towards him they entered into God's religion 'in batches' as God said, coming to him from all directions. God said to His prophet: 'When God's help came and the victory, and you saw men entering into God's religion in batches, then glorify God with praise and ask His pardon for He is most forgiving.'[1] i.e. praise God for His having made your religion victorious, and ask His pardon, for He is most forgiving.

THE COMING OF THE DEPUTATION OF BANŪ TAMĪM

Then deputations of Arabs came to the apostle. There came to him 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurāra b. 'Udus al-Tamīmī among the nobles of B. Tamīm including al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis and al-Zibriqān b. Badr one of B. Sa'd, and Amr b. al-Ahtam and al-Ḥabḥāb b. Zayd (879).

934 Amr in the deputation of B. Tamīm were Nu'aym b. Ṭarīf and Qays b. al-Ḥārith and Qays b. 'Āṣim [illegible] of B. Sa'd with a great [illegible] from them from B. Tamīm (878). With them was 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī.

Al-Aqra' and 'Uyayna had been with the apostle at the occupation of Mecca and Ḥunayn and al-Ṭā'if, and when the deputation came they were among them. When the deputation entered the mosque they called out to the apostle who was behind in his private apartments, 'Come out to us, Muḥammad!' This loud call annoyed the apostle and he came out to them, and they said, 'Muḥammad, we have come to compete with you in boasting, so give permission to our poet and our orator.' The apostle did so, and 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib got up and said:

935 'Praise belongs to God for His favour to us and He is worthy to be praised, who has made us kings and given us great wealth wherewith we are generous, and has made us the strongest people of the east and the greatest in number, and the best equipped: so who among mankind is our equal? Are we not the princes of men and their superiors? He who would compete with us let him enumerate what we have enumerated. If we wished we could say more, but we are too modest to say much of what He has given us and are well known for that. I say this that you may bring forward the like and anything better.' Then he sat down. The apostle said to Thābit

Story 1xx. For a criticism of this translation (forwarded by I.I.'s respondent) and of I.I.'s explanation see Sobhy[1] in Ar.

b. Qays b. al-Shammās, brother of B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, 'Get up and answer the man's speech.' so Thābit got up and said:

'Praise belongs to God Who created heaven and earth and established His rule thereon, and His knowledge includes His throne; nothing exists but by His bounty. By His power He made us kings and chose the best of His creation as an apostle, and honoured him with lineage, made him truthful in speech, and favoured him with reputation, and sent down to him His book and entrusted him with it above (all) that He had created. He was God's choice from the worlds. Then He summoned men to believe in him, and the emigrants from his people and his kinsmen believed in God's apostle, the most noble men in reputation, the highest in dignity, and the best in deeds. The first of creatures to answer and respond to God when the apostle called them were ourselves. We are God's helpers and the assistants of His apostle, and will fight men until they believe in God; and he who believes in God and His apostle has protected his life and property from us, and he who disbelieves we will fight in God unceasingly and killing him will be a small matter to us. These are my words and I ask God's pardon for myself and the believers both men and women. Peace upon you.'

(T: 'Then they said, "Give permission to our poet to speak" and he did so,') and al-Zibriqān got up and said:

We are the nobles, no tribe can equal us.
From us kings are born and in our midst churches are built.
How many tribes have we plundered,
For excellence in glory is to be sought after
In time of dearth we feed our meat to the hungry
When no rain cloud can be seen,
You can see chiefs coming to us from every land,
And we feed them lavishly
We slaughter fat-humped young camels as a matter of course;
Guests when they come are satisfied with food.
You will see whenever we challenge a tribe's superiority
They yield and abandon leadership.
He who challenges us we know the result
His people withdraw and the man is naked shorn.
We forbid others but none forbid us.
Thus we are justly exalted in pride (879).

Hassān was absent at the time and the apostle sent a messenger to tell him to come and answer the B. Tamīm's poet. Hassān said, As I went to the apostle I was saying:

We protected God's apostle when he dwelt among us
Whether Ma'add liked it or not.

[1] i.e. 'because of a bond that is cut off'

We protected him when he dwelt among our houses
With our swords against every evil wretch
In a unique house whose glory and wealth
Is in Jibiyatu'l-Jaulān among the foreigners.
Is glory aught but ancient lordship and generosity,
The dignity of kings and the bearing of great burdens?[1]

When I came to the apostle and the tribal poet had said his say, I made allusions to what he had said on the same pattern. When al-Zibriqān had finished the apostle said to Hassān, Get up and answer the man, and Hassān arose and said

The leaders of Fihr and their brothers
Have shown a way of life to be followed.
Everyone whose heart is devout
And does all manner of good approves them.
Such a people when they fight injure their enemies
Or gain the advantage of their adherents which they seek,
Such is their nature—no recent habit.
(The worst of characteristics is innovation.)
If there are men who surpass those who come after them
Then they would be behind the rest of them.
Men do not repair what their hands have destroyed in fighting,
Nor destroy what they have repaired.
If they compete with others they take the lead.
If weighed against men famous for liberality they send down the scale
Chaste men whose chastity is mentioned in revelation,
Undefiled, no impurity can injure them.
Not mean with their wealth towards the sojourner
And no stain of covetousness touches them.
When we attack a tribe we do not go softly to them
Like a calf running to the wild cow.
We rise up when the claws of war reach us
When good-for-naughts are humbled by its nails.
They do not boast when they overcome their enemy,
And if they are beaten they are not weak nor despairing.
In battle when death is at hand
They are like lions in Halya with crooked claws.
Take what you can get if they are enraged
And seek not what they have forbidden.
To fight them is to meet poison and bane.
So do not antagonize them,
How noble the people who have God's apostle with them!
When sects and parties differ
My heart sings their praises

[1] Bardu'l'Ilāhi ta'ādubum.

Aided in its beloved task by an eloquent and ready tongue,
For they are the best of all creatures
In matters grave and gay (880).

When Hassān had ended al-Aqra' said 'By my father this man has a 938
ready helper. His orator and his poet are better than ours and their voices are sweeter[1] than ours.' In the end they accepted Islam and the apostle gave them valuable gifts.

They had left 'Amr b. al-Ahtam behind with their camels, he being the youngest of them. Qays b. 'Āṣim, who hated 'Amr, said, 'O apostle of God, there is one of our men with the camels, a mere youngster,' and he spoke disparagingly of him. But the apostle gave him the same as he gave the others. When 'Amr heard that Qays had said that, he satirized 939
him thus

You exposed yourself to contempt when you defamed me to the apostle.
You were a liar and spoke not the truth.
(T) You may hate us, for Roman is your origin
But Rome does not hold hatred for the Arabs.
We ruled you with a wide authority, but your authority
Is that of one sitting on his behind and showing his teeth![2] (881)

Concerning them the Qur'ān came down. "Those who call you from behind the private apartments most of them have no sense."[3]

THE STORY OF 'ĀMIR B. AL-ṬUFAYL AND ARBAD B. QAYS

Among the deputation from B. 'Āmir was 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl and Arbad b. Qays b. Jaz' b. Khālid b. Ja'far and Jabbār b. Salmā b. Mālik b. Ja'far. These three were the chiefs and leaders of the tribe.

'Āmir, the enemy of God,[4] came to the apostle intending to kill him treacherously. His people had urged him to accept Islam because others had done so but he said I have sworn that I will not stop until the Arabs follow me Am I to follow in the steps of this fellow from Quraysh?" Then he said to Arbad: 'When we get to the man I will distract his attention from you, and when I do that smite him with your sword. When they got to the apostle 'Āmir said, Muhammad, come apart with me.[5] He

[1] So C (ahlā). W has ʿalā 'are above ours'
[2] Lit. a dog. In T. 2707 the verse runs
We ruled and our authority is ancient, but your authority
Is behind us the rear of the camp and the tail.
If we may suppose that there is a play on the word and which should be read as 'ālī and understood as a synonym of ʿaqib (cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, *Hayy b. Yaqẓān*, 65), it is easy to see why I.H. and our one scribe misunderstood the text
[3] T has "Those of the Banū Tamīm who call you from behind the private apartments have no sense" and this is the preferable reading. Bibliography 49, 4. Cf. Wellhausen, *Muhammad in Medina*, 187
[4] T omits the label
[5] A less likely meaning, as the commentators point out, is 'make friends with me'

replied, 'No, I will not until you believe in God alone.' He repeated the request and went on talking to him expecting that Arbad would do as he had told him but he remained inactive. He again repeated his request and got the same answer. When the apostle refused he said, 'By God I will
040 fill the land against you with horses and men.' When they went away the apostle said, 'O God, rid me of 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl.' On their way back 'Āmir said to Arbad, 'Confound you, Arbad, why didn't you do what I ordered? By God there is no man on the face of the earth whom I fear more than you, but by God I shall never fear you after today.' He answered, 'Don't be hasty with me. Whenever I tried to get at him as you ordered, you got in the way so that I could see only you. Was I to smite you with the sword?'

T 1747 (T 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl said:

The apostle sent word about what you know and it was as though
We were making a planned raid on the squadrons
And our worn-out horses had brought us to Medina
And we had killed the Anṣār in its midst.)

As they were on their way back God sent a bubonic plague in 'Āmir's neck, and God killed him in the house of a woman of B. Salūl. He began to say, 'O Banū 'Āmir. A boil like the boil of a young camel in the house of a woman of Banū Salūl' (884)[1]

When they had buried him his companions returned to the B. 'Āmir country to winter and the people asked Arbad what had happened. 'Nothing, by God,' he said. 'He asked us to worship something. I wish he were here now and I would kill him with an arrow.' A day or two after saying this he went out with his camel behind him and God sent on him and his camel a thunderbolt which consumed them. Arbad was brother of Labīd b. Rabī'a by the same mother (885).

Labīd said, weeping Arbad:

The fates spare none,
Neither anxious father nor son.
I feared a violent death for Arbad
But I did not fear the blow of Pieces and Leo.
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad
Since we and the women rise in sorrow?
If man blustered he took no notice,
If they were moderate in judgement he showed moderation.
Bracer, acute, withal in his sweetness bitter,
Gentle in bowels and liver.
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad
When the winter winds strip the leaves from the trees
And make pregnant camels miscarry

These words are proverbial: see Freytag, *Prov.* 2. 172.

Until the last few drops appear? (He was)
Bolder than a man-eating lion in his thicket,
Eager for fame and far-seeing.
The eye could not see as far as it wished
The night the horses came weak from the battle.
Who sent the mourning-women among his mourners
Like young gazelles in a barren land.
The lightning and thunderbolts distressed me
For the brave knight on the day of misfortune.
Who spoiled the spoiler to repay the spoiled
Who came to him distressed and if he asked for more he gave it,
Liberal when times were bad
As the gentle spring rain that waters the grass.
All sons of a freewoman must become few
However many she bare.
Envied though they be, they must fall,
Though they hold authority one day they must perish and die (884).

Arbad also said:

Guns is the guard and protector
Who saved her from shame on the day of battle.
I was sure we had parted (for ever) the day they said,
'Arbad's property is being divided by lot.'
The shares of the heirs fly off in double and single lots
And authority[1] goes to the young man.
Bid farewell to Abū Ḥurayx with a blessing,
Though farewell to Arbad brings little of chat.
You were our leader and organizer,
For beads must be held together by a string[2]
And Arbad was a warlike knight
When the howdahs with their coverings were overthrown;
When in the morning the women were carried pillion
With faces unveiled and legs bare,
On that day man fled to him for safety
As a man at large flees to the sanctuary.
He who came to Arbad's cooking-pot praised it
And those who had much meat were not reproached.
If a woman were his guest
She had gifts and a share of the best meat
If she stayed she was honoured and respected,
If she went forth 'twas with a kind farewell.
Have you ever heard of two brothers who endured for ever
Save the two sons of Shammāl?[3]

[1] Another explanation of *al-ḥaṣ* is 'the best of the inheritance'.
[2] Two mountains.

Or the two stars of the polar region and the Great Bear
Everlasting, their destruction unthinkable.[1]

Labid also said

Announce to the noble the death of noble Arbad,
Announce the death of the chief, the kind-hearted.
Giving away his wealth that he might gain praise,
Camels like wild untamed cows,
Abundant in virtues if they were reckoned,
Who filled the platter again and again.
Whenever a poor man came he ate at will
As when a lion finds water in a dry land.
The more he is threatened the nearer he comes.
You have left us no paltry inheritance,
And wealth newly acquired and worn,
Youths like hawks, young men, and beardless boys.

Labid also said

You will never exhaust the good deeds of Arbad, so weep for him continually.
Say, He was the protecting warrior when armour was donned.
He kept wrong-doers from us when we met insolent enemies.
The Lord of creation took him away since He saw there was no long stay on earth.
943 He died painlessly without hurt and he is sorely missed.

Labid also said

Every bitter opponent whose way seemed harmful reminds me of Arbad.
If they were fair, then he was nobly fair; if they were unfair so was he.
He guided the people carefully when their guide went astray in the desert (885).

Labid also said:

I went walking after (the death of) Salmā b. Mālik
And Abū Qays and 'Urwa like a camel whose hump is cut off.[2]
When it sees the shadow of a raven it shoos it away
Anxious for the rest of its spine and sinews (886).

THE COMING OF DIMĀM B. THA'LABA AS A DEPUTY FROM BANŪ SA'D B. BAKR

The B. Sa'd b. Bakr sent one of their men called Dimām b. Tha'laba to the apostle. Muhammad b. al-Walīd b. Nuwayfi' from Kurayb client of

[1] In Brockelmann's edn. the poem (xviii) has 31 verses. The text in Chilidi, p. 27, is in better sequence.
[2] By its waving camel in their hunger.

'Abdullāh b. Abbās from Ibn 'Abbās told me: When the B. Sa'd sent Dimām to the apostle he came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, hobbled it, and went into the mosque where the apostle was sitting with his companions. Now Dimām was a thickset hairy man with two forelocks. He came forward until he stood over the apostle and said, 'Which of you is the son of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib?' The apostle said that he was. 'Are you Muhammad?' he asked. When he said that he was he said, 'O son of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, I am going to ask you a hard question, so don't take it amiss.' The apostle told him to ask what he liked and he would not take it amiss and he said, 'I adjure you by God your God and the God of those before you and the God of those who will come after you, has God sent you to us as an apostle?' 'Yes, by God He has,' he replied. He then adjured him to answer the questions. 'Has He ordered you to order us to serve Him alone and not to associate anything with Him and to discard those rival deities which our 944
fathers used to worship along with Him, and to pray these five prayers; then the ordinances of Islam one by one: alms, fasting, pilgrimage, and all the laws of Islam?' At the end he said: 'I testify that there is no God but Allāh and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of God, and I will carry out these ordinances, and I will avoid what you have forbidden me to do. I will neither add to, nor diminish from them.' Then he went back to his camel. The apostle said, 'If this man with the two forelocks is sincere he will go to Paradise.'

The man went to his camel, freed it from its hobble, and went off to his people, and when they gathered to him the first thing he said was, 'How evil are al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā!' 'Heavens above, Dimām,' they said, 'beware of leprosy and elephantiasis and madness!' He said, 'Woe to you, they can neither hurt nor heal. God has sent an apostle and sent down to him a book, so seek deliverance thereby from your present state. As for me, I bear witness that there is no God but the one God who is without associate, and that Muhammad is His slave and apostle. I have brought you what He has commanded you to do and what He has ordered you not to do.' And by God before the night was over there was not a man or woman in the tribe who had not become a Muslim. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās said: 'We have never heard of a representative of a tribe finer than Dimām b. Tha'laba.'

THE COMING OF AL-JĀRŪD IN THE DEPUTATION FROM 'ABDU'L-QAYS

Al-Jārūd b. 'Amr b. Ḥanash, brother of 'Abdu'l-Qays, came to the apostle (887)

One of whom I have no suspicion told me from al-Ḥasan that when he 945
came to the apostle he spoke to him, and the apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to enter it with kindly words. He replied: 'Muhammad,

[1] The expression may have a coarser meaning.

I owe a debt. If I leave my religion for yours will you guarantee my debt?' The apostle said, 'Yes, I guarantee that what God has guided you to is better than that', so he and his companions accepted Islam. Then he asked the apostle for some mounts, but he told him that he had none available. A. Jārūd pointed out that there were some strong beasts ridingbetween Medina and his country and could he not ride away on them? He replied, 'No, because of them, for they would lose their riders.'

Al-Jārūd went off to his own tribe, a good Muslim, firm in his religion and his faith, having been to be one of the Apostles. And when some of his people who had become Muslims returned to their former religion with al-Ḥuṭam b. al-Munqiḏ b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir al-Akbar to go up and spoke and confessed his faith and called them to Islam. He pronounced the shahāda and declared that he would regard as one who refused to do likewise as an infidel (888).

The apostle had sent al-Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā al-Abdī before the conquest of Mecca, and he became a good Muslim. He died after the apostle but before the apostasy of the people of al-Baḥrayn. Al-Alā' was with him as governor for the apostle over al-Baḥrayn.

THE DEPUTATION FROM BANŪ ḤANĪFA WITH WHOM WAS MUSAYLIMA

The deputation of B. Ḥanīfa came to the apostle bringing with them Musaylima b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥanafī, the arch liar. They lodged in the house of al-Ḥārith, a woman of the Anṣār of B. al-Najjār. One of the scholars of Medina told me that B. Ḥanīfa brought him up to the apostle leading him in garments. The apostle was sitting among his companions having a palm-branch with some leaves on its upper end. When he came to the apostle as they were covering him with garments he spoke to him and asked him (for a gift). The apostle answered, 'If you were to ask me for this palm branch (I wish I held) I would not give it to you.'

A shaykh of B. Ḥanīfa from the people of al-Yamāma told me that this incident happened otherwise. He alleged that the deputation came to the apostle leaving Musaylima behind with the camels and the baggage. When they had accepted Islam they remembered where he was, and told the apostle that they had left a companion of theirs to guard their stuff. The apostle ordered that he should be given the same as the rest, saying, 'His position is no worse than yours', i.e. in minding the property of his companions. That is what the apostle means.

Then they left the apostle and brought him what he had given him. When they reached al-Yamāma the enemy of God apostatized, gave himself out as a prophet and claimed the lie. He said, 'I am a partner with him in the affair,' and then he said to the deputation who had been with

[1] according to A. his name was al-Mundhir and he got the name of 'The Destroyer' because he ended plundered the people in the apostle's time.

him, 'Did he not say to you when you mentioned me to him "His position is no worse than yours"? What can that mean but that he knows that I am a partner with him in the affair?' Then he began to utter rhymes in sajʿ and gave an imitation of the style of the Qur'ān. 'God has been gracious to the pregnant woman. He has brought forth from her a living being that can move from her very midst. He garnered them to drink water and fermente, and let them disperse with prayer.' yet he was acknowledging the apostle as a prophet, and Ḥanīfa agreed with him on this. But God knows what the truth was.

ZAYDU'L-KHAYL COMES WITH THE DEPUTATION FROM ṬAYYI'

The deputation of Ṭayyi' containing Zayḍu'l-Khayl who was their chief came to the apostle, and after some conversation he explained Islam to them and they became good Muslims. A man of Ṭayyi', whom I have no reason to suspect told me that the apostle said, 'No Arab has ever been spoken of in the highest terms but when I have met him I have found that he falls short of what was said of him except Zayḍu'l-Khayl, and he exceeds all that has been said about him.' Then the apostle named him Zayḍu'l-Khayl and allotted to him Fayd and some lands with it and gave him a deed accordingly.

As Zayd went back to his tribe the apostle said that he hoped he would escape the Medina fever. The apostle did not call it Hummā or Ḥumma Medina, my informants could not say what. When he reached one of the watering-places of Najd called Fayḍa the fever overcame him and he died. When he felt his end approaching he said:

> Are my people to travel onward in literature
> While I am to be left in a house in Fayḍa in Najd?
> How often if I were sick would women visit me
> If not were not by the journey at least tired.

When he was dead his wife got the deeds which the apostle had given him and burnt them in the fire.

ʿADIY B. ḤĀTIM

I have been told that ʿAdiy b. Ḥātim used to say, 'No Arab disliked the apostle when he first heard of him more than I. Now I was a chief of noble birth, a Christian, and I used to travel about among my people to collect a quarter of their stuff. I was my own master in religious matters and was a king among my people and treated as such. When I heard of the apostle I disliked him and said to an Arab servant of mine who was looking after my camels, "Prepare some of my well-bred, well fed camels, and keep them near me, and when you hear of Muḥammad's army coming

[illegible]

[illegible] mothers. When I reached Syria I stopped there

[illegible] daughter was put in the enclosure by the door of the mosque in which the [illegible] Then a man [illegible] said the same words as before and he replied, "I have done so, but do not [illegible] who had hesitated to me to speak and was told that it was Ali. I stayed until some riders came from Balî or Qudâ'a. All I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. I went to the apostle and told him that some [illegible] gave me clothing and put me on a camel and gave me money and I went away with them until I came to Syria

[illegible] a discreet woman I asked her what she thought of this man and she said, "[illegible] not be shamed in the glory of al-Yaman, you being the man you are. [illegible] was in his mosque in Medina and saluted him and told him my name and [illegible]

[1] [illegible] 'right' [illegible] A.Bh., followed by C., [illegible] Qurtubi, [illegible] Qyâs. II, 239, quoted in T. [illegible], reports that some scholars find the usual meaning [illegible] the explanation [illegible] Tab. Glos

[illegible] he took me into his house and took hold of a leather cushion stuffed with palm [illegible] I become a Muslim.[1]

[illegible] the apostle [illegible] to the mosque; and, by God, the third will come to pass, wealth will flow [illegible] there will not be the people to take it

THE COMING OF FARWA B. MUSAYK AL-MURÂDÎ

Farwa b. Musayk al-Murâdî came to the apostle [illegible] Hamdân was al-Ajda' b. Mâlik (Sq.).

Farwa said about the battle

They passed by Lafît[1] with sunken eyes
[illegible]
we conquer we were conquerors of old
And if we are conquered we were not often unsuccessful.
Cowardice is not our habit,
But our foes and the fortune of others (caused our defeat).
Thus fate's wheel turns

Now for and now against a man.
While we are happy and rejoice in it,
Though we have enjoyed his favour for years,
Suddenly fate's wheel is turned
And you find those who were envied ground to pieces.
Those whom men envy for fate's favours
Will find time's changes deceitful.
If kings were immortal we should be so.
And if the noble persisted so should we
But the chiefs of my people are swept away
Like the generations before them (892).

When Farwa set out to go to the apostle, leaving the kings of Kinda, he [redacted]:

When I saw the kings of Kinda had failed to go right
Like a man whose leg cause him down,
I brought up my camel to go to Muhammad
Hoping for its welfare and good ground (893).

When he reached the apostle he asked him, as I have been told, 'Are you upset at what befell your people on the day of al-Radm?' He answered that such a tribal defeat as that would distress any man, and the apostle said that if that were so Islam could bring them only good. The prophet appointed him governor over Murad and Zubayd and Madhhij and sent with him Khalid b. Sa'id b. al-'As in charge of the poor tax he remained with him in his land until the death of the apostle.

THE COMING OF MA'DIKARIB FROM THE BANU ZUBAYD

'Amr b. Ma'dikarib came to the apostle with some men of B. Zubayd and accepted Islam. He had said to Qays b. Makshuh al-Murad when news of the apostle reached them, 'You are the chief of your tribe, Qays. We have heard that a man of Quraysh called Muhammad has appeared in the Hijaz claiming to be a prophet, so come with us so that we may find out the facts. If he is a prophet as he says, it will be apparent to you and when we meet him we will follow him. If he is not a prophet we shall know.' But Qays refused and declared his advice to be folly. Thereupon 'Amr rode off to the apostle and accepted Islam. When Qays heard of this he was enraged and threatened 'Amr, saying that he had gone against him and rejected his advice. 'Amr said concerning this

I gave you an order on the day of Dhu Sa'i',
An order that was plainly right.
I ordered you to fear God and to practise goodness.
You went off after pleasure like a young ass
Whose lust beguiled him.

He wished to meet me on a horse on which I sat as a man
Wearing a loose coat of mail glittering like a pool
On hard ground which makes the water clear
Mail that turns back the lances with bent points
With broken shafts flying apart
Had you met me you would have met a lion with flowing mane,
You would meet a ravening beast
With mighty paws and soft shoulders
Matching his adversary where he overthrows if he makes for him.
Seizes him, picks him up, throws him down and kills him,
Dashes out his brains and shatters him
Tears him in pieces and devours him,
Admitting none a share in the prey his teeth and claws hold fast (894).

'Amr stayed with his people the B. Zubayd while Farwa b. Musayk was over them. When the apostle died 'Amr revolted, and said:

We have found Farwa's rule the worst of rules,
An ass sniffing at a female ass.
If you were to look at Abd 'Umayr
You would think he was a camel with its filthy discharge (895).

AL-ASH'ATH B. QAYS COMES WITH THE DEPUTATION OF KINDA

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays came to the apostle with the deputation of Kinda. Al-Zuhri told me that he came with eighty riders from Kinda and they went in to the apostle in the mosque. They had combed their locks and blackened their eyes with *kohl*, and they were striped robes bordered with silk. The apostle asked them if they had accepted Islam and when they said that they had he asked why this silk was round their necks. So they took it off and threw it away.

Then al-Ash'ath said, 'We are the sons of the eater of bitter herbs and so are you.' The apostle smiled and said that to al-'Abbas b. Abdu'l-Muttalib and Rabi'a b. al-Hارith that ancestry was attributed. These two men were merchants and when they went about among the Arabs and were asked who they were they would say that they were sons of the eater of bitter herbs, taking pride in that because Kinda were kings. Then he said to them, 'Nay, we are the sons of al-Nadr b. Kinana: we do not follow our mother's line and disown our father.'[1] Al-Ash'ath said 'Have you finished?' 'Do you know, O men of Kinda? By God if I hear a man saying that (I after today) I will give him eighty strokes' (896).

[1] This throws light on Robertson Smith's theory of a primitive matriarchy in ancient Arabia.

THE COMING OF SURAD B. 'ABDULLAH AL-AZDI

[illegible] came to the apostle and became a good Muslim with the deputation [illegible] was a closed town containing some of the tribes of the Yemen. Khath'am [illegible] could not force an entry. Surad withdrew as far as one of their mountains [illegible] let swoop on them and killed a large number of them.

[illegible] came to the apostle [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] the apostle after the [illegible] Then what is the name of [illegible] came out and sat with Abu Bakr or it may have been 'Uthman and he said [illegible] the apostle said these words.

The deputation of [illegible] came to the apostle and accepted Islam and he gave them a special reward beyond their share with definite marks for [illegible] and pledging [illegible] of the tribes [illegible] Khath'am came to spend half a pagan [illegible] and stands thus in the second month:

> What a wonderful road we had! Midst, and hence and down,
> Until we came to Himyar with its turns
> Where Khath'am had been given full warning.
> If I could satisfy the rancour I feel
> I should not care whether they were Muslims or heathens.

THE DEPUTATION OF THE KINGS OF HIMYAR

On his return from Tabuk a messenger brought a letter from the kings of Himyar with their acceptance of Islam as offered by Abraha al-Ashram and [illegible] the apostle [illegible]

[illegible] Malik b. Murra al-Rahawi [illegible] adherents. Then the apostle wrote to them: 'In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, from Muhammad the apostle of God to the governor [illegible] God and My [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] the apostle [illegible] of God and His apostle.

[illegible] Muhammad the prophet [illegible] crucified. Muhammad witnesses that there is no God but Allah and that he is His servant and apostle.

'Malik b. Murra al-Rahawi has told me that you were the first of [illegible]

[illegible]

alms tax is not lawful to Muhammad or his household; it is alms to be given to the poor Muslims and the wayfarer. Malik has brought the news and kept secret what is confidential, and I order you to treat him well. I have sent to you some of the best of my people, religious and learned men, and I order you to treat them well, for they must be respected. Peace upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.

THE APOSTLE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MU'ĀDH WHEN HE SENT HIM TO THE YAMAN

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that he was told that when the apostle sent Mu'ādh he gave him instructions and orders and then said: Deal gently and not harshly, announce good news and do not repel people. You are going to one of the people with scripture who will ask you about the key of heaven. Say to them: it is the witness that there is no God but Allāh, Who has no partner. Mu'ādh went off to the Yaman and did as he was ordered, and a woman came to him and said, 'O companion of God's apostle, what rights has a husband over his wife?' He said, 'Woe to you, a woman can never fulfil her husband's rights, so do your utmost to fulfil his claims as best you can.' She said, 'By God, if you are the companion of God's apostle you must know what rights a husband has over his wife!' He said, 'If you were to go back and find him with his nostrils running with pus and blood and sucked until you got rid of them you would not have fulfilled your obligation.'[2]

958 FARWA B. 'AMR AL-JUDHĀMĪ BECOMES A MUSLIM

Farwa b. 'Amr b. al-Nāfira al-Judhāmī of the clan of Nufātha sent to the apostle that he had accepted Islam, and gave him a white mule. Farwa was governor for the Byzantines of the Arabs living near the Byzantine border based on Ma'ān and the surrounding land of Syria. When the news reached the Byzantines they went after him, caught him, and imprisoned him. In his imprisonment he said:

Suleymā came to my companions by night
When the Romans were between the door and the water troughs.
The spectre shrank away sad at what it saw,
And I thought to sleep but it had made me weep.
Paint not those eye with *kohl*, Salmā, after I am dead
And do not approach for intercourse.
You know, Abū Kuberysha, that among the great ones
My tongue is not silent.

A difficult expression. Perhaps 'they are people of importance' or even 'they will be watched' or 'to see how they live.'

[2] Suhaylī offers no comment.

If I perish you will miss your brother
And if I live you will recognize my rank.
For I possess the noblest qualities a man can have:
Generosity, bravery, and eloquence.

When the Byzantines determined to crucify him by a pool in Palestine called 'Afrā' he said:

Has Salmā heard that her husband
Is by the water of 'Afrā' mixed on a riding camel,[1]
A camel whose mother no stallion e'er mounted,
Its branches shorn with sickles?[2]

Al-Zuhrī alleged that when they brought him to crucify him he said:

Tell the chiefs of the Muslims that I
Surrender to my Lord my body and my bones.

Then they beheaded him and hung him up by that water. May God have mercy on him.

THE BANŪ L-HARITH ACCEPT ISLAM

Then the apostle sent Khālid b. al-Walīd in the month of Rabī'u'l-Ākhir or Jumādā'l-Ūlā in the year 10 to the B. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b in Najrān, and 959
ordered him to invite them to Islam three days before he attacked them. If they accepted, then he was to accept it from them, and if they declined he was to fight them. So Khālid set out and came to them, and sent out riders in all directions inviting the people to Islam, saying, 'If you accept Islam you will be safe,' so the men accepted Islam as they were invited. Khālid stayed with them teaching them Islam and the book of God and the sunna of His prophet, for that was what the apostle of God had ordered him to do if they accepted Islam and did not fight.[3]

Then Khālid wrote to the apostle: 'In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful. To Muhammad the prophet the apostle of God. From Khālid b. al-Walīd. Peace be upon you, O apostle of God, and God's mercy and blessings. I praise God the only God unto you. You sent me to the B. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b and ordered me when I came to them not to fight them for three days and to invite them to Islam, and if they accepted it to stay with them, and to accept it from them and teach them the institutions of Islam, the book of God, and the sunna of His prophet.

[1] The following line makes the meaning [illegible]

[2] [illegible] them and teach them the [illegible] and the sunna [illegible] the institutions of [illegible] for that which T omits. Clearly one of them is redundant, and the passage in T reads more smoothly. The words 'to stay with them' in Khālid's letter are given by G, not by W.

[illegible] Peace upon you &c.

[illegible] and some. And let their deputation come with you. Peace upon you &c.

So Khālid came to the apostle with the deputation of B. al-Ḥārith, [illegible] and Yazīd b. 'Abdu'l-Madān, and Yazīd b. al-Muḥajjal and 'Abdullah b. Qurād al- [illegible] al-Ḍibābī.

[illegible] When they came to the apostle they said, 'We testify that you are the [illegible] the fourth time Yazīd b. 'Abdu'l-Madān said, 'Yes, we are,' and said it [illegible] that they never conquered anyone. 'Nay, but you did conquer those who fought you,' he said. They replied, [illegible] as their leader.

[illegible] before the apostle died.

Now the apostle had sent to them after their deputation had returned [illegible] and the institutions of Islam and to collect their alms, and he wrote him a

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[1] They had placed men before God.

letter in which he gave him his orders and injunctions as follows: 'In the [illegible] agreement.[1] The instructions of Muhammad the prophet the apostle of God to 'Amr b. Ḥazm when he sent him to the Yaman. He orders him [illegible] pious and who do well;[2] and he commanded him to behave with truth as [illegible] command them to follow it and to teach men the Quran and instruct them in it and to forbid men to do wrong so that none but the pure should [illegible] tions and be lenient to them when they behave aright and severe on in- [illegible] but to tribes and families let them be smitten with the sword until their [illegible] daybreak, at noon when the sun declines, in the afternoon when the sun [illegible] run to the mosques when they are summoned, and to wash when they go to them, and order them to take from the booty God's fifth and what alms are [illegible] (T. the ba'l water)[3] and the sky waters, and a twentieth of what the bucket waters, and for every ten camels two sheep; and for every twenty camels four sheep; for every forty cows one cow; for every thirty cows a [illegible] it is a merit to him. A Jew or a Christian who becomes a sincere Muslim

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[illegible]

[3] Here [illegible] T. and [illegible] the original text. For the original sense of ba'l land see W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. [illegible] f. Probably it means land watered by underground streams.

of his own accord and obeys the religion of Islam is a believer with the same rights and the same obligations. If one of them holds fast to his religion he is not to be turned (? [illegible]) from it. Every adult, male or female, freed or free, must pay a golden dinar or its equivalent in clothes. He who performs this has the guarantee of God and His apostle; he who withholds it is the enemy of God and His apostle and all believers.

THE COMING OF RIFĀ'A B. ZAYD AL-JUDHĀMĪ

Rifā'a b. Zayd al-Judhāmī of the clan of al-Dubayb came to the apostle during the occupation of al-Hudaybiya before Khaybar. He gave the apostle a slave and he became a great Muslim. The apostle gave him a letter to his people in which he wrote:

To Rifā'a b. Zayd whom I have sent to his people and those who have joined them to invite them to God and His apostle. 'Whoever comes forward as of the party of God and His apostle, and whoever turns back
964 has two months' grace.

When Rifā'a came to his people they responded and accepted Islam; then they went to al-Harra, the Harra of al-Raqā' and stopped there (899).

964 THE LIARS MUSAYLIMA AL-HANAFĪ AND AL-ASWAD AL-ANSĪ

Now the two archliars Musaylima b. Habīb and al-Aswad b. Ka'b al-Ansī had spoken during the apostle's lifetime, the first in al-Yamāma among the B. Hanīfa, and the second in Sana'. Yazīd b. Abdullāh b. Qusayt told me from Ata' b. Yasār or his brother Sulaymān, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, saying: I heard the apostle as he was addressing the people from his pulpit say: "I saw the cup of al-qadh and then I was made to forget it; and I saw on my wrists two bracelets of gold which I disliked so I blew on them and they flew away. I interpreted it as meaning these two liars, the man of al-Yamāma and the man of al-Yemen."[1]

One whom I do not suspect on the authority of Abū Hurayra said: I heard the apostle say: 'The hour will not come until thirty impostors arise forth, each of them claiming to be a prophet.'[1]

965 THE SENDING OUT OF COLLECTORS OF THE POOR-TAX

The apostle sent out his officials and representatives to every district subject to Islam to collect the poor-tax. He sent al-Muhājir b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra to Sana'. And Ata' came out against him while he was there. Zayd b. Lubayd, brother of B. Bayāda al-Ansārī, he sent to Hadramawt. 'Adī b. Hātim he sent to Tayyi' and B. Asad; Mālik b. Nuwayra (Ibid), to B. Hanzala. The poor-tax of B. Sa'd he divided between

[1] See another [illegible]

two men. Zibriqān b. Badr and Qays b. 'Āsim each to be in charge of a section. Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh went to al-Bahrayn, and Alī b. Abū Tālib to the people of Najrān, to collect the poor-tax and to superintend the collection of the poll-tax.

MUSAYLIMA'S LETTER AND THE APOSTLE'S ANSWER THERETO

Musaylima had written to the apostle: 'From Musaylima the apostle of God to Muhammad the apostle of God. Peace upon you. I have been made partner with you in authority. To us belongs half the land and to Quraysh half, but Quraysh are a humble people.' Two messengers brought this letter.

A shaykh of Asād told me on the authority of Salama b. Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd al-Asadī from his father Nu'aym: 'I heard the apostle moving in closing when he read his letter. What do you say about it?' They said that they said the same to Musaylima. He replied: 'By God, were it not that heralds are not to be killed I would behead the pair of you.' Then he wrote to Musaylima: 'From Muhammad the apostle of God to Musaylima the liar. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance.' The earth is God's. He lets whom He will of His creatures inherit it and the result is to the pious.'[1] This was at the end of the year 10.

THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE

In the beginning of Dhū'l-Qa'da the apostle proposed to make the pilgrimage and ordered the men to get ready.

Abdallāh Rāshida b. al-Qāsim from his father al-Qāsim b. Muhammad from 'Ā'isha the prophet's wife told me that the apostle went on pilgrimage on the 25th Dhū'l-Qa'da (899).

Neither he nor the men spoke of anything but the pilgrimage, until when he was at Sarif and had brought the camels with him to slaughter some depredations had done, he ordered the people to remove their pilgrim garments except those who brought camels. That day my camels were upon me and he came to me as I was weeping and asked me what ailed me, guessing correctly what was the matter. I told him he was right and said I wished to God that I had not come out with him on the pilgrimage this year. He said: 'Don't do that. Don't say that, for you can do all that the pilgrims do except go round the temple.' The apostle entered Mecca and everyone who had his sacrificial camel on, and had worn, just off the pilgrim garment. When the day of sacrifice came I was sent a lot of beef and it was put in my lap. When I asked what it was they said that the apostle had sacrificial cows on behalf of his wives. When the night came the pebbles

[illegible] of the [illegible] which I had [illegible].

[illegible] be free of the [illegible] until I slaughter my victims.'

[illegible] remove the pilgrim garb in the others had done. He said that he wanted [illegible] behalf of those beds.

Yahyā b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Abū 'Amra from Tawūs b. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] pilgrimage and showed the man the [illegible]

[illegible] the hair to prevent it becoming disheveled and [illegible]

Cf. Nisā'ī b. 'Uqba, No. 17.

[illegible] with it all usury is abolished, but you have your capital. Wrong not and [illegible] a sacred month is only an means of disbelief whereby those who disbelieve [illegible] Time has completed its cycle and is as it was on the day that God created the heavens and the earth. The number of months with God is twelve [illegible] them in separate rooms and to beat them but not with severity. If [illegible] with kindness. Lay injunctions on women kindly, for they are prisoners [illegible] God and the practice of His prophet, so give good heed to what I say [illegible] are brethren. It is only lawful to take from a brother what he gives you willingly, so wrong not yourselves. O God, have I not told you?

[illegible] This is a difficult phrase. It is probably to be understood as the [illegible] and more particularly 33, 70 where the Qur'ānic commentators differ widely

[illegible]

Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father told me that the man who used to act as crier for the apostle when he was on 'Arafa was Rabī'a b. Umayya b. Khalaf. The apostle said to him, 'Say, O men, [illegible] would say the holy month. Then he said, 'Say to them, God has hallowed your blood and your property until you meet your Lord like the sanctity of this month. Do you know what country this is?' And they said 'The holy land' and he said the same as before. 'Do you know what day this is?' and they said the day of the great hajj, and he said the same again.

Layth b. Abū Sulaym from Shahr b. Hawshab al-Ash'arī from 'Amr b. Khārija told me: 'Aqīb b. Dayd sent me to the apostle on a matter while the apostle was standing on 'Arafa. I came to him and stood beneath his [illegible] has assigned to everyone his due. Testamentary bequests to an heir are not lawful. The child belongs to the bed and the adulterer must be stoned. He who claims as father him who is not his father or a client a master who is not his master, on him rests the curse of God, the angels, and men everywhere. God will not receive from him compensatory atonement, however great.'

'Abdullāh b. Abū Najīh told me that when the apostle stood on 'Arafa he said, 'This station goes with the mountain that is above it and all 'Arafa is a station.' When he stood on Quzah on the morning of al-Muzdalifa he said, 'This is the station and all al-Muzdalifa is [illegible] apostle completed the hajj and showed men the rites, and taught them what God had prescribed as to their hajj, the station, the throwing of [illegible] and forbidden. It was the pilgrimage of completion and the pilgrimage of [illegible]

THE SENDING OF USĀMA B. ZAYD TO PALESTINE

Then the apostle returned and stopped in Medina for the rest of Dhū'l-Hijja, Muharram and Safar. He ordered the people to make an expedition to Syria and put over them Usāma b. Zayd b. Hāritha, his freed slave. He ordered him to lead his cavalry into the territory of the Balqā' and al-Dārūm in the land of Palestine. The men got ready and all the first emigrants went with Usāma (900).

MISSIONS SENT TO THE VARIOUS KINGDOMS

(T. As to I.I. according to what I. Hamīd alleged and told us saying that Salama had it from him, he said: The apostle had sent the news of

his companions in different directions to the kings of the Arabs and the non-Arabs inviting them to Islam in the period between al-Hudaybiya and his death.)

Yazīd b. Abū Habīb al-Misrī told me that he found a document in which was a memorandum (T. the names) of those the apostle sent to the emperors and kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs and what he said to his companions when he sent them. I sent it to Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī (T. with a copy emphasizing of him) and he recognized it. It mentioned the statement that the apostle wrote sent to his companions and said, 'God has sent me as a mercy to all men, so take a message from me. God have mercy on you. Do not hang back from me' as the disciples [illegible] you. Those who had to go a short journey were pleased and accepted, [illegible] one of them was able to speak the language of the people to whom he [illegible] that you should do, so go.')

Those whom Jesus son of Mary sent both disciples and those who came after them, in the land were Peter the disciple and Paul with him, [illegible] and Matthew to the land of the cannibals, Thomas to the land of Babel which is in the land of the east, Philip to Carthage which is Africa, John [illegible] is Aelia the city of the sanctuary, Bartholomew to Arabia which is the land of the Hijāz, Simon to the land of the Berbers, Judah who was not one of the disciples was put in the place of Judas.[a]

(T. Then the apostle divided his companions and sent Salīt b. 'Amr b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Wudd, brother of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, to Hawdha b. 'Alī ruler of al-Yamāma (al-'Alā' b. al-Hadramī to al-Mundhir b. [illegible] four slave girls, one of whom was Mary mother of Ibrāhīm the apostle's [illegible] Heraclius king of Rome. When he came to him with the apostle's letter he looked at it and then put it between his thighs and his ribs.)[b] T. 1561

(T. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī from 'Ubaydullāh b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Utba b. T. 1562

[illegible]

[illegible] Abdullah b. [illegible] from Abd al-Rahman b. Hadrami said, saying: "We were a [illegible] people and the war between us and the apostle had shut us in until our goods were scale. When there was no [illegible] between us we left [illegible] and driven them out and recaptured from them his great cross which

his cross had been recovered he came out from Hims, which was his

[illegible]

sorrowful, turning his eyes to heaven, and his patricians said, "You have

[illegible] the night I saw the kingdom of a circumcised man victorious." The

[illegible]

to send orders to everyone of authority in his dominions to behead e

[illegible]

to induce him to do this, to the messenger of the governor of Busrā

[illegible]

man, O king, is from the Arabs, people of sheep and camels. He speaks of something wonderful that has happened in his country, so ask him about it." Accordingly the king asked his interpreter to inquire what had

[illegible]

[illegible] d, "This, by God, is the vision I saw, not what you say. Give him his clothes. Be off with you." Then

1563 [illegible]

until he brought him a man of the people of that man, meaning the pro

[illegible]

asking if we were of the people of this man in the Hijāz; and learning that we were he told us to come to the king, and when we came to him he asked if we were of the clan of this man and which was the nearest of kin to him. I said that I was, and by God I have never seen a man whom I consider more shrewd than that uncircumcised man, meaning Heraclius. He told

Then he said, "I will interrogate him, and if he lies confute him." But, by God, if I were to lie they could not confute me. But I am a man of high birth too honourable to lie and I knew that it was only too easy for them, if I lied to him, to remember it against me and to repeat it in my

[illegible] as I did not lie to him. He said: "Tell me about that man who has appeared among you making claims [illegible] anxiety, his importance is less than you have heard," but he took no heed. "[illegible] he said: "Tell me what [illegible] what he had [illegible] [illegible] claims which he was copying. When I said No he asked if he [illegible] [illegible] this time so that we might refute it by him. Again I said No. [illegible] and I said him that none of his followers had left him. Then he asked about the war between us and him. I said that its fortunes varied. Then he asked if he was treacherous. This was the only question of his which I found fault with. I said No, and that while we had an [illegible] with him we did not know whether he would be treacherous or what he would. Then he narrated up and said: "I asked you about his lineage and you alleged that a [illegible] claims and you said No. Then I asked if he had been robbed [illegible] I asked who followed his religion and you said that they were the weak and poor and young children and women and some have been the followers of his [illegible] Then I asked [illegible] Nona. Thus is the sweetness of faith it does not enter the heart and depart. Then I asked if he was treacherous and you said No and truly if you have told me the truth about him he will conquer me on the ground

his feet. Go about your business.' So I got up rubbing my hands together and saying that the affair of Ibn Abū Kabsha had become great in that the kings of the Greeks dreaded him in their sovereignty in Syria. The apostle's letter with Dihya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī came to him saying, "If you accept Islam you will be safe, if you accept Islam God will give you a double reward; if you turn back the sin of the husbandmen[1] will be upon you," i.e. the burden of it.

From al-Zuhrī from 'Ubaydullah from Abdullah b. 'Utba from Ibn

[illegible]

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī told me that he met a Christian bishop in the time of 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān who told him that he knew about the affair of the apostle and Heraclius and understood it. When the apostle's letter by Dihya came to him he took it and put it between his thighs and he

[illegible]

ribe. Then he wrote to a man in Rome who used to read in Hebrew what

and telling him about what had come from him. The man in Rome replied that he is the prophet whom we expect: there is no doubt about

[illegible]

[illegible]en he looked down on them from an upper chamber (for he was afraid of them) and said, 'O Romans, I have brought you together for a good purpose. This man has written me a letter summoning me to his religion. By God, he is truly the prophet whom we expect and find in our books, so come and let us follow him and believe in him that it may be well with us in this world and the next.' As one man they uttered cries of disgust and ran to the doors to get out, but found them bolted. He ordered that they

words that I might see the firmness of your religion in face of what has happened, and I am delighted with what I have seen of your behaviour.' They fell down in obeisance and he ordered that the doors should be opened and they went off.

A traditionist said that Heraclius said to Dihya b. Khalīfa when he brought the apostle's letter: 'Alas, I know that your master is a prophet sent (by God) and that it is he whom we expect and find in our book, but I go in fear of my life from the Romans; but for that I would follow him. Go to Daghāṭir the bishop and tell him about your master, for he is greater among the Romans than I, and his word counts for more than mine. See what he says to you.' So Dihya went and told him about what he had brought from the apostle and at his invitation to Heraclius. Daghāṭir said: 'Your master is a prophet who has been sent; we know him by his description, and we find him mentioned by name in [illegible] scriptures.' Then he went and discarded his black clothes and put on white garments and took his staff and went out to the Romans who were in church and said: 'O Romans, a letter has come to us from Ahmad in which he calls us to God and I bear witness that there is no God but Allāh and that Ahmad is his slave and apostle.' They leapt upon him with one accord and beat him until he was dead. When Dihya returned to

at their hands and Daghāṭir was greater among them and his word counted for more than mine.

[illegible]

[illegible] is a prophet who has been sent; we find him in our book, we know [illegible] with us in this world and the next.' They said, 'Are we to be under the

[illegible] of Abyssinia, Peace. I praise Allāh unto you the King, the Holy, [illegible]

[illegible]

worship. I have sent to you my son Abd. I have entrusted only over myself part of your truth may be come to you. O apostle of God, I will do so. I bear witness that what you say is true.

I was told that the Negus sent his son with sixty Abyssinians by land, and when they were in the middle of the sea the boat foundered and they all perished.

T 1278 (T. via Salama. From Abdullah b. Abd Bakr from al-Zuhri from Abd Salama from Abdu'l-Rahman b. Auf. Abdullah b. Shuhbara brought the apostle a letter to Chosroes and which he had read at his own at up. When the apostle heard that he had torn his letter up he said, His kingdom will be torn in pieces.)

(T. via Yunus b. Abd Ibrahim. Then Chosroes wrote to Bidhan, who was governor of the Yemen. Send two stout fellows to this man in the Hijaz and tell them to bring him to me. So Bidhan sent his secretary Khurrakhurrah who was a skilled man with a Persian named Khurrakhurrah to carry a letter to the apostle ordering him to go with them to Chosroes. He told Khurrakhurrah to go to this man's country and speak to him and then come back and report. When they got to Ta'if they found some men of Quraysh in Nakhla and inquired about him. They told them that he was in Medina. They reached it morning, noon, evening, and in good order, for Chosroes king of kings is incensed against the man and was well for rid of him.

T 1279 The two men came to the apostle and Khurrakhurrah told him that Bidhan, king of kings Chosroes had written to the governor Bidhan ordering him to send men to bring him to him and then they had been sent to take him away. If he obeyed Bidhan would write to the king of kings on his behalf and keep him from him. But if he refused he must be aware what part of war he was. He would destroy his people and lay waste his country. They had come to the apostle a prisoner with shaven beards and long moustaches, so that he could not bear to look at them. He admired them and said, 'Woe to you! Who ordered you to do this?' To which they replied, 'Our Lord' meaning Chosroes. The apostle ignored, 'But my Lord has ordered me to let my beard grow long and to cut my moustaches.' Then he told them to come back in the morning.

Revelation came from heaven to the apostle to the effect that God had given Khurrakhurrah power over his lord Chosroes and he had killed him on a

T 1280 certain night of a certain month at a certain hour. Thereupon he commanded them and said thus. They said, 'Do you know what you are saying? We can take revenge on you.' He said, 'Woe to you! Should we write this to inform you and tell the king of it?' He said, 'Yes, tell him that from me and tell him that my religion and my sovereignty will reach beyond which the horse

[a] It will be seen that there is no need for this sentence. I do not deal with it in my commentary in the notes. I have omitted T. 1279 [illegible] a fragment of an epistle without the preceding story from Yunus b. Abu Ishaq which naturally the apostle with what [illegible] said.

[b] [illegible]

does of Chosroes never attained. Say to him, "If you submit I will give you what you already hold and appoint you king over your people in the Yemen." Then he gave Khurrakhurrah a girdle containing gold and silver which one of the kings had given him.

They left him and came to Bidhan and reported. He exclaimed, 'This is not the speech of a king. In my opinion he is a prophet as he says. We will see what happens. If what he said is true then he is a prophet who has been sent by God; if it is not, we must consider the matter further.' Hardly had he finished speaking when there came a letter from Khurrakhurrah saying that he had killed Chosroes because he had angered the Persians by taking their sons and keeping them as his hostages. He says they have pledged their obedience to the new king. He says nothing about whom Chosroes had written, but not provide him to wait until further instructions came.

When Bidhan received this letter he said, 'Without doubt this man is an apostle' and he became a Muslim as did the Persians with him in the Yemen.

The men of Hamdan used to call Khurrakhurrah 'Dhu'l-Mi'ram' because of the girdle which the apostle gave him, because gold is the Universal weapon of the Arabs. To this day he still keeps the sacred. Bidhan sent to Bidhan, 'I never spoke to a man for whom I felt more respect at first.' Bidhan inquired, 'Did he have any contact with him?' He answered 'No.'

A SUMMARY OF THE APOSTLE'S FIGHTS

The apostle took part personally in twenty-seven (T. six)[a] raids

Waddan which was the raid of al-Abwa'
Buwat in the direction of Radwa
'Ushayra in the valley of Yanbu
The first fight at Badr in pursuit of Kurz b. Jabir.
The great battle of Badr in which God slew the chiefs of Quraysh (T. and their nobles and captured many)
Banu Sulaym until he reached al-Kudr
A Sawiq in pursuit of Abu Sufyan b. Harb (T. until he reached Qarqara al-Kudr).
Ghatafan (T. towards Najd), which is the raid of Dhi Amarr.
Bahran, a mine in the Hijaz (T. above al-Furu').
Nagd
Hamra'u'l-Asad.
Banu Nadir
Dhatu'r-Riqa' of Nakhl
The last battle of Badr
Dumatu'l-Jandal.

[a] I.I. has omitted the pilgrimage as a raid.

Al-Khandaq
Banū Qurayẓa
Banū Lihyān of Hudhayl
Dhū Qarad
Banū'l-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'a
Al-Ḥudaybiya not intending to fight where the polytheists opposed his passage.
Khaybar
Then he went on the accomplished pilgrimage
The occupation of Makka
Ḥunayn
Al-Ṭā'if
Tabūk

He actually fought in nine engagements: Badr, Uḥud, al-Khandaq, Qurayẓa, al-Muṣṭaliq, Khaybar, the occupation, Ḥunayn, and al-Ṭā'if.

A SUMMARY OF THE EXPEDITIONS AND RAIDING PARTIES

There were thirty-eight (T: thirty-five) in number (T: between the time of his coming to Medina and his death). 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith was sent to the lower part (T: to the tribes of Thanyat'l-Marra (T: which is a well in the Ḥijāz)). Ḥamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib to the coast in the direction of al-'Īs. (Some people date Ḥamza's raid before that of 'Ubayda.) Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ to al-Kharrār (T: in the Ḥijāz); 'Abdullāh b. Jaḥsh to Naḵla; Zayd b. Ḥāritha to al-Qarda (T: a well in Najd); Muḥammad b. Maslama's attack on Ka'b b. al-Ashraf; Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī to al-Raji'; al-Mundhir b. 'Amr to Bi'r Ma'ūna; Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhū'l-Qaṣṣa on the Iraq road; 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Turba in the B. Amīr country; 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib to the Yamen; Ghālib b. 'Abdullāh al-Laythī, the Laythī of Laysh, to al-Kadīd where he attacks B. al-Mulawwaḥ.

GHĀLIB'S RAID ON THE B. AL-MULAWWAḤ

Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas from Mūsā b. 'Abdullāh
994 b. Khubayb al-Juhanī from al-Mundhir from Jundab b. Makīth al-Juhanī said to me that the latter said: The apostle sent Ghālib b. 'Abdullāh al-Laythī, Laythī of B. Auf b. Layth, on a night raid in which I took part. He ordered him to make a cavalry raid on B. al-Mulawwaḥ who were in al-Kadīd. We went out and when we reached Qudayd we fell in with al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barṣā' al-Laythī and seized him. He said that he had come to be a Muslim and was going to the apostle. We told him that if he was a Muslim it would not hurt him to be tied up for a night, and if

he were not we should make sure of him, so we bound him tightly and left him in charge of a young negro and told him to cut off his head if he tried to attack him.

We went on until we came to (T: the valley of) al-Kadīd at sunset. We were in the wadi and my companions sent me out to scout for them. So I left them and went on until I came to a hill overlooking the enemy's camp. I went up to the top and looked down at the camp, and by God as I was lying on the hill out came a man from his tent and said to his wife, "I see something black on the hill which I didn't see at the beginning of the day. Look and see if any of your goat is missing; perhaps the dogs have dragged off something." She went to look and told him that nothing was missing. He then told her to fetch him his bow and a couple of arrows and he shot me in the side. I pulled out the arrow and had it aside and kept my place (T: did not move). Then he shot me again in my shoulder. Again I pulled it out and kept my place. He said to his wife, "If this had been a scout of some party he would have moved, for both my arrows hit him. In the morning go and get them. Don't let the dogs gnaw them." Then he went inside his tent.

We gave them time until they quietened down and went to sleep (T: until their cattle returned in the evening and they milked them and lay down quietly), and a third of the night passed; then towards dawn we attacked them and killed some and drove off the cattle. They cried out to one another for aid, and a multitude that we could not resist came at us (T: crouts and lies), and we went on quickly until we passed by al-Ḥārith) and we went on with the cattle and passed [by al-Ḥārith] and his companion and carried them along with us. The enemy were hard on our heels and only the Wadi Qudayd was between us, when God sent a flood in the wadi
995 from whence He pleased, for there were no clouds that we could see and no rain. It brought such water that none could cross it and none could pass over. And there they stood looking at us as we drove off their cattle. Not one of them could come to us as we hurried off with them until we got away, then could not pursue us, and we brought them to the apostle.

A man of Aslam on the authority of another of them told me that the war-cry of the apostle's companions that night was Nayl Nayl. A man of the Muslims who was driving the cattle chanted

> Abū'l-Qirba refused to let you graze
> On luscious herbs which you unite
> With yellow tops the colour of cumin (gut).

I will now continue the summary of the night raids and raiding parties.[1]

'Alī to B. 'Abdullāh b. Sa'd of Fadak. Abū'l-Auja' al-Sulamī to B. Sulaym country where he and all his companions were killed. 'Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan to al-Ghamra. Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad to Qaṭan, a well

[1] From C. The whole passage in T. (q.v.) differs in phraseology though not in content from C., who has apparently edited the text freely.

[illegible] from 'Amr b. Kabib from Ibn Ishaq say 'In Hawāzin country'

THE RAID OF ZAYD B. ḤĀRITHA AGAINST JUDHĀM

[illegible]

with some of the B. al-Dubayb while the rest of B. Dubayb were at Wādī Madāa in the region of the iron belt where it flows to the east. [illegible]

al-Hunayd and his son and two men of B. al-Ajwaf (903), and one of B [illegible]

this some of them went off, among those who rode with them being [illegible]

and Unayf b. Milla on a horse of Milla's called Raghūl, and Abū Zayd b 'Amr on a horse called Shamur. They went on until they came near the [illegible]

[illegible] 'I was [illegible] in the two houses.' He let her go until he overtook them and they said to him, 'Seeing that you have behaved thus, spare us your tongue and don t bring us bad luck today.' They agreed among themselves that only [illegible]

his sword he said *Bīrī* or *Thīrī*. When they came near the army the men [illegible]

first man to meet them was on a black horse (T with lance outstretched, T 1740

as he cried, 'Forward, outstrip them!') and he advanced driving them [illegible]

b. Ḥāritha Ḥamla said, 'We are Muslims.' Zayd said, 'Then recite the first *sūra*.' When he did so Zayd ordered that it should be proclaimed through the army that God had declared their land inviolate except as regards those who had broken their covenant.

Ḥamla's sister the wife of Abū Wabr b. Adīy b. Umayya b. al-Dubayb, was among the prisoners and Zayd told him to take her and she clasped him by the waist. Umm al-Fīr of Dulay' said, 'Are you taking your [illegible]

(of) B. al-Dubayb and their tongue utters spells all the day long.' Some [illegible]

Ḥamla's sister should be loosed from his waist and told her to get with the [illegible]

sought their night draught of milk from a herd belonging to Suwayd b. [illegible]

those who went were Abū Zayd b. 'Amr, Abū Shamūla b. 'Amr Suwayd b. Zayd, Ba'ja and Bardha' and 'Tha'laba, sons of Zayd Mukhtarriba b 'Adīy Unayf b. Milla and Ḥamla b. Milla, until in the morning they came up with Rifā'a at Kurā' Rabba behind the *ḥarra* by a well there [illegible]

women of Judhām (T are dragged as) prisoners. The letter which you brought has deceived them.' Rifā'a called for his camel, and as he began to saddle it he said 'Are you alive or do you call the living?' When morning came they and he with Umayya b. Dafāra, the brother of the slain Khulfāna, departed early from behind the *ḥarra* they journeyed for three nights to Medina and when they entered it and came to the mosque a man looked at them and told them not to make their camels kneel but [illegible]

[illegible]

men are sorcerers,' and repeated the accusation twice. Rifā'a said, 'God be gracious to him who treats us well today.' Then he handed the apostle the letter which he had written to him, saying, 'Take it, O apostle; it was written long since but its violation is recent.' The apostle told a young man to read it openly, and when he had done so he asked what had happened, and they told him. Three times he said, 'What am I to do about the slain?' Rifā'a answered, 'You know best, O apostle. We do not regard as wrong what you think is right or the converse.' Abū Zayd b. 'Amr said, 'Give us back those who are alive and those who are dead I disregard.' The apostle said that Abū Zayd was right and told 'Alī to ride with them. 'Alī objected that Zayd would not obey him, whereupon the apostle told him to take his sword and gave it to him. 'Alī then said that he had no beast to ride, so they (T the apostle) mounted him on a beast belonging to Tha'laba b. 'Amr called al-Mikhdaj and they went off when to a messenger from Zayd b. Ḥāritha came on a camel of Abū Wabr called al-Shamir. They made him dismount and he asked 'Alī how he stood. He said that they knew their property and they took it. They went on and fell in with the army in Fayfā'u-l-Fahlatayn and took their property which they held even to the smallest pad from a woman's saddle. When they had finished their task Abū Jī'āl said

There's many a woman who scolds unkindly,
Who but for us would be feeding her captor's fire
Pushed about with her two daughters among the captives
With no hope of an easy release.
Had she been entrusted to 'Ūs and Aus
Circumstances would have prevented her release,
Had she seen our camels in Miqr
She would have dreaded a repetition of the journey.
We came to the waters of Yathrib in anger
(After four nights, search for water is painful)
With every hardened warrior like a wolf
Dour on the saddle of his swift camel,
May every force[1] in Yathrib be a ransom
For Abū Sulaymān when they meet breast to breast
The day you see the experienced warrior humbled,
His head turning as he flees away (904).

Zayd b. Ḥāritha also raided al-Ṭaraf in the region of Nakhl on the road to Iraq.

ZAYD B. ḤĀRITHA'S RAID ON B. FAZĀRA AND THE DEATH OF UMM QIRFA

Zayd also raided Wādi'l-Qurā, where he met B. Fazāra and some of his companions were killed, he himself was carried wounded from the field.

[1] A.D.: in Redouit's text has *ḥlm* with the explanation 'sacrificial

Ward b. 'Amr b. Mirdās, one of B. Sa'd b. Hudhayl, was killed by one of B. Badr (whose name was Sa'd b. Hudhaym—T and I.H.). When Zayd came he swore that he would use no ablution[1] until he raided B. Fazāra, and when he recovered from his wounds the apostle sent him against them with a force. He fought (T he met) them in Wādi'l-Qurā and killed some of them. Qays b. al-Musahhar al-Ya'murī killed Mas'ada b. Ḥakama b. Mālik b. Hudhayfa b. Badr, and Umm Qirfa Fāṭima d. Rabī'a b. Badr was taken prisoner. She was a very old woman, wife of Mālik. Her daughter and 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ada were also taken. Zayd ordered Qays b. al-Musahhar to kill Umm Qirfa and he killed her cruelly (T by putting a rope to her two legs and to two camels and driving them until they rent her in two). Then they brought Umm Qirfa's daughter and Mas'ada's son to the apostle. The daughter of Umm Qirfa belonged to Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' who had taken her. She held a position of honour among her people, and the Arabs used to say, 'Had you been more powerful than Umm Qirfa you could have done no more.' Salama asked the apostle to let him have her and he gave her to him and he presented her to his uncle Ḥazn b. Abū Wahb and she bare him 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. Ḥazn.

Qays b. al-Musahhar said about the killing of Mas'ada:

I tried as his mother's son would to get revenge for Ward,
As long as I live I will avenge Ward.
When I saw him I attacked him on my steed,
That doughty warrior of the family of Badr.
I impaled him on my lance of Qa'dabī make
Which seemed to flash like a fire in an open space.

'ABDULLĀH B. RAWĀḤA'S RAID TO KILL AL-YUSAYR B. RIZĀM

'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa raided Khaybar twice; on one occasion he killed al-Yusayr b. Rizām (905). Now al-Yusayr (T the Jew) was in Khaybar collecting Ghaṭafān to attack the apostle. The latter sent 'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa with a number of his companions, among whom were 'Abdullāh b. Unays, an ally of B. Salima. When they came to him they spoke to him and made him promises and treated him well, saying that if he would come to the apostle he would give him an appointment and honour him. They kept on at him until he went with them with a number of Jews. 'Abdullāh b. Unays mounted him on his beast (T and he rode behind him) until when he was in al-Qarqara, about six miles from Khaybar, al-Yusayr changed his mind about going to the apostle. 'Abdullāh

[1] *ablution* from sexual intercourse. The Persians, like other ancient peoples, believed intercourse during wait. cT. See xx. 5, 6 and Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 454 *et passim*

perceived his intention as he was preparing to draw his sword, so he rushed at him and struck him with his sword cutting off his leg. Ar-Tufayl hit him with a stick of ebonbut wood which he had in his hand and wounded his head (T. and God killed Yusayr). All the apostle's companions fell upon their jewish companions and killed them except one man who escaped on his feet (T. his horse). When 'Abdullah b. Unays came to the apostle he spat on his wound and it did not inflammate or cause him pain.

On the second occasion 'Abdullah b. 'Atik raided Khaybar and killed Rifa' b. Abu-l-Huqayq.

'ABDULLAH B. UNAYS'S RAID TO SLAY KHALID B. SUFYAN B. NUBAYH

The apostle sent him against Khalid, who was in Nakhla or 'Uranah gathering men to attack the apostle and he killed him.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that 'Abdullah b. Unays said: The apostle called me and said that he had heard that Ibn Sufyan b. Nubayh al-Hudhali was collecting a force to attack him, and that he was in Nakhla or 'Uranah and that I was to go and kill him. I asked him to describe him to me lest I might know him, and he said, 'If you see him he will remind you of Satan. A mark sign is that when you see him you will feel a shudder.' I went out guiding on my sword until I came on him with a number of women in a hawdah making a halting-place for them. It was the time for abstinence prayer and when I saw him I felt a shuddering on the apostle had said. I advanced towards him hoping that something would prevent my proving, so I prayed as I walked towards him lowering my head. When I came to him he asked who I was and I answered, 'An Arab who has heard of you and was gathering a force against this fellow and has come to you.' He said, 'Yes, I am doing so.' I walked a short distance with him and when my chance came I struck him with my sword and killed him, and went off leaving his women bending over him. When I came to the apostle he saw me and said, 'The face is accomplished.' I said, 'I have killed him, O Apostle,' and he said, 'You are right.'

Then he took me into his house and gave me a stick telling me to keep it by me. When I went out with it the people asked me what I was doing with a stick. I told them that the apostle had given it to me and told me to keep it, and they said, 'Why don't you go back to the apostle and ask him why?' So I did so, and he said, 'It is a sign between you and me on the resurrection day. There are few men who will be carrying sticks that day.' So 'Abdullah b. Unays fastened it to his sword and it remained with him until his death, when he ordered that it should be put in his winding sheet and it was buried with him (qad).

To return to the expeditions. The raid of Zayd b. Hiritha and Ja'far b. Abi Talib and 'Abdullah b. Rawaha to Mu'ta in Syria in which all were killed and the raid of Ka'b b. 'Umayr al-Ghifari in Dhatu Atlih in Syria in which he and all his companions were killed and the raid of 'Uyayna b. Hisn on B. al-'Anbar of B. Tamim.

THE RAID OF 'UYAYNA B. HISN ON B. AL-ANBAR OF B. TAMIM

The apostle sent him to raid them, and he killed some and captured others. Anas b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that A'isha said to the apostle that she went from a slave of the sons of Jadi'a, and he said, 'The captives of B. al-'Anbar are coming now. We will give you one whom you can set free.' When they were brought to the apostle a deputation from B. Tamim came with them until they reached the apostle. Among them were Rabi'a b. Rafi', Sabura b. 'Amr al-Qa'qa' b. Ma'bad, Wardan b. Mujashi', Qays b. 'Asim, Malik b. 'Amr, al-Aqra' b. Habis and Furfu b. Habis. They spoke to the apostle on their behalf and he liberated some and accepted ransom for others.

Among the B. al-'Anbar who were killed was five women 'Abdullah and two brothers of his, sons of Wahb, Shuqdhan b. Firas and Hamada b. Dawm. Among the women who were captured were Asma' d. Malik, Ka'b d. Ady, Nafisa d. Nahd, Jumay'a d. Qays and Ashra d. Malik.

Rajaz d. 'Ajlan said about this day:

> 'Ady b. Jundab had a serious fall
> From which it was hard to run.
> Enemies surrounded them on every side
> And their glory and prosperity disappeared (qat).

GHALIB B. 'ABDULLAH'S RAID ON THE LAND OF B. MURRA

The raid of Ghalib b. 'Abdullah al-Kalbi, the Kalbi of Laythi, was on the country of B. Murra in which he slew Murdha b. Nahik, an ally of them from al-Hurqa of Juhayna. Usama b. Zayd said: When I and a man of the Ansar overtook him and attacked him with our weapons he pronounced the shahada, but we did not stay our hands and killed him. When we came to the apostle we told him what had happened and he said, 'Who will absolve you, Usama, from uttering the testimony of faith?' I told him that the man had pronounced the words merely to escape death, but he repeated his question and continued to do so until I wished that I had not been a Muslim thereafter and had only become one that day and that I had not killed the man. I asked him to forgive me and pronounced that I would never kill a man who pronounced the shahada. He said, 'You will say it after me,' Usama' and I said that I would.

(a) after the prophet's death.

THE RAID OF AL-ʿĀṢ B. WĀʾIL ON DHĀTU'L-SALĀSIL

The raid of 'Amr on Dhātu'l-Salāsil in the country of Ḥ Balī and the raid on Ḥ. 'Udhra. The apostle sent him to convoke the Arabs to war on Syria. The mother of al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil was a woman of Balī, so the apostle sent him to them to claim their help. When 'Amr came to water in the country of Judhām called al-Salāsil (Ḥ Salāsil), from which the raid took its name, he took alarm and sent to the apostle for reinforcements. The [illegible] whom were Abū Bakr and 'Umar. He told Abū 'Ubayda when he sent him not to quarrel. Now when he reached 'Amr the latter said, 'You have come only to reinforce me.' 'No,' said Abū 'Ubayda, 'but I have my sphere of command and you have yours' for he was a man of easy gentle disposition on whom the affairs of this world sat lightly. So when 'Amr insisted that he had come to reinforce him he said, 'The apostle told us not to quarrel, and though you disobey me I will obey you,' to which he replied, 'I am your superior officer and you are here only to reinforce me.' 'Have it your own way,' said he, and 'Amr took the lead in the prayers.

An informant who had it from Rāfiʿ b. Abū Rāfiʿ al-Ṭāʾī who was Rāfiʿ b. 'Umayra told me that the latter said: 'I was a Christian called Sarja, the surest and best guide in the sandy desert. During the pagan period I used to bury water which I had put in ostrich shells in various places in the desert and then raid men's camels. When I had got them into [illegible] Then I would go to the places where I had concealed the water and drink it. When I became a Muslim I went on the raid on which the apostle sent 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ to Dhātu'l-Salāsil, and I made up my mind to choose [illegible] Fadak cloak and whenever we halted he spread it out and put it on when we rode. Then he fastened it on him with a packing-needle. That was the reason why the people of Najd when they apostatized said, 'Are we to accept as ruler the man with the cloak?' When we approached Medina on our return I told Abū Bakr that I had joined him so that God might profit me by him, and I asked for his advice and instruction. He told me [illegible] prayer, to pay the poor-tax, to fast in Ramaḍān, to go on pilgrimage, to wash after impurity, and never to assume authority over two Muslims. I told him that I hoped that I should never associate anyone with God; that I would never abandon prayer if God so willed; that if I had the means I would always pay the poor-tax; that I would never neglect Ramaḍān; that I would go on pilgrimage if I were able; and would wash after impurity; but as to leadership I observed that only those who exercised it were held as honour with the apostle and the people, so why should he exclude me from it? He answered, 'You asked me for the best advice that I could

give you, and I will tell you. God sent Muhammad with this religion and he strove for it until God took him to Himself, a witness on his behalf. Once there had intervened a time when God a prophet and neighbours under His protection. Beware that you do not betray God's trust in regard to His neighbours in [illegible] of those under His protection.' Thereupon we parted.

When the apostle died and Abū Bakr was set over men I went to him and reminded him that he had forbidden me to assume authority over two Muslims. He said that he still forbade me to do so, and when I asked him what had induced him to assume authority over every one he said that he had no alternative. He was afraid that Muḥammad's community would split up.

Tarīf b. Abū Hurra told me that he was informed on the authority of Asad b. Mālik al-Asbaʿī, but he said: 'I was in the raid on which the apostle sent 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ to Dhātu'l-Salāsil, in company with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. I passed by some people who were busy having a camel there had slaughtered. There could not distinguish it, which [illegible] was a skilful butcher. So I asked them if they would give me a share of [illegible] divided it between them, and when they agreed I took a couple of ribs and cut it up on the spot. I took my share and roasted it in my saucepan and we ate it and [illegible] Abū Bakr and 'Umar spoke to me where I had got the meat from when I told them they said that I had done wrong in giving it to them to eat, and they got up and forced themselves to vomit what they had swallowed. When the army returned from this expedition I was the first to come to the apostle as he was in prayer in his house. When I saluted him he spoke of I were. And Ibn Mālik also brother of that camel, and he would say nothing [illegible]

THE RAID OF IBN ABŪ ḤADRAD ON THE VALLEY OF IRAM AND THE KILLING OF 'AMR B. AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ AL-AMJAʿ

Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Qusayṭ from al-Qāsim b. 'Abdallāh b. Abū Ḥadrad from his father said: 'The apostle sent us to Iram with a number of Muslims having whom were Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī and Muḥallim b. Jaṯṯāma b. Qays. We set forth until when we were in the valley of Iram (Ḥ this was between the campground of Waqim) 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī al-Amjaʿī passed by us on a camel of his with a meager supply of provisions and a skin of water. As he passed up he saluted us, a Muslim said we held off from him. But Muḥallim b. Jaṯṯāma overtook and killed him on account of a quarrel they had had, and took his camel and provisions. When we came to the apostle and told him the news there came down [illegible] saying: 'O you who believe, when you go forth in the way of God

[illegible] believer,"[1] coveting the gain of this world,' &c. (905).

[illegible]

[illegible] about that he said, 'The earth has covered worse than he, but God wants [illegible]

[illegible]

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[1] Sūra 4. 96.

[2] Or, perhaps, [illegible]

[illegible] take the bloodwit (921).

THE RAID OF IBN ABŪ ḤADRAD AL-ASLAMĪ ON AL-GHĀBA TO KILL RIFĀ'A B. QAYS AL-JUSHAMĪ

[illegible]

[illegible] that they became alarmed on his behalf. Their [illegible] Qays got up and took his sword and hung it round his [illegible]

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[2] i.e. not to be wiped out by the blood of his slayer or [illegible] or to be paid for.

[illegible]

'ABDU'L-RAHMĀN B. 'AUF'S RAID ON DŪMATU'L-JANDAL

[illegible]

that he said that he heard a man of Bayā ask 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b [illegible]

that he would give them information on the point. 'I was' he said, the [illegible]

Mu'ādh b. 'Afra, Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān, Abū [illegible]

comes to him. Such men are the wise." The man remained silent, and [illegible]

for the beasts there would be no rain sent; they do not break the covenant [illegible]

lest God brings upon them the calamity they have engendered [illegible]

the standard and he did so. Then he gave praise to God and prayed for himself. He then said, "Take it, Ibn 'Auf; fight everyone in the way of God and kill those who disbelieve in God. Do not be deceitful with the spoil, do not be treacherous, nor mutilate, nor kill children. This is [illegible]

'Abdu'l-Rahmān took the standard' (p.14).

[1] *'urf* perhaps means 'more in keeping with accepted practice'

[2] [illegible]

ABŪ 'UBAYDA B. AL-JARRĀH'S RAID TO THE COAST

[illegible]

Jacker 'Ubeda b. al-Sāmit told me: The apostle sent a force to the coast [illegible]

that day. When we were exhausted by hunger God brought us a whale [illegible]

mounted our largest man upon it; he sat on it and came out from under it [illegible]

He said, 'It was food which God provided for you' (p.1)

(Ibn Hamīd told us: Ahmad Salamah b. al-Fadl from Muhammad b [illegible] T 14.7

[illegible] T 14.8

corner of a pass and rested there. I suggested to my companions that we [illegible]

me because I knew the country well and was fleet-footed. When we [illegible]

he kept on at me until we did as he wanted, and as we came out of the [illegible]

follow in leaving them.

They got up to pursue us and I told my companions to escape, for the [illegible]

I put some rocks in the entrance as a screen and told my companion to keep quiet until the pursuit should die down, for they would search for us that night and the following day until the evening. While we were in the cave up came 'Uthman b. Malik b. 'Ubaydullah al-Taymi cutting grass for a horse of his. He kept coming nearer until he was at the very entrance of the cave. I told my friend who he was and that he would give us away to the Meccans, and I went out and stabbed him under the breast with the dagger. He shrieked so loud that the Meccans heard him and came towards him. I went back to the cave and told my friend to stay where he was. The Meccans hastened in the direction of the sound and found him at the last gasp. They asked him who had stabbed him and he told them that it was I, and died. They did not get to know where we were and said, 'By God, we knew Amr was up to no good.' They were so occupied with the dead man whom they carried off that they could not look for us, and we stayed a couple of days in the cave until the pursuit died down. Then we went to al-Tan'im, and lo, Khubayb's cross. My friend asked if we should take him down from the cross, for there he was. I told him to leave the matter to me and to get away from me for guards were posted round it. If he was afraid of anything he must go to his camel and tell the apostle what had happened. I ran up to Khubayb's cross, freed him from it, and carried him on my back. Hardly had I taken forty steps when they became aware of me and I threw him down and I cannot forget the thud when he dropped. They ran after me and I took the way to al-Safra[1] and when they wearied of the pursuit they went back and my friend rode to the prophet and told him our news. I continued on foot until I looked down on the valley of Dajnah. I went into a cave there taking my bow and arrows, and while I was there in came a one-eyed man of B. al-Dil driving a sheep of his. When he asked who I was I told him that I was one of B. Bakr. He said that he was also, adding of B. al-Dil clan. Then he lay down beside me and lifting up his voice began to sing:

> I won't be a Muslim as long as I live,
> Nor bend to their religion give.

I said (to myself), 'You will soon know!' and as soon as the dude was asleep and snoring I got up and killed him in a more horrible way than any man has been killed. I put the end of my bow in his sound eye, then I bore down on it until I forced it out at the back of his neck. Then I came out like a beast of prey and took the highroad like an eagle hastening until I came out at a village which, (said the narrator), he described as close to Rakuba and al-Naqi' where suddenly there appeared two Meccans whom Quraysh had sent to spy on the apostle. I recognized them and called on them to surrender and when they refused I shot one and killed him, and the other surrendered. I bound him and took him to the apostle.

Ibn Isḥaq from Sulaymān b. Wardān from his father from 'Amr b.

[1] See W. for sites.

Umayya: 'When I got to Medina I passed some shrubs of the Aslam and when they exclaimed at me some young men heard my name and ran to tell the apostle. Now I had bought my prisoner a humble wife in my vow, saying, and when the apostle looked at him he laughed so that one could see his back teeth. He asked my news and when I told him what had happened he blessed me') (914).

SILIM B. 'UMAYR'S EXPEDITION TO KILL ABU 'AFAK

Abū Afak was one of B. Amr b. Auf of the B. 'Ubayda clan. He showed his disaffection when the apostle killed al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd b. Ṣāmit and said:

> Long have I lived but never have I seen
> An assembly or collection of people
> More unfaithful in their undertaking
> And their allies when called upon
> Than the sons of Qayla[1] when they assembled,
> Men who overthrew mountains and never submitted.
> A rider who came to them split them in two, saying)
> 'Permitted', [illegible] of all sorts of things.
> (Had you believed in glory or kingship
> You would have followed Tubba'.[2]

The apostle said, 'Who will deal with this rascal for me?' whereupon Sālim b. Umayr, brother of B. Amr b. Auf one of the weepers, went forth and killed him. Umāma b. Munayriya said concerning that:

> You gave the lie to God's religion and the man Abū-l-
> By him who was your father and to the son he produced!
> A *hanif* gave you a thrust in the night saying
> 'Take that Abū Afak in spite of your age!'
> Though I knew whether it was true or not
> Who slew you in the dead of night (I would say naught).[3]

'UMAYR B. ADIYY'S JOURNEY TO KILL 'ASMA' D. MARWĀN

She was of B. Umayya b. Zayd. When Abū Afak had been killed she displayed disaffection. Abdullah b. al-Harith b. al-Fudayl from his father said that she was married to a man of B. Khatma called Yazīd b. Zayd. Blaming Islam and its followers she said:

> I despise B. Mālik and al-Nabīt
> And Auf and B. al-Khazraj.

[1] [illegible] will be found in the various glossaries of his adversaries.
[2] Qayla was one particular ancestress of Aus and Khazraj.
[3] [illegible]
[4] You remember Tubba, who, after all, was a king in fact and a man of great importance, so why believe in Muhammad's claims.
[5] Wellhausen, p. [illegible] prepared an introduction of the text which hardly seems necessary. The line is not in W.

You obey a stranger who is none of yours,
One not of Murād or Madhḥij.[1]
Do you expect good from him after the killing of your chiefs
Like a hungry man waiting for a cook's broth?
Is there no man of pride who would attack him by surprise
And cut off the hopes of those who expect aught from him?

996 Ḥassān b. Thābit answered her

Banū Wā'il and B. Wāqif and Khaṭma
Are inferior to B. al-Khazraj.
When she called for folly woe to her in her weeping,
For death is coming.
She stirred up a man of glorious origin,
Noble in his going out and his coming in.
Before midnight he dyed her in her blood
And incurred no guilt thereby

When the apostle heard what she had said he said, 'Who will rid me of Marwān's daughter?' 'Umayr b. 'Adiy al-Khaṭmī who was with him heard him, and that very night he went to her house and killed her. In the morning he came to the apostle and told him what he had done and he said, 'You have helped God and His apostle, O 'Umayr!' When he asked if he would have to bear any evil consequences the apostle said, 'Two goats won't butt their heads about her.' so 'Umayr went back to his people.

Now there was a great commotion among B. Khaṭma that day about the affair of Bint Marwān. She had five sons, and when 'Umayr went to them from the apostle he said, 'I have killed Bint Marwān, O sons of Khaṭma. Withstand me if you can, don't keep me waiting.'[2] That was the first day that Islām became powerful among B. Khaṭma; before that those who were Muslims concealed the fact. The first of them to accept Islām was 'Umayr b. 'Adiy who was called 'the Reader', and 'Abdullāh b. Aus and Khuzayma b. Thābit. The day after Bint Marwān was killed the men of B. Khaṭma became Muslims because they saw the power of Islām.

THE CAPTURE OF THUMĀMA B. ATHĀL AL-ḤANAFĪ

I heard on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Maqburī from Abū Hurayra that the latter said: The apostle's cavalry went out and captured a man of
997 B. Ḥanīfa not knowing who he was until they brought him to the apostle who told them that he was Thumāma b. Athāl al-Ḥanafī and that they must treat him honourably in his captivity. The apostle went back to his house and told them to send what food they had to him, and ordered that his milch-camel should be taken to him night and morning; but this failed to satisfy Thumāma. The apostle went to him and urged him to

[1] Two tribes of Yamanī origin.

[2] Cf. Bint 1 58.

accept Islām. He said, 'Enough, Muḥammad: if you kill me you kill one whose blood must be paid for; if you want a ransom, ask what you like.' Matters remained thus so long as God willed and then the apostle said that Thumāma was to be released. When they let him go he went as far as al-Baqī', where he purified himself and then returned and paid homage to the prophet in Islām. When evening came they brought him food as usual, but he would take only a little of it and only a small quantity of the camel's milk. The Muslims were astonished at this, but when the apostle heard of it he said, 'Why are you astonished? As a man who at the beginning of the day ate with an unbeliever's stomach and at the end of the day with a Muslim's? An unbeliever eats with seven stomachs; the believer with one only' (97 5).

THE EXPEDITION OF 'ALQAMA B. MUJAZZIZ

When Waqqāṣ b. Mujazziz al-Mudlijī was killed on the day of Dhū Qarad, 'Alqama b. Mujazziz asked the apostle to send him on the track of the people so that he might take vengeance on them. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Muḥammad from Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Alqama from 'Umar b. al-Ḥakam b. Thawbān from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī said: The apostle sent 'Alqama b. Mujazziz, I being with the force, and when we were on the way he summoned a part of the force and appointed 'Abdullāh b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī their leader. He was one of the apostle's companions—a facetious fellow, and when they were on the way he kindled a fire and said to the men: 'Have I not claim on your obedience so that if I order you to do something you must do it?' and when they agreed he said, 'Then by virtue of my claim on your obedience I order you to leap into this fire.' Some of them began to gird up their loins so that he thought that they would leap into the fire, and then he said, 'Sit down, I was only laughing at you!' When the apostle was told of this after they had returned he said, 'If anyone orders you to do something which you ought not to do, do not obey him.'

Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa said that 'Alqama and his companions returned without fighting.

ḤURE B. JĀBIR'S EXPEDITION TO KILL THE BAJILĪS WHO HAD KILLED YASĀR

A traditionist told me from one who had told him from Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa from 'Uthmān b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān that in the raid of Muḥārib and B. Tha'laba the apostle had captured a slave called Yasār, and he put him in charge of his milch-camels to shepherd them in the neighbourhood of al-Jamma'.[1] Some men of Qays of Kubba of Bajīla came to the apostle 998
suffering from an epidemic and enlarged spleens, and the apostle told them that if they went to the milch-camels and drank their milk and urine they

[illegible] Yazīd and killed him and made them in his eyes and drove away his camels. The apostle sent Kurz b. Jābir in pursuit and he overtook them and brought them to the apostle as he returned from the raid of Dhū Qarad. He cut off their hands and feet and gouged out their eyes.

ALI'S RAID ON THE TAMIM

'Ali raided the Tamim twice (p.6).

USĀMA B. ZAYD'S MISSION TO PALESTINE

The apostle sent Usāma to Syria and commanded him to raid the country given the borders of the Balqā and al-Darūm in the land of Palestine. He the same day made and at the first congregation were with Usāma (p.7).

[illegible]

While matters were thus the apostle began to suffer from the illness by which God took him to what honour and compassion. He commended his [illegible] before the end of Safar or in the beginning of Rabī' [illegible] in the middle of the night and prayed for the dead. Then he returned to his family and in the morning his sufferings began.

Abū Bakr b. [illegible] from [illegible] b. Abū Bakr b. Ja'far b. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallah b. Abū Bakr b. al-Ja'd from Abū Muwaihiba, a freedman of the apostle, said: In the middle of the night the apostle sent for me and told me that he was ordered to pray for the dead in this cemetery and that I was to go with him. I went and when he stood among them he said: Peace upon you, O people of the graves. Happy are you that you are so much better off than most here. Disconsolate have come like waves of darkness one after the other, the last being worse than the first. Then he turned to the [illegible] and said: [illegible] between the lives of the treasures of this world and long life have delivered to Paradise and meeting the Lord and Paradise [illegible] to choose the hereafter but he said he had chosen the Lord. Then he prayed for the dead there and went away. Then it was that the illness through which God took him began.

Yūnus b. Bukair from Muhammad b. Ishāq—al-Zuhrī from Ubaydallah b. 'Abdallah b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd from 'Ā'isha, the prophet's wife, said: The apostle returned from the cemetery to find me suffering from a severe headache and I was saying, O my head! He said, Nay, 'Ā'isha, I, my head! Then he said, What a disaster was it if you were to die before me so that I might wrap you in your shroud and pray over you and bury

you? I said, Wallahi, I see you if you had done that returning to my house and spending a bridal night therein with one of your wives. The apostle smiled and then his pain commence here as he was going the round of his wives, until he was overpowered at the house of Maimūna. He called his wives and asked their permission to be nursed at my house, and they agreed (p.10).

THE APOSTLE'S ILLNESS IN THE HOUSE OF 'Ā'ISHA[1]

The apostle went out walking between two men of his family, one of whom was al-Fadl b. al-'Abbās. His head was bound as a sick man but he was dragging his feet to my house. I [illegible] told this tradition on Abdullah b. al-Abbās who told him that the other man was 'Alī (?) [illegible] Ā'isha, simply not being himself to speak well of him though she was able to do so.

Then the apostle's illness increased and he suffered much pain. He said: Pour seven skins of water from different wells over me so that I may go out to the people and instruct them. We made him sit down in a tub belonging to Hafsa d. 'Umar and we poured water over him until he cried, Enough, enough!

Al-Zuhrī said that Ayyūb b. Bashīr told him that the apostle went out with his hand behind me and sat in the pulpit. The first thing he uttered was a prayer over the men of Uhud asking God's forgiveness for them and praying for them a long time. Then he said: God has given one of his servants the choice between this world and that which is with God and he has chosen the latter. Abū Bakr perceived that he meant himself and he wept saying, May we and our children ransom you. He replied, Gently, Abū Bakr, adding, See to these doors that open on to the mosque and stop them except one from Abū Bakr's house, for I know no one who is a better friend to me than he (p.19).

Abū Salama b. 'Abdallah said on the fourth day of the illness of the Ahl b. al-Mughīra that the apostle went to his apostles that day. If [illegible] I should choose Abū Bakr, but relationship and brotherhood in this faith remain until God unites us in His presence.

Muhammad b. [illegible] al-Zuhrī told me from [illegible] al-Zuhrī and others asserted that the apostle treated the people lightly in preparing the expedition of Usāma b. Zayd while he was suffering, so he went out with his head bound up until he sat in the pulpit. Some people had criticized the leadership of Usāma saying, He has put a young man in command of the host of the emigrants and the helpers. After praising God he said: O men, despatch Usāma's army. By God, if you criticize his leadership you have criticized the leadership of his father before him. By God he was worthy of the command as his father was. Then he came down and the people harassed on with their preparations. The apostle's pain became severe and

[1] LE's tradition from 'Ā'isha continues

[illegible] and he [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] from Medina, and [illegible] and were gathered to him. [illegible] the apostle because [illegible] and he [illegible] there to say what God would decide about the apostle.

Zuhrī said that 'Abdullāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik told him that the apostle said

[illegible]

Muhājirs, behave kindly to the Anṣār, for other men increase but they in the

[illegible]

comfort and support. So treat their good men well and forgive those of them who are remiss. Then he came down and entered his house and his pain increased until he was exhausted. Then some of his wives gathered to him, Umm Salama and Maymūna and some of the wives of the Muslims among them Asmā' d. 'Umays while his uncle 'Abbās was with him, and they agreed to force him to take medicine. Abbās said, 'Let me force him,' but they did it. When he recovered he asked who had treated him thus. When they told him it was his uncle he said, 'This is a medicine which women have brought from that country,' and he pointed in the direction of Abyssinia. When he asked why they had done that his uncle said, 'We were afraid that you would get pleurisy.' he replied, 'That [illegible] disease which God would not afflict me with. Let no one stop in the house until they have been forced to take this medicine, except my uncle.' Maymūna was forced to take it although she was fasting because of the apostle's oath, as a punishment for what they had done to him.

T 1800 (T Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwa b. al-

[illegible]

the devil, and God would not let it have power over me.')

Sa'īd b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbāq from Muhammad b. 'Uqba from his [illegible]

came down to Medina and he went in to the apostle who was unable to

[illegible]

upon him, from which he knew that he was blessing him.

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī told me from 'Ubayd b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Utba from A'isha that she used to hear the apostle say, 'God never takes a prophet to Himself without giving him the choice.' When he was at the point of death the last word I heard the apostle saying was, 'Nay, rather the Exalted Companion of paradise.'[1] I said (to myself), 'Then by God he is not choosing us.' And I knew that that was what he used to tell us, namely that a prophet does not die without being given the choice.

Al-Zuhrī said, Hamza b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar told me that A'isha said: 'When the prophet became seriously ill he ordered the people to tell Abū Bakr to superintend the prayers. 'A'isha told him that Abū Bakr was a delicate man with a weak voice who wept much when he read the Qur'ān. He repeated his order nevertheless, and I repeated my objection. He said,

'You are like Joseph's companions; tell him to preside at prayers.' My sole reason for saying what I did was that I wanted that Abū Bakr in his spiritual [illegible] [illegible] people would never take a man who occupied the apostle's place and stood behind him in a place [illegible] and I wanted Abū Bakr to be spared that.

Ibn Ishāq said: 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. 'Amr b. Hazm b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām told me from his father from 'Abdullāh b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad that when the apostle was so ill that I took a number of Muslims with him to Abū Bakr's house to pray and he told me to order someone to preside at prayers. So I went out and there was 'Umar with the people, but Abū Bakr was not there. I told 'Umar to get up and lead the prayers, so he did so, and when he shouted Allāh Akbar the apostle heard his voice, for he had a powerful voice, and he asked where Abū Bakr was, saying twice over, 'God and the Muslims forbid that.' So I went out to Abū Bakr and he came after 'Umar had finished his prayer and prevailed. A man asked me what he was like I had done wrong. 'Where you told me to take the prayers I thought that the [illegible] had given you orders to stop others, but for that I would not have done so.' [illegible] 'Should one see that there thought that he was more worthy of those prayers to preside at prayers.

Al-Zuhrī said that Anas b. Mālik told him that on the Monday (T the day on which God took His apostle to Himself) he came out to the people as they were praying the morning prayer. The curtain was lifted and the door opened and he came into the apostle and stood at A'isha's door. The Muslims were almost seduced from their prayers for joy at seeing him, and he motioned to them (T with his hand) that they should continue their prayers. The apostle smiled at A'isha when he saw him. [illegible] and I never saw him in such a condition as pleasant as that he was in that day. Then he went back and the people went away thinking that the apostle had recovered from his illness. Abū Bakr returned to his wife in al-Sunḥ.

Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith told me from al-Qāsim b. Muhammad that he whom the apostle honoured [illegible] among Allāh Akbar in the prayer he asked where Abū Bakr was. 'God and the Muslims forbid that.' Had it not been for what 'Umar said when he died, the Muslims would not have doubted that the apostle had appointed Abū Bakr [illegible] and if I knew that he would say [illegible] the apostle's [illegible] was not suspected of hostility towards Abū Bakr.

Abū Bakr b. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Maryam said: on that when the Monday came the apostle went out to morning prayer with his head wrapped up while Abū Bakr was leading the prayers. When the apostle went out the people [illegible] and Abū Bakr knew that the people would not

Abū Bakr appointed 'Umar to succeed him; the prophet made no appointment

[illegible]

Quran allows and forbid only what the Quran forbids.

[illegible]

Ya'qub b. 'Utba from al-Zuhri from 'Urwa from A'isha said: The [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Bakr heard what was happening he came to the door of the mosque as [illegible] A'isha's house to the apostle, who was lying covered by a mantle of [illegible] replaced the mantle on the apostle's face and went out. 'Umar was still speaking and he said, 'Gently, 'Umar be quiet.' But 'Umar refused and went on talking, and when Abū Bakr saw that he would not be silent he [illegible] God, God is alive, immortal.' Then he recited this verse: 'Muhammad is nothing but an apostle. Apostles have passed away before him. Can it be that if he were to die or be killed you would turn back on your heels? [illegible] The people took it from him and it was (constantly) in their mouths. 'Umar said, 'By God, when I heard Abū Bakr recite these words I was [illegible] knowing that the apostle was indeed dead.'

THE MEETING IN THE HALL OF B. SA'IDA

When the apostle was taken the news of the death gathered round the [illegible] and the apostle [illegible] the hall of B. Sa'ida [illegible] and his family had sealed the door of the house. 'Umar said, 'I went to [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1 See p. 138

[illegible] I wish you would have seen a man who came to the companions of the Prophet [illegible] Prophet [illegible] was angry and said, 'God willing, I shall get up among the men tonight and warn them against those who want to usurp power over them.' I said, 'Don't do it, commander of the faithful, for the festival brings together the riff-raff and the lowest of the people; they are the ones who will be in the majority in your proximity (T: your assembly) when you stand among the people. And I am afraid lest you should get up and say something which they will repeat everywhere, not understanding what you say or interpreting it aright; so wait until you come to Medina, for it is the home of the *sunna* and you can confer privately with the lawyers and the nobles of the people. (T: you will come to the home of the *hijra* and the *sunna* and you can confer privately with the apostle's companions both *muhājirūn* and *ansār*.)' You can say what you will and the lawyers (T: they) will understand what you say and interpret it properly. 'Umar replied, 'By God, if He will I will do so as soon as I get to Medina.'

We came to Medina at the end of Dhū'l-Hijja and on the Friday I returned quickly when the sun had set and found Sa'īd b. Zayd b. Amr b. Nufayl sitting by the support of the pulpit and I sat opposite him knee to knee. Immediately 'Umar came out and when I saw him coming I said [illegible]

said since he was made caliph. Sa'īd was annoyed and asked, 'What do you suppose that he is going to say that he has never said before?' [illegible] sat in the pulpit, and when the muezzins were silent he praised God as was fitting and said: 'I am about to say to you today something which God has willed that I should say and I do not know whether perhaps it is my last utterance. He who understands and heeds it let him take it with him [illegible] wherever he goes; and as for him who fears that he will not have heard it [illegible] to him. Part of what he sent down was the passage on stoning; we read it, we were taught it, and we heeded it. The messenger stoned (adulterers) and we stoned them after him. I fear that in time to come men will say that there is no mention of stoning in God's book and therefore go astray through neglecting an ordinance which God has sent down. Surely stoning in the book of God is a punishment that is to be inflicted upon men and women who commit adultery if proof exists or pregnancy or a confession is made. Then we used to read in what we read from God's book: "Do not desire to have ancestors other than your own for it is infidelity in you to do so." [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the apostle say: 'Do not praise me exaggeratedly as Jesus son of Mary was praised and say: The servant and the apostle of God!' I have heard that someone said: 'If 'Umar were dead I would hail So-and-so.' Don't let a man deceive himself by saying that the assemblage of Abū Bakr was an unprecedented affair and that it was accidental. Admittedly it was that but God protected the people from its evil. [illegible] people should follow the example of those who are with them. But whoever pledges allegiance to a man without consulting the others in the matter of them, they are in danger of being killed. [illegible] happened was that when God gave the Muslims victory [illegible] and gathered with those people in the hall of B. Sa'ida, and Abū Bakr and 'Umar and those accompanying them from the Muhājirūn gathered to Abū Bakr.

[illegible] Bakr that we should go to our brothers the Ansār as we were off to go to them when two honest men met us and told us of what the people had agreed to. We asked us where we were going and when we told them they said that there was no need for us to approach them and we must settle our own decision. I said, 'By God, we will go to them.' And we found them in the hall of B. Sa'ida. In the middle of them was a man wrapped up. In answer to my inquiries they said that he was Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and that he was ill. When we sat down a man spoke who pronounced the shahāda and praised God as was fitting and then continued: 'We are God's Helpers and the squadron of Islam. You, O Muhājirūn, are a band of men and a company of our people have come to settle.' ('Umar) said, 'And lo, they were trying to cut us off from our origin and from authority from us.' When he had finished I wanted to

[illegible]

falsa. I have translated this 'hasty remarks' as [illegible]

[illegible]

asperity of his, but Abū Bakr said, 'Gently, 'Umar!' I did not like to [illegible] and he uttered it in his inimitable way better than I could have done.

[illegible]

he said displeased me more than that. By God, I would rather have come forward and have had my head struck off—if that were no sin—than rule over a people of whom Abū Bakr was one.

[illegible]

palm.' Let us have one ruler and you another, O Quraysh.' Altercation [illegible] be feared I said, 'Stretch out your hand, Abū Bakr.' He did so and I [illegible] I said 'God kill him.

Al-Zuhrī said that 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told him that one of the men who were there said on the way to the hall was 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida b. Nāfi' al-'Ajlānī [illegible] who had been present when the apostle was asked when were signs of which God spoke in his book which he purely remembered God [illegible] 'The apostle said that the best signs of which you [illegible] b. Nāfi' said. As for this [illegible] we have heard that when men wept over the apostle's death and said that they wished they had died before him because they feared that they should split up over firmness, he said that he may not [illegible] in this he would have wished to be with those who [illegible] where he was dead so he had died where he was there. He was called on the day of [illegible] and [illegible] the adherents of Abū Bakr, the day of Muhammad the messenger.

Al-Zuhrī told me on the authority of Anas b. Mālik. The day assembled Abū Bakr a messenger to the hall for me as the people said I came up and spoke before them and after praising God as he was [illegible] he said, 'O men, yesterday I said something. I [illegible] which I do not find in God's book nor was it something which the apostle entrusted to me but I thought that the apostle would [illegible] (?) [illegible] God has said, Muhammad is only an apostle [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] God will [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] the apostle [illegible] the people whom Sa'd b. 'Ubāda is a member when we pledge in the hall.

Abū Bakr said after praising God [illegible] I have been given authority over you but I am not the best of you. If I do well help me and if I do ill set me right. Truth is trustworthy in benefit and falsehood is treachery. The weak among you shall be strong in my eyes until I secure his right if God will and the strong among you shall be weak in my eyes until I remove the right from him. If a people refrain from fighting in the way of God, God will [illegible] them with disgrace. Wickedness never predominates in a people but God brings calamity upon them all. Obey me as long as I obey God and His apostle, and if I disobey them you owe me no obedience. Arise to prayer God have mercy on you.

Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh told me from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās who said 'Ali said, I was with the apostle walking with him when he was [illegible] in the direction of Sa'd. We were when just he had a whip in his hand and he [illegible] as himself he completed the ends of his fingers with the whip. He turned to me he said, do I know what indicated him to speak as he did when the apostle died. I said that was he answered thereto that God he desired [illegible] I said to him, I know what was a terrible people that was angry for [illegible] against them and that the apostle was in a [illegible] against them. I thought that the apostle would [illegible] but [illegible] against them as we the last thought they did. That was what indeed led me to say what I did."

THE SOCIAL PREPARATIONS

When daily had been [illegible] the apostle [illegible] the "[illegible]" [illegible] Abū Bakr [illegible] Muhammad b. Abdallāh [illegible] Ali and Abū Bakr and the [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] b. Khurāj, one of B. Aus b. al-Khazraj said, 'I adjure you by God, Ali, and by our share in the apostle.' Aus was one of the apostle's companions who had been at Badr. 'Ali gave him permission to enter and he came to and [illegible] on to his breast and Aghlab and al-Fadl and Qutham turned him [illegible] Ali washed him, having drawn him towards his breast. He still wore his [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] did not present the appearance of an ordinary corpse.

Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbād from 'Ā'isha: [illegible] none but his wives would have washed him').

Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn from his father from his grandfather [illegible]

[illegible] niche for the apostle.

When the preparations for burial had been completed on the Tuesday [illegible] place of burial. Some were in favour of burying him in his mosque, while others wanted to bury him with his companions. Abū Bakr said, 'I heard the apostle say "No prophet dies but he is buried where he died"'; so the bed on which he died was taken up and they made a grave beneath it. Then the people came to visit the apostle praying over him by companies: first came the men, then the women, then the children (T. then the [illegible]) [illegible] apostle was buried in the middle of the night of the Wednesday.

[illegible] Fāṭima told me this tradition.

Those who descended into the grave were 'Alī and al-Faḍl and Quthan [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] had cast a ring and buried (T. cast) it in the grave saying, [illegible] the apostle. He used to say, 'I took my ring and let it fall [illegible] he said, 'He lies. The last man to be with the apostle was Quthам b. 'Abbās.'

[illegible] practice.

On the same authority I was told that the last injunction the apostle gave was [illegible] under Abū Bakr (920).

Ḥassān said mourning the apostle:

Tell the poor that plenty has left them
With the prophet who departed from them this morning.
Who was it who had a saddle and a camel for me,
My family's sustenance when rain fails?
Or with whom can we argue without anxiety
When the tongue runs away with a man?

[illegible]

He was the light and the brilliance we followed.
He was sight and hearing second only to God.
The day they laid him in the grave
And cast the earth upon him
Would that God had not left one of us
And neither man nor woman had survived him!
The Banū'l-Najjār were utterly abased,
But it was a thing decreed by God.
The booty was divided to the exclusion of all the people
And they scattered it openly and uselessly among themselves.

1046 Ḥassān also said:

I swear that no man is more careful than I
In swearing an oath true and without falsehood.
By God, no woman has conceived and given birth
To one like the apostle the prophet and guide of his people;
Nor has God created among his creatures
One more faithful to his sojourner or his promise
Than he who was the source of our light,
Blessed in his deeds, just, and upright
Your wives stripped the tents in mourning
And did not strike the pegs behind the curtains,
Like nuns they put on garments of hair
Certain of misery after happiness.
O best of men, I was as it were in a river
Without which I have become lonely in my thirst (qa'r).

Apparently the people are the Anṣār and they are the Quraysh. The connection of this line with the preceding is obscure. This and the following poem come in

IBN HISHĀM'S NOTES

10. What I have just written about the prophet's genealogy back to Adam and about Idrīs and others I was told by Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakkā'ī on the authority of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Khālid b. Qurra b. Khālid al-Sadūsī on the authority of Shaybān b. Zuhayr b. Shaqīq from Qatāda b. Di'ama gave a slightly different version from Ismā'īl upwards, namely: Aurajh–Arghū–Fālikh–'Ābir and (later) Mahlā'īl b. Qāyin b. Anūsh.

God willing I shall begin this book with Ismā'īl son of Ibrāhīm and mention those of his offspring who were the ancestors of God's apostle one by one with what is known about them, taking no account of Ismā'īl's other children, for the sake of brevity, confining myself to the prophet's biography and omitting some of the things which I [illegible] has recorded in this book in which there is no mention of the apostle and about which the Qur'ān says nothing and which are not relevant to anything in this book or an explanation of it or evidence for it, poetry which he quotes that on authority on poetry whom I have the [illegible] of things which it is disgraceful to discuss, matters which would distress certain people, and such reports as al-Bakkā'ī told me he could not accept as trustworthy—all these things I have omitted. But God willing I shall give a full account of everything else so far as it is known and trustworthy tradition is available.

11. Some say Midād. Jurhum was the son of Qaḥṭān from whom all the people of the Yemen are descended, the son of 'Ābir b. Shālikh b. Arfakhshadh b. Sām b. Nūḥ.

12. The Arabs say Hājar and Ajar, changing the ḥ into a as in the verb *ma'ajar* and *ma'ḥar* or point out. Ajar was an Egyptian. 'Abdullāh b. Wahb from 'Abdullāh b. Lahī'a on the authority of 'Umar client of Ghufra told me that the apostle said, show piety in dealing with the protected peoples, those of the settled lands, the black, the curly haired, for they have a noble ancestor and a marriage tie with us. The scholars explained that his ancestor the prophet referred to the fact that the prophet Ismā'īl's mother came from them, and the marriage he was contracted when the apostle took one of them as concubine.

Ibn Lahī'a said: Ismā'īl's mother Hājar, the mother of the Arabs,[1] came from a town in Egypt facing Faramā:[2] and Ibrāhīm's mother Māriya, the prophet's concubine whom the Muqawqis gave him, came from Ḥafn[3] in the province of Anṣinā.

13. All the Arabs are descended from Ismā'īl and Qaḥṭān. Some of the people of the Yemen claim that Qaḥṭān was a son of Ismā'īl and so according to them Ismā'īl is the father of all the Arabs.

[1] The text here W and C has varied from [illegible] al-Arab but [illegible] has followed the reading of W [illegible] Qāmūs, which agrees with W and adds 'Akkār say Umm al-Arab and it is said that [illegible] came from a town called Yāqūt near Umm Dunayn.

[2] Said to be the modern [illegible] Sūm.

[3] In the [illegible] on the east bank of the Nile.

4 Akk dwelt in the Yaman because he took a wife among the Ash'arites and lived with them and adopted their language. The Ash'arites are descended from Ash'ar b. Nabt b. Udad b. Zayd b. Humaysa' b. 'Amr b. 'Arib b. Yashjub b. Zayd b. Kahlan b. Saba b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Yashjan. Others say Ash'ar is Nabt b. Udad, or that Ash'ar was the son of Malik who was Madhhij b. Udad b. Zayd b. Humaysa', or Ash'ar is the son of Saba b. Yashjub.

Abū Mahriz Khalaf al-Ahmar and Abū 'Ubayda quoted to me the following verse of 'Abbās b. Mirdās who belonged to B. Sulaym b. Manṣūr b. Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān in which he boasted of his descent from 'Akk:

> And 'Akk b. 'Adnān who made a mock of Ghassān
> Until they were driven out completely.

Ghassān is the name of the water got from the dam at Ma'rib[1] in the Yaman which was drunk by the descendants of Mazin b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth and they were named after it. Others say that Ghassān is the name of water at al-Mushallal near al-Juḥfa,[2] and those who drank of it and take their name from it are the tribes descended from Mazin b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān. Among the verses of Ḥassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī—the Anṣār being the tribes of Aus and Khazraj, the two sons of Ḥāritha b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Tha'laba b. Māzin b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth—is this:

> If you ask about us we are a noble people,
> Al-Azd is our forefather and Ghassān our water.

The Yamanites and some of the 'Akk who live in Khurāsān report their descent from 'Akk b. 'Adnān b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth. Others say Udhān in the place of 'Adnān.

15. The Yamanites say Qudā'a was the son of Mālik b. Ḥimyar, 'Amr b. Murra al-Juhanī—Juhayna b. Zayd b. Layth b. Sūd b. Aslam b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā'a—said:

> **Sons of the noble renowned shaikh we are,**
> **Qudā'a son of Mālik son of Ḥimyar**
> **Our descent is famous and undisputed,**
> **It is engraved on stone beneath the pulpit.[4]**

16. The name is also written Qunay.

17. Lakhm was the son of 'Adī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd b. Humaysa' b. 'Awf b. 'Arib b. Yashjub b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'. Others say of 'Adī b. 'Amr b. Saba'. According to others Rabī'a b. Nasr b. Abū Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir. He remained behind in the Yaman after 'Amr b. 'Āmir's migration thence.

[1] A reading adopted 'for the name of' yields a better sense. Or Ma'rib best and heretofore.
[2] Mushalal is a mountain near Medina. Al-Juḥfa lies on the Medina-Mecca road.
[4] The second hemistich is missing in W's edition and the first is taken as a chapter-heading. Yāqūt describes Juḥfa as the ruin of an old city that once was of considerable size possessing a pulpit.

HOW 'AMR B. 'ĀMIR LEFT THE YAMAN AND THE STORY OF THE DAM OF MA'RIB

The cause of 'Amr's migration from the Yaman as it was told to me by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī is as follows: 'Amr used to be ruling in the Yaman. Marib where they used to hold back the water and from direct it where it was needed. He perceived that the dam could not last and so determined to leave the Yaman. He proposed to deceive his people in this wise. He ordered his youngest son to get up and hit him in retaliation for his rough treatment and when he did so 'Amr said publicly that he would not go on living in a land where the youngest son could slap his father's face. He offered his goods for sale and the principal men of the Yaman took advantage, as they thought, of his rage and bought his property, and he went off with his sons and grandchildren. The Azdites said, for they would not [illegible] of 'Amr, left the country so they sold their property and went with him. They travelled until they came to one of the wells [illegible] before [illegible] desiring to find settlements. Akk took up arms against them [illegible] fighting was indecisive. It was of this that 'Abbās b. Mirdās composed the verse in p. 6. After this they moved on and went their several ways in the lands. The family of Jafna, 'Amr b. 'Āmir [illegible] Aus and Khazraj in Yathrib, Khuzā'a in Tihāma, Azd al-Sarāt in Al-Sarāt and Azd 'Umān in 'Umān.

Then God sent a torrent against the dam and destroyed it. Concerning this event God revealed to his prophet [illegible] their dwelling place had a sign, two gardens one to the right and another to the left. They were commanded: Eat from what your Lord has furnished and be grateful to Him. It is a goodly land and a forgiving God. But they turned away. So We sent against them the torrent of al-'Arim. This sign was not [illegible] its singular is arima according to what Abū [illegible] told me.

Al-A'sha of B. Qays b. Tha'laba b. [illegible] b. [illegible] b. Bakr b. Wā'il b. Ḥubb b. Afṣā b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār b. Ma'add (Others say Afṣā b. Du'mī b. Jadīla.) Al-A'sha (Maymūn b. Qays b. Jandal b. Shurāḥīl b. 'Auf b. Sa'd b. Dubay'a b. Qays b. Tha'laba) wrote the following lines:

> Herein is a moral for him who looks for it.
> The dams (that were breached) destroyed Ma'rib.
> (Ḥimyar had built them of marble for them.
> When the floods rose high they stood fast.
> When their water was sent out in channels
> It watered the crops and the vines)
> Then they became wanderers unable
> To give drink to their tender babes.[4]

[1] Marr, called Marr al-Ẓahrān (and Marr Ẓahran), was a day's journey from Mecca. Said to be a mountain overlooking 'Arafa. See further Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*.
Sur
[illegible]
S.E. [illegible] Nagel [illegible] and the MSS. [illegible] differ considerably [illegible] Ibn Hishām's text [illegible] Abū Dhar [illegible] Rückert [illegible] Nöldeke [illegible] London, [illegible] p. 34.

Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt the Thaqafite—the name of Thaqīf is Qasiy b. Munabbih b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays b. Aylān b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān—recited

> From Saba who dwelt in Mārib when
> They built dams against its torrent.

This verse occurs in a poem of his, but it is also attributed to al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī whose name was Qays b. 'Abdullāh, one of Banū Ja'da b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin. But this is a long story which I am compelled to cut short for the reasons I have already given.[1]

[illegible] that a soothsayer Shiqq b. Kulayb al-Sadūsī had come to Tubba' and [illegible] with him and [illegible] in his own language Tubba' asked him what he was [illegible] of importance to [illegible] and in the [illegible] he [illegible] that [illegible] whether any [illegible] would be [illegible] the king of Ghassān has a [illegible] kingdom would be surpassed by a man of great piety helped by the Almighty, described in the psalms; his people would be favoured by revelation, he would shape darkness of night [illegible] the prophet. Tubba' [illegible] when he comes one of the sons of [illegible] Banū Jusam [illegible] Tubba' sent out a copy of the psalms, examined them, and found the description of the prophet.

Ibn Isḥāq gleaned and assembled the following traditions from what Sa'īd b. Jubayr told him from Ibn 'Abbās and some learned Yemeni traditionists: A Lakhmid king was in Yemen in the territory of the Tubba's of Ḥimyar called Rabī'a b. Naṣr. Before him there had reigned in the Yemen Tubba' Zayd b. Sahl.[2] With him came Shamir Yur'ish b. Yāsir Yun'im b. 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār his cousin and Shamir Yur'ish who raided China and built Samarqand and discomfited al-Hīra.[3] He it was who said

> I am Shamir Abū Karib al-Yamānī,
> I imported horses from Yemen and Syria
> That I might send the slaves who rebelled against us
> In 'Athwa and Yāna beyond China.[4]
> We rule in their land by a just law
> That no oppressor can transgress.

18. The Yemenites and Bajīla say the Banū Anmār b. Irāsh b. Libās b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'. Another version is Irāsh b. 'Amr b. Lajayn b. al-Ghawth. The home of the Bajīla and Khath'am is in the Yemen.

19. *ma'ā* means 'drinks' in the Ḥimyarī tongue. Abū 'Amr said it means 'false'.

20. According to Khalaf al-Ahmar his name was al-Nu'mān b. al-Munḏhir b. al-Munḏhir.

21. Some say al-Ra'ish.

[1] As I.H. has obviously cut out much of what I.I. had written and as the following extract from Ṭabarī's version of I.I. is left in the air, I have included it here.

Here follows his genealogy which is given by I.I. when he deals with Abū Karib.

[2] A poor pun.

[3] This is in the Yemen. The name 'Athwa is unknown and the reading is not certain.

22. The order should be Yankjab b. Ya'rub b. Qahṭān.

23. Of him it was said:

> Would that it were my lot to get from Abū Karib
> The exclusion of his evil by the good he has!

24. 'Amr b. Talīa was 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr. Talīa, his mother, was d. 'Amr b. Zurayq b. Abdu Ḥāritha b. Mālik b. Ghaṣb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj.

25. The poem in which this line occurs is a late invention and therefore we have not recorded it.

26. The rhyming words are not inflected.

27. In Bahrayn according to what a scholar told me.

28. Another reading is *Shabi Shifa*.

29. *Nakhaub* is a Ḥimyarī word meaning 'hand'.

30. *Uhdūd* means a long trench such as a ditch or a brook and so on. The plural is *uhduḏ*. Dhū'l Ramma whose name was Ghaylān b. 'Uqba, one of Banū Adī b. Abdu Manāt b. Udd b. Ṭābikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar, uses the word in one of his odes

> From the 'Iraqī land which an *uhdūd* waters
> Between the desert and the palm.

Here the word means a canal. The mark of a sword or a knife on the skin is called *uhdūd* and so is the weal from the cut of a whip.

31. His mother was al-Dhi'ba and his name was Rabī'a b. 'Abdu Yāfī b. Ṣilan b. Mālik b. Ḥupayn b. Jusham b. Qasiy.

32. Zubayd b. Salama b. Mālik b. Munabbih b. Ṣa'b b. Sa'd al-'Ashīra b. Madhḥij; others say Zubayd b. Munabbih b. Ṣa'b b. Sa'd al-'Ashīra, or Zubayd b. Ṣa'b; and Murād is Yuḥābir b. Madhḥij. Abū 'Ubayda told me the following: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wrote to Salmān b. Rabī'a al-Bāhilī—Bāhila being the son of Ya'ṣur b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Aylān—when he was in Armenia ordering him to show preference to those who possessed pure Arab horses, as against those who owned mixed breeds, when distributing spoils. Accordingly he mustered the cavalry and as he passed by 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib's horse he said: 'This horse of yours is of mixed breed.' 'Amr was furious and said: 'A mongrel knows a mongrel like himself!' Qays sprang at him and threatened him, whereupon 'Amr recited the verses just quoted.

This is what Sarīh the soothsayer meant when he said (q.v.)

> The Ethiopians on your land shall beat
> Ruling from Abyan to Jurash everywhere.

And what Shiqq the soothsayer meant when he said:

> The blacks on your land shall bear,
> Pluck your little ones from your care,
> Ruling from Abyan to Najrān everywhere.

33. The expression *ittiwāfaq* means 'make to coincide' and *muwāfaqa* means 'agreement'. The Arabs say *wāfaqtuka 'alā hādhā'l-amr*, meaning 'I agree with you in that'.

Ittifāq in poetry means 'coincidence', i.e. the repetition of the same rhyming word with the same form, as in the lines of al-'Ajjāj whose full name was 'Abdullāh b. Ru'ba, one of the B. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm b. Murr b. Udd b. Tābikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār.

> In the current of the water-wheel set free (*marsal*)
> The stream rises in the stream set free (*marsal*).

34. The first of the sacred months is al-Muharram.

35. I.e. he defeated in it.

36. *sijjīl* is a document, cf. Sūra 38. 15 'Bring us our written fate quickly'. [This comment is omitted in C but it certainly belongs to the text because A. Dh. in his commentary explicitly refers to it.]

37. Thaqīf is Qasy b. Munabbih b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān.

38. Abū 'Ubayda the grammarian quoted to me the verses of Qirṭ b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihrī:

> Thaqīf fled to their Lāt temple
> Returning frustrated utterly hopeless.

Cf. Sūra 3. 122.

39. Al-Wāqidī added:

> If you are going to abandon them and our place of prayer, then something (we do not understand) seemeth best to Thee.

This is as far as the genuine text goes.

40. This is as far as the genuine text goes. *Tawāqīn* means 'barbarians'.

41. The words 'not the conqueror' do not come from I.I.

42. *Abābīl* means 'flocks'; so far as we know the Arabs do not use the noun in the singular. As to *al-sijjīl* Yūnus the grammarian and Abū 'Ubayda told me that among the Arabs it means strong and hard. Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj said:

> They were smitten as the owners of the elephant were smitten.
> Stones of *sijjīl* fell upon them
> And birds, Abābīl, sported with them.

These words occur in one of his *rajaz* poems. Some commentators say that *sijjīl* is really two Persian words which the Arabs have made into one, namely *sang* and *gil*, *sang* means stone and *gil* means clay, and so a pebble made of stone and clay. *Aṣf* means 'leaves' or 'shoots' of herbage which have not been cut. Its singular is *aṣfa*. Abū 'Ubayda told me it is also called *uṣfa* and *iṣfa*. He quoted to me the lines of Aqsama b. 'Abada, one of B. Rabī'a b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm:

> It waters torrents whose herbage droops.
> The bed of the stream is [illegible] by the rush of water.

These words occur in one of his odes. The *rajaz* poet says:

> And they were made as blades of corn that have been devoured.

An explanation of the idiom employed here is to be found in works on grammar.

The words *Ilāfu Quraysh* mean 'their assembling the party to go to Syria for trade'. They had two expeditions: one in winter and one in summer. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī told me that the Arabs use the first and fourth forms of *'alafa* in the same sense and he quoted to me the words of Dhū'l-Rumma:

> Of the sand-dwellers are the tawny-backed white-bellied (gazelles)
> In whose colouring the rays of the sun become clearly seen.

[This man was Sa'īd b. Aus b. Thābit. Cf. Yāq. 4, p. 235.]
Miqrād b. Ka'b al-Khuzā'ī said:

> Who are generous when the stars fail to bring rain
> And who set out upon their accustomed way.

I shall mention this and other verses of his later on if God will. *Ilāf* is also used of a man who has a thousand camels, cattle, or sheep, or other possessions. In one of his odes al-Kumayt b. Zayd, one of B. Asd b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma'add, said:

> In a year of which the owner of a thousand camels says
> This makes the man who longs for milk walk on foot.

Ilāf is also used when a people become a thousand in number. In one of his odes al-Kumayt b. Zayd said:

> The family of Muzayqiyā' on the morn they met
> The Banū Sa'd b. Dubba were a thousand strong.

Ilāf also means the joining of one thing to another so that it adheres and sticks to it. It also means to complete the thousand.

43. Sayfī b. al-Aslat b. Jusham b. Wā'il b. Zayd b. Qays b. 'Āmir b. Marra b. Mālik b. al-Aus.

44. This ode is also attributed to Umayya b. Abū'l-Ṣalt.

45. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted me his words 'Upon the pasture' &c. which occur in an ode of Abū Qays which I shall refer to later, God willing. The house Abū Yakṣūm applies to Abraha.

46. These lines of his occur in an ode on the Battle of Badr which I shall refer to later, God willing.

47. The lines are ascribed to Umayya b. Abū'l-Ṣalt b. Abū Rabī'a al-Thaqafī.

48. Al-Farazdaq—his name was Hammām b. Ghālib, one of B. Mujāshi' b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm—eulogizing Sulaymān b. 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān and satirizing al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and mentioning the elephant and his army, said:

> When al-Ḥajjāj's presumption led him to excess
> He said 'I will mount to the skies'[1]

[1] Literally, 'on ladders'. Cf. Bevan's edition, Leiden, 1905–7, p. 148.

As Noah's son said 'I will climb
A lofty mountain to escape the waters.
God smote him[1] in his body as he strove
In defence of His holy Temple
The arrows leading the elephant until
He turned them to dust haughty as they were.
May you be preserved as the temple was when
The leader of the foreign polytheists brought his elephant!

'Abdullah b. Qays al-Ruqayyāt, one of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib mentioning Abraha the split-nosed and his elephant, said:

Split-nose bringing his elephant drew near
But retreated, his army overthrown;
Birds with pebbles hovered over them
So that they were as though they had been stoned.
Whosoever shall attack it will withdraw
Defeated and covered with shame.

49. Abū 'Ubayda told me that when Sayf b. Dhū Yazan entered his presence he bowed his head and the king said 'Does this fool come in to me by a high door and then bow his head?' When Sayf was told of this he said: 'I do this only because of my anxiety, for everything pierces my nose!'

50. Khālid b. Qurra al-Sadūsī quoted to me the last of these verses as coming from an ode of A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba, but other authorities on poetry deny that he wrote it.[2]

51. Others say Umayya b. Abī'l-Ṣalt.

52. These lines which Ibn Isḥāq reported are genuine except the last verse which belongs to al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī whose name was Ḥibbān b. 'Abdallāh b. Qays, one of B. Ju'da b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin.

53. i.e. one of the sons of Imru'u'l-Qays b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, or as others say, 'Adiy one of the Ibād of al-Hīra.

54. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me the verse 'The day that the barbarians, &c.' as from al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī.

This is what Sayf meant when he said that Ibn b. Dhū Yazan would come against them from Aden and not leave one of them in the Yamen; and it is what Shiqq meant by his words:

'A young man neither remains nor bear
Coming against them from Dhū Yazan's house.'

55. When Wahriz died, Chosroes appointed his son al-Marzubān ruler of the Yamen. When Marzubān died, Chosroes appointed his son al-'Taynajān' ruler over the Yamen, and when he died he appointed his son, afterwards deposing him and appointing Bādhān. This man continued in office until God sent Muhammad the prophet.

I was told on the authority of al-Zuhrī that he said that Chosroes wrote to Bādhān the following letter:

> I have been told that a man of the Quraysh has come forth in Mecca asserting that he is a prophet. Go to him and invite him to withdraw. If he withdraws, well and good, if not, send his head to me.'

Bādhān sent Chosroes' letter to the apostle of God, who replied, 'God has promised me that Chosroes will be killed on such-and-such a date. Now when Bādhān got this letter he waited to see what would happen, saying that if he were a prophet what he said would come to pass. God killed Chosroes on the day which the prophet had named. He was killed by his son Shīrawayh. Khālid b. Ḥiqq al-Shaybānī said

> And Chosroes, whom his sons cut him in pieces
> With swords as the butcher cuts up joints,
> The fates were hastening an evil day for him.
> It came, for every child must come to the birth.

Al-Zuhrī said: When the news reached Bādhān, he sent word to the apostle of God that he and the Persians with him accepted Islam. His messengers said to the apostle of God, 'To whom do we belong?' He replied, 'You are of us and related to us, the people of the house.'

I have been told that al-Zuhrī said, It was then the apostle of God said, 'Salmān is of us, the people of the house.'

This is what Sayf meant when he said: 'A pure prophet to whom revelation will come from on high' and what Shiqq meant when he said: (his kingdom) would be ended by an apostle who would bring truth and justice from a people of religion and virtue. Dominion shall rest among his people until the Day of Separation.

56. Dhamar should be spelt Dhamār according to what Yūnus told me.

57. THE STORY OF THE KING OF AL-ḤAḌR

Khālid b. Qurra b. Khālid al-Sadūsī on the authority of Jaundal, or of one of the learned genealogists in al-Kūfa, told me that al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir was descended from Shāpūr[1] king of al-Ḥaḍr, a great fortress built like a town on the bank of the Euphrates. It is he to whom 'Adiy b. Zayd refers in his lines

> When the master of al-Ḥaḍr built it
> When the Tigris and Khābūr were brought to it[2]
> He constructed it of marble and plastered it with gypsum,
> Birds nested in its roof.
> Yet the fates did not respect it.
> Its lordship departed, its gate is forsaken.

Or 'May God smite him, &c.'

[1] See criticism, the reader will find it on p. [illegible] of Geyer's edition of al-A'shā's *Dīwān* cited above.

[2] Probably an error for Bayrūqā. See Nöldeke's footnote (d), Tab. ii.

[1] On p. 6 here for this form.

[2] According to Nöldeke (*Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, p. 53) al-Ḥaḍr was in ruins by 'Ali and so Shāpūr II) cannot have been its founder. The point is made by the Cairo editors of Ibn Hishām.

[3] i.e. the inscriptions being from the hand they wrought.

He it is to whom Abū Dawūd al-Iyādī refers in his lines:

> I saw that death had descended from al-Ḥaḍr
> Upon al-Sāṭirūn lord of its people.

This verse occurs in one of his odes, but it is also attributed to Khālid al-Ahmar; others say to Ḥarmalā' the reciter.

Now Ghuwayra Sābūr Dhū'l-Aktāf[1] had attacked Sāṭirūn, king of al-Ḥaḍr, and besieged the town for two years. One day the latter's daughter, looking down from the castle, had seen Sābūr in his silk brocade with his golden crown inset with pearls, rubies, and pearls on his head, a fine figure of a man, and she sent secretly to tell him if he would marry her if she opened the gate to him. He agreed to do so. Night came and Sāṭirūn became drunk, for he never went to bed sober. She took the keys of the castle from beneath his head and sent them with one of her freedmen who opened the gate and Sābūr came in and killed Sāṭirūn and gave al-Ḥaḍr to the soldiery and destroyed it. He took away the girl and married her.

At night as she was sleeping upon her bed she began to toss about restlessly and could not sleep, so he called for a lamp and the bed was searched and a myrtle leaf was found in it. Sābūr asked if that was the cause of her waking, and when she said that it was he asked how her father had brought her up. She answered that he had given her a bed of brocade, clothed her in silk, fed her on marrow, and given her wine to drink. 'If this is the way you reward your father you will soon betray me,' he said, and ordered that her hair should be tied to a horse's tail; the horse galloped away with her until she was killed. Here are some lines of A'shā of Bāhila b. Jaysh b. Tha'laba.

> Have you thought of al-Ḥaḍr when its people prospered,
> But does prosperity ever endure?
> For two years Shahbūr kept his armies there
> Smiting it with axes,
> When he prayed to his Lord
> He turned to him and took no vengeance.[2]

Here are some lines of 'Adiy b. Zayd on the subject:

> Fate descended on al-Ḥaḍr from above,
> A grievous disaster
> A sprite darling did not protect her father
> When her watchman gave up hope because of her treachery[3]
> When she made his evening cup of unmixed wine
> (For wine destroys the mind of the drinker),
> She betrayed her people for a night of love,
> Thinking that the prince would marry her

[1] Lit. of the shoulders.

[2] A poor verse. Evidently Abū Dharr was not satisfied as he adds to his gloss the phrase which raises difficulties in the divine omnipotence.

This line has given much trouble to commentators. The first word can be read as *ṣafā'a* (meaning 'watcher') and would then refer to the girl looking down from the wall. Lithabbiha, the reading adopted above, is taken from the version given by the Lucknow editors in place of the *khayrāt* of their text. Wā'ī text, *Mawāqi'i-Dhahab* or 'Ab has *khabbala*. However, *khayrāt* in her own destruction is the reading that gives by Abū Dharr and to her own destruction yields a good sense.

> But the bride's lot was that at the light of dawn
> Her locks ran red with blood.
> Al-Ḥaḍr was destroyed and given up to plunder.
> The clothes-stalls of her chamber did not escape the fire.

58. Also Iyād, as the following verse from one of the poems of al-Ḥārith b. Daws al-Iyādī shows. (It is also attributed to Abū Dawūd al-Iyādī whose name was Jāriya b. al-Ḥajjāj.)

> Young men handsome in face
> Of Iyād b. Nizār b. Ma'add.

The mother of Muḍar and Iyād was Saudā d. 'Akk b. 'Adnān. The mother of Rabī'a and Anmār was Shuqayqa, mother of his daughters; others say it was a third daughter named Jum'a.

59. The Yamanites and Bajīla say Anmār is the son of Irāsh b. Libyān b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'. Others say Irāsh b. 'Amr b. Libyān b. al-Ghawth. The home of Bajīla and Khath'am is the Yemen.

60. Their mother was a Jurhumite.

61. Khindif was the daughter of 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā'a.

62. His name was 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir; others say 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ṣakhr.

63. A certain learned person told me that 'Amr b. Luḥayy went from Mecca to Syria on a certain matter, and when he reached Moab in the Balqā' the 'Amālīq were there at the time, the sons of Imlīq, or as some say of 'Imlīq b. Lawdhān b. Sām b. Nūḥ—he saw the people worshipping idols, and asked what they were. They replied that they were idols which they were worshipping, and when they prayed for rain they got it, and when they asked for help they received it. He asked them to spare him an idol to take away to the land of the Arabs and they gave him one called Hubal. So he took it to Mecca and set it up and ordered the people to serve it and to venerate it.

64. I shall say more about the poem from which this line is taken later on, God willing. Kalb is Ibn Wabra b. Tāghlib b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā'a.

65. The name is also spelt An'um. Tayyi' is Ibn Udad b. Mālik. And Ṭābith is Madhḥij b. Udad, others say Tayyi' is the son of Udad b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba.

66. Sayd Mālik b. Nuwayr al-Hamdānī.

> Allāh brings well-being and misfortune in the world.
> Ya'ūq can neither hurt nor heal.

Hamdān's name was Awsala b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Rabī'a b. Awsala b. al-Khiyār b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba. Some say Awsala was son of Zayd b. Awsala b. al-Khiyār; others, Hamdān is the son of Awsala b. Rā'i'a b. Mālik b. al-Khiyār b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba.

[1] It is a moot point that even the name of this prolific putative father of tribes is conjectural.

67. Khaulān was Ibn 'Amr b. al-Hārit b. Qudā'a, others say Ibn 'Amr b. Murra b. 'Udad b. Zayd b. Milhā' b. 'Amr b. 'Arib b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'; others say Ibn 'Amr b. Sa'd al-'Ashīra b. Madhhij.

68. I shall say more about him later on, God willing. Daws was the son of 'Udthān b. 'Abdullāh b. Zahrān b. Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b b. 'Abdullāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth. Others say Daws b. 'Abdullāh b. Zahrān b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth.

69. I shall have more to say about this later on, God willing.

70. Allies of the sons of Abū Ṭālib especially. Sufyān was b. Mujāshi' b. Thawr b. Khālid b. Qays b. 'Aylān.

71. These two verses were composed by Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī whose name was Khuwaylid b. Murra, and are taken from a longer poem [illegible] dhamm means those in charge of the affairs of the [illegible] of Ru'ba b. al-Ajjāj in one of his rajaz poems which I shall say more about later on God willing.

> Nay, by the lord of the birds who rest safely
> In the vicinity' enclosure and the overseer's[2] house.

72. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd, one of B. Asad b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika, said to one of his odes.

> Tribes swore they would not flee
> Turning their backs on Manāt.

The apostle of God sent Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb—others say 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib—with orders to destroy it.

73. The name is also spelt Dhū'l-Khulaṣa. A female Arab said

> If you, Dhū'l-Khulaṣa, were the avenger of blood
> As I, and your father had been slain,
> You would not forbid the killing of enemies!

His father had been killed and he wanted to take vengeance but first he went [illegible] God dispatched Jarīr b. 'Abdullāh al-Bajalī to destroy the idol.

74. I was told by a traditionist that the apostle of God sent 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib to destroy it, and he found there two swords called al-Rasūb and al-Mikhdham. When he brought them to the apostle of God he gave them back to him. They are in fact the two swords which 'Alī had.

75. I have given an account of it in the preceding pages.

76. The second half of the verse was uttered by a man of B. Sa'd. It is said that al-Mustaughir b. Rabī'a b. Ka'b b. Sa'd lived 330 years. He, who lived longer than any man of Mudar, said

> I am weary of life and its length.
> I have lived for hundreds of years.

[1] *Sadana.* [2] *Mudar.*

> A century was followed by two more.
> From countless months I have added to my years.
> What remains is as what went before.
> Days pass and nights follow them.

However, some people ascribe these verses to Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī.[1]

77. This is really a verse of al-Aswad b. Ya'fur al-Nabahānī, Nabahān being the son of Dawra b. Mālik b. Ḥanīfa b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. Abū Mudrik Khalaf al-Ahmar quoted the verse to me in the form.

> The people of al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadīr and Bāriq
> And the temple Dhū'l-Shurufāt of Sindād.[2]

78. It is said that anything that she gives birth to after that belongs to their sons and not their daughters.

79. All this information according to the Bedouin is wrong, except so far as concerns the [illegible] There [illegible] what is right. Among the Arabs he Bahīra is the she-camel whose ear is slit and who is not ridden, whose hair is not shorn and whose milk is only drunk by the guests or given as alms or left to their gods. The Sā'iba is a she-camel which a man vows that if he [illegible] free if he recovers from his sickness or if he gains an object which he seeks and when he has freed a she-camel or a camel for one of their gods, then it runs free and pastures, no profit being made from it. The Wasīla means a ewe whose mother has twins at every birth. Its owner gives the ewes to his gods and keeps the males for himself. If her mother gives birth to a male lamb with her, they say *Waṣalat* (she has joined) her brother, and her brother is freed with her, no profit being made from him. I was given this information by Nāfi' b. Habīb the grammarian and others, each contributing his part thereto.

80. The poet says.

> Round the Wasīla in Shurayf is a three-year-old camel,
> And those whose backs are taken and those who are set free.[3]

Tamīm b. Ubayy b. Muqbil, one of B. 'Āmir b. Sa'sa'a, said.

> Therein is the rumbling of the young meager stallion
> Like the grumbling of the Diyāfī camel in the midst of the Bahīma.

This verse belongs to one of his odes and the plural of *Bahīma* is *Bahā'im* and *Buhum*. The plural of *Wasīla* is *Wasā'il* and *Wusul*. The plural of multitude of *Sā'iba* is *Sawā'ib* and *Suyub*, and the plural of multitude of *Hāmī* is *Hawāmī*.

81. And the Khuzā'a say we are the sons of 'Amr b. Rabī'a b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Tha'laba b. Māzin b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth and Khindif is their mother according to what Abū 'Ubayda and other learned traditionists told me. Others say Khuzā'a are the sons of

[illegible] with unimportant variants, see in K. al-Muwaffaqiyāt, al-Ṣaddābī, [illegible] X, [illegible]

[illegible] not described by [illegible] question. However [illegible] be taken for the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] These lines [illegible] three [illegible]

Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir. They were called Khuzā'a because they separated[1] from the descendants of 'Amr b. 'Āmir when they left the Yamen on their way to Syria. They settled in Marr al-Ẓahrān[2] and dwelt there. 'Auf b. Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, one of B. 'Amr b. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salima of al-Khazraj in Muslim times, said:

When we dropped down to the vale of Marr
Khuzā'a separated from us with troops of horsemen.
They protected every valley of Tihāma
And they were protected by their firm lances and sharp swords.

Abū'l-Muṭahhar Ismā'īl b. Rāfi' al-Anṣārī, one of B. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus, said:

When we dropped down to the vale of Mecca, Khuzā'a
Found the home of the tyrant agreeable.
They settled in hordes and sent their horses far afield
Over every tribe between hill and lowland.
They drove Jurhum from the vale of Mecca and
Wrapped themselves in Khuzā'a's power and glory.

These verses occur in one of his odes. God willing, I shall refer to the expulsion of Jurhum later on.

86. Others say the name should be spelt al-Hawn.

83. The mother of al-Naḍr and Mālik and Milkān was Barra d. Murr. The mother of 'Abdu Manāt was Hāla d. Suwayd b. al-Ghiṭrīf b. Asd Shanū'a. Shanū'a was 'Abdullāh b. Ka'b b. 'Abdullāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Asd b. al-Ghawth. They were called Shanū'a because of the hatred between them. Shana means hatred.

Al-Naḍr is Quraysh, one born of his line is a Qurayshite, but those outside his line are not. Ja'far b. 'Atiyya, one of B. Kulayb b. Yarbū' b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, in a eulogy of Hishām b. 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān, said:

The mother who bore Quraysh
Is of no mean lineage nor sterile,
No sire is nobler than your ancestor
No maternal uncle nobler than Tamīm.

He meant Barra d. Murr sister of Tamīm b. Murr, the mother of al-Naḍr.

It is said that Fihr b. Mālik is Quraysh, and the line of Quraysh is in his descendants alone. The name Quraysh is derived from taqarrush, meaning merchandise and profit. Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj said:

Fat meat and pure milk
Make them despise poor wheat
And the fallings of the doom-palm,[1]

Shaghāf means 'wheat' and *Akrāt* means the knobs of ankles and

[1] Tafarraqa = to separate or remain behind: in this case both meanings apply.
[2] This place was on Sa'd's journey from Mecca in the direction of Medina.
[3] The rendering given above is based on Abū Dharr's commentary, definitely abandoning Ibn Hishām's opinion in favour of the view of al-Wāqidī which suits the context better.

bracelets and the like: and *qarish* means trade and profit. The poet means that fat and milk used to make them independent of this. *Mahd* means pure [illegible]

Abū Jilda al-Yashkurī, Yashkur being Ibn Bakr b. Wā'il, said:

Brethren have slandered us[1]
In our early days and of late.

84. Al-Ṣalt too was a son of al-Naḍr according to Abū 'Amr al-Madanī; the mother of all three was d. Sa'd b. Zarib al-'Adwānī. 'Adwān was the son of 'Amr b. Qays b. 'Aylān. Kuthayyir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, namely Kuthayyir of 'Azza one of B. Mulayḥ b. 'Amr of Khuzā'a, said:

Is not my father al-Ṣalt or are not my brethren
The best known to the nobles of the Banū al-Naḍr?
You can see the same Yamānī warp in us and them,
The same Ḥaḍramī sandals of peculiar design.
If you are not of the Banū Naḍr then leave
The green arāk trees at the ends of the valleys.

Of those who are related to al-Ṣalt b. al-Naḍr of Khuzā'a are B. Mulayḥ b. 'Amr the tribe of Kuthayyir of 'Azza.

85. He was not the eldest son of Mudrika.

86. Jandala was the d. Fihr and the mother of Yarbū' b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, her mother being Layla d. Sa'd. Jarīr b. 'Aṭiyya b. al-Khaṭafī, the latter's name being Ḥudhayfa b. Badr b. Salama b. 'Auf b. Kulayb b. Yarbū' b. Ḥanẓala, said:

When I was angry the sons of Jandala
In my defence threw stones which were like rocks.[2]

87. A third son was Qays whose mother was Salma d. Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī. She was the mother of the two sons just mentioned.

88. Some say that al-Ḥārith was a son of Lu'ayy. They are the Jusham b. al-Ḥārith among Hizān of Rabī'a. Jarīr said:

Sons of Jusham, you belong not to Hizān. Beware
Yourselves to the nobles of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib.
Give not your daughters to the tribe of Dawr
Nor to Shukāya:[3] they are bad dwellings for strange women.

Also Sa'd. They are the Bundān who belong to Shurbāl b. Tha'laba b. 'Ukāba b. Sa'b b. 'Ali b. Bakr b. Wā'il of Rabī'a. Bundān was a nurse from B. al-Qayn b. Jasr b. Shuy'ullāh (or Say'ullāh) b. al-Asd b. Wabara b. Tha'laba b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'a. Some say d. of al-Namir b. Qāsit of Rabī'a; others say d. Jarma b. Rabbān b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b.

[1] *qarrasū* = the abusive words of this kind, which originally meant some form of physical violence, the original meaning = to crush the bones. The name Quraysh is probably taken from the dialect. = Kulayb, &c.
[2] There is a play on the word *jandala*, large stone. For the idiom see Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale*, 73 n. 2.
[3] Two clans of the Azdites: see Cairo edition, p. [illegible].

al-Hilf b. Qudā'a. Abū Khuzayma. They are the Ā'idha among Shaybān b. Tha'laba. Ā'idha was a Yamanite woman, the mother of B. Abīd b. Khuzayma b. Lu'ayy.

The mother of all the sons of Lu'ayy except 'Āmir was Mīrwiya d. Ka'b b. al-Qayn b. Jasr. 'Āmir's mother was Mukhaṣṣiṣa d. Shaybān b. Muḥārib b. Fihr. Others say Layla d. Shaybān b. Muḥārib b. Fihr.

89. I have heard that one of his sons came to the apostle of God, claiming descent from Sirma. The apostle said, 'The poor!' and one of his companions said, 'I think, apostle of God, you mean the saying

> Many a cup hast thou spilt, O b. Lu'ayy,
> For fear of death which otherwise would not have been spilt.'

He answered, 'Yes.'

90. This is what Abū 'Ubayda quoted to me from the poem.[a]

91. Abū 'Ubayda recited these verses to me as from 'Āmir b. al-Khayṭī, i.e. Khālid b. Qays b. 'Aylān, adding a line

> His spear bereaved women of their sons

He also told me that Hishām said to 'Āmir, 'Compose a good verse about me and I will pay you for it.' Thereupon 'Āmir composed the first verse which did not please Hishām; he added the second which likewise failed to please him, and so with the third; but when he added the fourth, 'As he slew the guilty and the innocent', he was satisfied and rewarded him.

This is what al-Kumayt b. Zayd meant when he said

> Hishām of Murra who destroyed kings
> Whether they had wronged him or not.

This verse occurs in one of his odes. 'Āmir's words 'Day of al-Ḥabī'ā' have not Abū 'Ubayda's authority.

92. Zuhayr was one of B. Muzayna b. Udd b. Ṭābikha b. al-Ya'ū b. Muḍar. Others say he was the son of Abū Sulmā of Ghaṭafān, or an ally of Ghaṭafān.

93. Bāriq are B. Adiy b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Tha'laba b. Māzin b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth who are among Shanū'a. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd in one of his odes said

> And Shanū'a came out against us with
> A crowd of hundreds (some they thought) were burned
> We did not say to Bāriq, 'You have done wrong,
> Nor did we say, 'Give us satisfaction.'

They got the name Bāriq because they were about to quench of lightning.[b]

94. Ju'thuma al-Azd is the spoken of as Ju'thuma al-Azd. He was the son of Yashkur b. Muhashshir b. Ṣa'b b. Dulmān b. Nasr b. Zahran b. al-Ghawth b. Ka'b b. Abdullāh b. Mālik b. Nasr b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth. Some omit the names (illegible)

[a] indicating that some of his quotation has been left out. For the full poem see *Mufaḍḍal*, No. 39, where the 3rd line is placed.

[b] Bāriq means lightning which deprives men of sight, where one falls there is plunder.

They were called Jadam because 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. Ju'thuma married d. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī. Jurhum being lords of the Ka'ba, and built a wall to the Ka'ba and so was called al-Jadir, while the name in the plural attached itself to his offspring.

95. Nu'm d. Kilāb was the mother of Sa'd and Sa'īd sons of Salm b. 'Amr b. Hupayy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy. Her mother was Fāṭima d. Sa'd b. Sayal.

96. The name is also written Ḥubaykiya b. Salāl.

97. In this genealogy 'Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir b. Wahb b. Nusayb b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. Māzin b. Mālik b. [illegible] differed from them.

Other children of Ādam, Mālik were Abū 'Amr, Tumādir, Qilāba, Layya, Ruyta, [illegible] al-Akhthal, [illegible] Sufyān. The mother of Abū 'Amr was Ḥassa, a woman of Thaqīf, the mother of the rest of the girls was Ātika d. Murra, [illegible] mother of Hashim b. 'Abdu Manāf; her mother was Ṣafiya d. Ḥauna b. 'Amr b. Salāl b. Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin. Ṣafiya's mother was [illegible] 'Abdu Allāh b. Sa'd al-Ashra b. Madhḥij.

Hashim b. 'Abdu Manāf had four sons and five daughters: 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, Asad, Abū Ṣayfī, Nadla, Shifā, Khālida, Da'īfa, Ruqayya, Ḥaṣṣa. The mother of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and Ruqayya was Salmā d. 'Amr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Ḥārim b. Khidāsh b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. 'Adiy b. al-Najjār whose name was [illegible] b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir. Her mother was Ādira d. Ṣakhr b. al-Ḥārith b. Tha'laba b. Māzin b. al-Najjār and Ādira's mother was Salmā d. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal al-Najjāriya. Ādira's mother was Qayla d. 'Amr b. Mālik al-Khazraj. The mother of Abū Ṣayfī, Asad, Nadla was Hind d. 'Amr b. Tha'laba al-Khazrajiya. The mother of Nadla and Ṣayfī was a woman of Quḍā'a, and the mother of Khālida and Da'īfa was Waqida d. Abū 'Adiy al-Māzinīya.

THE CHILDREN OF 'ABDU L-MUṬṬALIB B. HĀSHIM

'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib had ten sons and six daughters: al-Abbās, Ḥamza, 'Abdullāh, Abū Ṭālib (whose name was 'Abdu Manāf), al-Zubayr, al-Ḥārith, Ḥajl, al-Muqawwim, Dirār, and Abū Lahab (whose name was 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā), Ṣafiya, Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍā', 'Ātika, Umayma, Arwā, and Barra.

The mother of al-Abbās and Dirār was Nutayla d. Janāb b. Kulayb b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Zayd Manāt b. 'Āmir (who was al-Qāyin b. Sa'd b. al-Khazraj b. Taymu'l-Lāt b. al-Namir b. Qāsit b. Hinb b. Afṣā b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār. Some say Afṣā' b. Da'mī b. Jadīla.

The mother of Ḥamza, al-Muqawwim, and Ḥajl (who was nicknamed al-Ghayḍāq because of his great liberality and his wealth) and Ṣafiya, was Hāla d. Wuhayb b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy.

The mother of 'Abdullāh, Abū Ṭālib, al-Zubayr, and all the girls other than Ṣafiya was Fāṭima d. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr. Her mother was Salma d. 'Abd b. 'Imrān of the same line. Ṣakhr's mother was Takhmur d. 'Abd b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra, &c.

The mother of al-Ḥārith was Sarmā' d. Junādah b. Ḥuṣayr b. Ri'āb b. Ḥabīb b. Suwā'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrima.

The mother of Abū Lahab was Lubnā d. Ḥājir b. 'Abda Manāf b. Dibr b. Ḥubāshiya b. Salūl, &c.

'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib begat the apostle of God (may God bless and preserve him), lord of the children of Adam, Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. May the blessing of God, His peace, His mercy, and His grace be upon him and his family. His mother was Āmina d. Wahb b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr. Her mother was Barra d. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdu'l-Dār b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra, &c. Barra's mother was Umm Ḥabīb d. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy, &c. Umm Ḥabīb's mother was Barra d. 'Auf b. 'Ubayd b. 'Uwayj b. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib, &c.

Thus the apostle of God was the most noble of the sons of Adam in respect of his descent both from his father's and his mother's side.

98. Others spell the name Mu'ād.

99. Abū 'Ubayda told me that Bakka is the name of the valley of Mecca because it is thickly populated[1] and quoted to me the verse:

> When great hate overtakes him who wrests his camels with yours,
> Leave him alone until his camels are rounded up.

i.e. leave him until he gets his camels together, i.e. until he brings them to the water and they crowd upon it. Bacca is the place of the temple and the mosque. These lines are from 'Amr b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm.

100. The words 'his sons are ours' are not from I.

101. This is as far as the genuine poetry goes. Some learned authorities told me that these verses are the first poetry spoken among the Arabs and that they were found inscribed on stone in the Yamān. I was not told who their author was.

102. Others say Ḥubāshiya b. Salūl.

103. Ṣafwān was the son of Jandab b. Shijna b. 'Uṭārid b. 'Auf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm.

104. The name is sometimes written Shuddākh.

105. A poet has said:

> By my life Quṣayy was called 'uniter'
> Because Allāh united the tribes of Fihr by him.

106. These verses are attributed to Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī.

107. One of the authorities on poetry in the Hijāz gave me the line 'A people in Mecca, &c.' [The point of this comment is that the line exists in another form which violates one of the canons of poetry.]

[1] *Tabākkak*, 'they came together in crowds'

108. The meaning of *fayar* is *gafā'*, as in the lines of Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī:

> Ismā'īl b. Ma'mar has starved my guests
> By killing a generous man to whom widows resort.[1]

109. This speech and the preceding one from a tradition of 'Alī about the digging of Zamzam are say[2] and not poetry in my opinion.

110. A poet has said:

> God send rain to the wells whose site I know,
> Jurāb and Maktūm and Badhdhar and al-Ghamr.

111. He was the father of Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfa.

112. He means 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. I shall mention this ode later if God will. [See p. 112. W.]

113. 'Ā'idh was b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm.

114. Another reading is 'man or beast'. [This is T.'s reading.] Inserted in this story is a rajaz poem which no authority on poetry regards as genuine.

115. *Murāḍi'* are mentioned in the story of Moses, 'We made foster-mothers unlawful for him.' [The point is that *rada'a* in the text means 'children at the breast' whereas we should expect 'foster-mothers'. Therefore either we must suppose that *dhawāt* is to be mentally supplied or we must take the word literally: where there are babes at the breast there must needs be women to suckle them.]

116. Some say Hilāl b. Nāqira.

117. The mother of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib was Salmā, d. 'Amr, the Najjārite, and this is the maternal relationship which I.I. mentions in linking the apostle with them.

118. I have never met any authority on poetry who knows these verses, but since they are quoted on the authority of Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib I have included them here.

119. Al-Musayyib was the son of Ḥazn b. Abū Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm.

120. 'Thy mother was a pure pearl of Khuzā'a' refers to Abū Lahab whose mother was Lubnā d. Ḥājir the Khuzā'ite. The words 'In the grab of his forefathers' come from a source other than I.I.

121. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm.

122. Lihb belong to Azd Shanū'a.

123. It was like the mark of a cupping-glass.

124. When the apostle was 24 or 15 years old according to what Abū 'Ubayda the grammarian told me on the authority of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' a nonlegionaire

[1] For *ajiqa* the reading in *sā'ir al-Hudhaliyyīn* is *fajī'a*, 'was pained at the case of'. For the full text of the poem cf. note 8[illegible]

war broke out between the Quraysh and their allies the Kināna and Qays 'Aylān. The cause of it was that 'Urwa al-Raḥḥāl b. 'Utba b. Ja'far b. Kilāb b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin had given safe conduct to a caravan of al-Mu'ammal b. al-Munḏir. Al-Barrāḍ b. Qays, one of B. Qurra b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kināna, said to him, 'Did you give it safe conduct against Kināna?' to which he replied, 'Yes, and against everybody else.' So 'Urwa al-Raḥḥāl went out with the caravan and al-Barrāḍ also went out with the object of taking him off his guard. When he was at Ṭaymān Dhū Ṭilā in the high ground 'Urwa failed to post a guard and al-Barrāḍ leapt upon him and killed him in the sacred month; that is why the war was called sacrilegious. Al-Barrāḍ composed the following lines about it:

> Many a calamity which has disquieted men before me
> Have I met with determination, O Banū Bakr!
> I destroyed thereby the houses of the Banū Kilāb
> And I reduced the clients to their proper place.
> I lifted my hand against him on Dhū Ṭilā
> And he fell direly like a newly down tree.

Labīd b. Rabī'a b. Mālik b. Ja'far b. Kilāb said:

> 'Tell the Banū Kilāb and 'Āmir if you meet them
> "Great events have those who can deal with them."[a]
> Tell the Banū Numayr if you meet them
> And the uncles of the slain, Banū Hilāl,
> That the traveller al-Raḥḥāl is dead
> Lying by Ṭaymān Dhū Ṭilā.

A messenger came to Quraysh saying that al-Barrāḍ had killed 'Urwa while they were in 'Ukāẓ in the sacred month, and they rode off without the knowledge of Hawāzin. When the latter heard of it they pursued them and overtook them before they got into the sacred territory, and they fought till nightfall. When they entered the sacred territory Hawāzin gave up the fight. Sporadic encounters took place on the following days, but the people had no commander-in-chief, each tribe being commanded by its head. The apostle was present at some of those encounters, his uncles having taken him with them. He used to say that he picked up the arrows which the enemy had shot and gave them to his uncles to shoot.

125. The story of the struggle is too long to be mentioned here. I cannot allow it to interrupt the prophet's biography.

[a] The text, metre, and translation in Brockelmann's edition (p. 37 Arabic and p. 61 German) are at fault here. There is a play on the word *mawlā* rendered 'clients' in the first person: here it means 'masters'. *Mawlā* is one of those elusive terms whose meaning can be determined only by the context. Originally it meant a relative, peer and single without differentiating between a tribesman by birth or by sworn alliance. Already in the poetry of the *Sīra* the *mawlā* is lower than the jawhar *asīl*, the pure-blooded tribesman. Cf. Jeffery, 'A Biblical anti-primitivist', in the Qurʾānic *mawlā* means lord, not slave. 'Ḥulfān' After the Arab conquests the word means client, freed slave.

[b] On the site of 'Ukāẓ cf. the excellent article with map by Hamad al-Jāsir in the *Majalla* of the Arab Academy of Damascus, 1964, iii, 377ff., where it is cited from *Shifāʾ al-ghurām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām* as saying that it lay between Nakhla and Ṭāʾif.

126. At the age of 25 the apostle married Khadīja d. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib as more than one learned person told me from Abū 'Amr of Medina.

127. The apostle gave her as a dowry twenty she-camels. She was the first woman that the apostle married, and he took no other wife during her lifetime. May God be pleased with her!

128. His sons came in the order: al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, and al-Ṭāhir; and his daughters in the order: Ruqayya, Zaynab, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭima. [Commentators point out that these are not names but epithets applied to the sons and Abdullah.]

129. Ibrāhīm's mother was Mārīya the Copt. 'Abdullāh b. Wahb from L. Lahī'a told me that Mārīya was the prophet's concubine. The Muqawqis presented her to him from Ḥafn in the province of Anṣinā.

130. Quraysh cut his hand off. They allege that the people who stole the treasure deposited it with Duwayk. [One can see from I.J.'s words in 1 how I.H. abbreviated his author's account.]

131. 'Ukāẓ b. 'Awf b. Makhzūm.

132. According to another account, 'we are not going astray'.

133. Another reading is 'our pudenda were not covered'. The Ka'ba at the time of the apostle was 18 cubits high. It was covered with white Egyptian cloth, later with Yemeni stuff. The first to cover it with brocade was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.

134. Abū 'Ubayda the grammarian told me that B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin entered into this with them, and he quoted to me the lines of Anas b. Mudrika:

> O Abbās, if our horses had been in good fettle
> In Tathlīth you would not have vied with the Ḥums in my absence.

'Tathlīth is a place in their country and *ṣāyir* means far and well formed. By Ḥums he means B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a; and by Abbās he means Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī who had raided B. Zubayd in Tathlīth. He quoted to me the verse of Laqīṭ b. Zurāra al-Dārimī about the battle of Jabala:

> Speed, O my horse, the Banū 'Abs are a great people' among the Ḥums because B. 'Abs were allies of B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a at the battle of Jabala. This battle was between B. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm and B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a. The victory went to B. 'Āmir and Laqīṭ was killed, and Ḥājib b. Zurāra b. 'Uds was taken prisoner. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. 'Uds b. Zayd b. 'Abdullāh b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓala fled, and Jarīr said to al-Farazdaq in reference to him:

> 'Tis as though you had not seen Laqīṭ and Ḥājib
> And 'Amr b. 'Āmir when they cried, Help, O Dārim!'

Then they met at the battle of Dhū Najab when Ḥanẓala had the better of

[1] The variant falls in a passage of Ms. 484, 17

B. 'Amir and Hassān b. Mu'āwiya al-Kindī was slain. He was known as Ibn Kabsha. Yazīd b. al-Ṣa'aq al-Kilābī was taken prisoner and al-Ṭufayl b. Mālik b. Ja'far b. Kilāb the father of 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl fled. About him al-Farazdaq said

> Of them was Ṭufayl b. Mālik who delivered
> On his horse Qarwā a man swift to flee.
> We smote the head of Ibn Khuwaylid,
> Adding to the owls that haunt a man's grave.[a]

To this Jarīr replied:

> We dyed the crown of Ibn Kabsha.
> When the cavalry met he encountered a man who cleaved his skull.[b]

The story of the battles of Jabala and Dhū Najab is too long to be dealt with here for the reasons given when the Sacrilegious War was discussed.

133. *Rahaq* means rebellion and folly, as in the line of Ru'ba b. al-Ajjāj:

> When fever makes the vicious camel mad. [Cf. *Dīwān* xii. 4.]

This verse occurs in one of his rajaz poems. *Rahaq* also means seeking a thing until you get near it whether you take it or not. The same poet, describing wild asses, says:

> Their tails flick and they shudder when they fear they will be overtaken.

The word is also used as a *masdar*. 'I have borne (*rahiqtu*) a crime or hardship which you have laid upon me as a heavy burden.' It is used in the Qur'ān in the same sense: 'We feared that he would press hardly upon them in rebellion and unbelief' (18. 79); also, 'Do not treat me harshly for what I have done' (18. 72).

138. **Al-Ghayṭala was of B. Murra b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kināna, brothers of Mudlij b. Murra. She was the mother of the Ghayṭāl whom Abū Ṭālib mentions in his lines:**

> Foolish are the minds of the people who exchanged us
> For the Banū Khalaf and the Ghayṭāl.

Ghayṭāl is the name given to her sons among B. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ.

137. This is *saj'*, not poetry.

138. **Another version is 'A man will cry in eloquent language, saying, There is no God but Allāh.**

An authority on poetry recited to me the following lines:

> I was amazed at the jinn and their dumbfounding,
> As they saddled their beasts with their clothes,
> Making for Mecca, seeking guidance.
> Believing jinn are not like impure jinn.

A reference to the ancient belief that owls came forth from the skulls of the slain and remained by their graves. The text in *Naq.* 386, 5 is nonsense.

[a] This is the meaning given to *wajra* by A. Dh. (cf. *Naq.* 638, 4). The rendering given by Wüst is rightly rejected by the Arabic commentators, though the alteration of *dhamm* 'rowing' to *dajja* 'clamour' seems to be due to someone who gave the more usual meaning of 'loud-voiced' or 'eloquent' to *wajra*.

39. *Yastafrikūna* means 'they asked for help'. It also means 'they arbitrated' as in the verse of the Qur'ān: 'O our [illegible] judge between us and our people rightly, thou judging the best of judges' (7. 89).

140. Qayla was d. Kāhil b. 'Udhra b. Sa'd b. Zayd b. Layth b. Sūd b. Asḥam b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā'a, the mother of al-Aus and al-Khazraj. Al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī praising al-Aus and al-Khazraj said

> Noble sons of Qayla! None who mingled with them
> Found fault with their company;
> Generous heroes, rejoicing in hospitality
> Following the traditions of their fathers as a duty.

141. *'Uwwad'* means trembling from cold, and shuddering fits; if accompanied by sweating it is the sweat of fever.

142. **There is a story about 'Uthmān which I cannot repeat for reasons given above. [See Suhaylī.]**

143. **These verses really belong to an ode of Umayya b. Abū'l-Ṣalt, except for the first two, the fifth, and the last verse. The second half of the first verse does not come via I.I.**

144. Al-Ḥaḍramī was 'Abdullāh b. [illegible]ād b. Akbar, one of the Sadūf whose name was 'Amr b. Mālik, one of the Sakūn b. Ashras b. Kindī (some say Kinda b. Thawr b. Murta' b. Afīr b. 'Adī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd b. Malik b. 'Amr b. 'Arib b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'. Others say Murra b. Malik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'.

145. Another reading is: 'Piety preserves, not pride.' The words 'facing the Ka'ba' are from a traditionist.

146. The first two verses of this poem are attributed to Umayya b. Abū'l-Ṣalt and the last verse occurs in one of his odes. The words 'vain idols have not [illegible] authority'.

147. The Arabs say *ḥanīfiyya* and *ḥanīf* meaning the Hanīfite religion, substituting [illegible] for [illegible] just as they say *jadīd* and *jadd* meaning a grave. Ru'ba b. al-Ajjāj said:

> If my scores were with the other graveyarders (*ajdāth*), meaning *ajdāth*.

This verse belongs to a rajaz poem of his, and the verse of Abū Ṭālib is an ode by him which I will mention, please God, in the proper place. Abū 'Ubayda told me that the Arabs say *hamma* instead of *thamma*.

148. *Qarb* here means a hollow reed. One in whom I have confidence told me that Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'Give Khadīja greetings from her Lord.' The apostle said, 'O Khadīja, Gabriel announces peace to you from your Lord.' She replied, 'God is peace, from Him comes peace, and peace be upon Gabriel.'

149. *Salā* means 'to be quiet'. Umayya b. Abū'l-Ṣalt the Thaqafite (*Dīwān* xviii. said:

> When he came by night my friend was asleep
> And the night was quiet in blackest gloom

You can say of the eye when its sleep is fixed it is sqha

Jurr said

They meet you as they went with quiet eyes
Sharing you from between the howdah curtains

Afi means 'poor'.

Abu Khirish al-Hudhali said

The destitute went to her house in winter
A poor man clad in two garments finding his way by the barking of the dogs.[1]

The plural is *afa* and *'ufat*. *Afi* also means one who has a large family and one who is afraid and in the Qur'an 'That is more likely that you will not be unjust' (4. 3).

Abu Talib said

In a just balance he gives full weight of barley.
He is in himself an unerring witness (See further 279, 27.)

Afi also means a tiresome, wearisome thing; you can say, 'this thing has exhausted me' *afani* i.e. oppressed and wearied me.

al-Farazdaq said

You see the most prominent chiefs of Quraysh
Whenever a great misfortune occurs.

259. Some add 'and Talib'.

[1] Zayd b. Hiritha b. Sharahil b. Ka'b b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. 'Amir b. al-Nu'man b. 'Amir b. 'Abdu Wudd b. 'Auf b. Kinana b. Bakr b. 'Auf b. 'Udhra b. Zayd Allat b. Rufayda b. 'Thaur b. Kalb b. Wabara b. Hulwan b. Hilzan b. Khuzayma had come from Syria with a party of slaves among whom was Zayd, then a young man. His aunt, who by that time was the apostle's wife, came to see him and he invited her to choose anyone of the young slaves she liked. She chose Zayd and took him away with her. When the apostle saw him he asked her to give him to him. She did so and he freed him and adopted him as his son. This was before revelation came to him.

His father Hiritha was exceeding sorrowful at his loss and mourned him in the following verse:

I wept over Zayd, not knowing what had happened—
Whether I could hope to see him again or whether he was dead.
By God I do not know, often though I ask,
Whether he lies dead on hill or plain.
Would that I knew if thou wouldst ever return!
All that I ask of the world is that thou return to me.
Sunrise reminds me of him; the sunset brings his memory before me;
When the winds blow they stir up thoughts of him.

The word *mutawaddih* means the man who at night hears the barking of dogs so that he can distinguish if near the dogs will give up his challenge and he can find his way to food and warmth from the direction their barking gives him. The two ranged pastures are the plain and the woodland, the indistinguishable minimum.

[1] Cf. al-Khansa, ed. Bayrut, p. 75.

Long will I grieve and fear for him!
I doubt not the best camels in scouring the land
Nor weary of searching though the camels tire,
So long as I live till death comes to me.
For all must die, though hope deceives man.

Then he came to him while he was with the apostle, who told Zayd that he could stay with him or if he preferred go away with his father. He replied that he would certainly stay with him, and he remained with the apostle until God made him. His neighbors, when he believed in him, prayed with him, and became a Muslim. When God revealed 'name them after their fathers' (Sura 33. 5) he said, 'I am Zayd b. Hiritha.'

252. Abu Bakr's name was 'Abdullah. He was called 'Atiq because of his fine handsome face.

253. The words 'at his invitation' are not from I.I. where 'hold back means 'without delay', as in the line of Du'ba b. al-'Ajlan:

Worldly ties took her away and delayed not (*ta'ammu*).

254. This tribe was of B. Taymu; others say of Khuza'a.

255. Al-Qira was their nickname, it is said of them

Those who challenged the Qira at shooting played them fair.

They were a tribe of archers.

256. 'Amr b. Wa'il was the brother of Bakr of Rabi'a b. Nizar.

257. The person he was called al-Nahham was Muhammad the apostle and, 'I heard his singing in Paradise.' The name means his voice.

258. He had been born a slave among al-Asd; he was a black and Abu Bakr bought him from them.

259. Or Hartaynt.

260. His name was Mihshan b. 'Utba b. Rabi'a b. Lu'ayy.

261. Bahila brought him and sold him to al-Khaqqan b. Nafi' who adopted him; but when God revealed, 'Call them after their fathers' names,' he said, 'I am Wazid b. Abdullah,' according to what Abu 'Amr al-Madani said.

262. 'Ammar was an Anzi from Madhhij.

263. Nazir was the son of Qasit b. Hirb b. Afsa b. Jadila b. Asad b. Rabi'a b. Nizar. Some say of Afsa b. Du'mi b. Jadila. It is said that Suhayb was the freedman of Abdullah b. Jud'an b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym. It is also said that he was a Greek. One of those who maintain that he was from al-Nazir b. Qasit said that he was a prisoner in Byzantine territory and was bought from them. There is a tradition of the prophet which runs 'Suhayb is the first of the Greeks' (or to accept Islam).

264. *Furqan* means 'distinguish between truth and falsehood'. Abu Dhu'ayb

al-Hudhali whose name was Khuwaylid b. Khālid, describing wild asses and their mates, said

> It was as though they were a bundle of gaming arrows
> And a shuffler thereof dealing out the arrows and proclaiming what he produced

i.e. distinguishing the arrows and making their shares clear. [The allusion is to the game of *maysir* which was popular among the ancient Arabs. See *Mufad* 865, 17.]

Ru'ba al-'Ajjāj said

> You are the element and the avenging prince
> Declaring the truth and driving away the wrongdoer.

165. Abū Sufyān's name was Ṣakhr.

166. Al-Ā'ṣ b. Wā'il b. Hishām b. Sa'īd b. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ.

167. I have left out two verses in which he violently mocked him.

168. A variant reading is 'his root is in copious water'

169. *'Ānid* means 'obstinate opponent' as in the line of Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj

> We were smiting the head of the obstinate ('ānid).

170. *Ḥanū'* means 'he had an angry expression' as in the words of al-'Ajjāj:

> Flown in jaw, angry in visage, a biter,

describing a forbidding face.

171. The singular of *ashya'* is *shay'*. You say *ashya'ahu*, meaning 'they divided it' as in the line of Ru'ba

> The religion of God is not divided,

172. This is as much of the ode as seems to me to be genuine; many competent authorities on verse deny the authenticity of most of it.

A man I can trust told me that in a year of drought the people of Medina came to the apostle and complained of their trouble. He mounted the pulpit and prayed for rain. Hardly had the rain begun than the people living in exposed dwellings came to complain that they were inundated. The apostle said, 'O God, round us, not on us!' Thereupon the clouds moved away from the town itself and encircled it like a crown. The apostle said, 'If Abū Ṭālib could but have seen this day how he would have rejoiced!' One of his companions said, 'I suppose you refer to his line

> A noble man for whose sake the clouds drop rain,
> The support of orphans and the defence of widows,'

and he said 'Quite so.'

The expression 'its bushes' is not from I I

173. He was called al-Akhnas because he withdrew (*akhnasa*) with the people at the battle of Badr. Of course his name was Ubayy. He came from B. 'Ilij b. Abū Salma b. 'Auf b. 'Uqba

174. The words 'allied themselves with treacherous people against us' refer to B. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kināna. These are the Arabs whom Abū Ṭālib mentions in his verse above. [See p. 197, n. 4.]

175. I relates Abū Qays here to B. Wāqif, whereas in the story of the elephant he is related to Khuṭma. The reason is that the Arabs often relate a man to the brother of his grandfather if he happens to be better known.

Abū 'Ubayda told me that al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghiffārī was of the sons of Nu'aylā, brother of Ghālib b. Muliayl. Nu'aylā was the son of Muliayl b. Qurra b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāt. They had said that 'Ulba was the son of Ghanawī al-Salamī, he being of the sons of Nizār b. Ma'add. Salamī was I. Manṣūr. Abū Qays was of B. Wā'il: Wā'il, Wāqif, and Khuṭma are brothers of al-Asa.

176. 'The line "He as water poured at random" and the verse "If you bury spears" for and each a sword has chosen a religion" and his cavalry was in the plains were quoted to me by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and others. As to his words "Know you not what happened in the war of Dāḥis" Abū 'Ubayda told me that Dāḥis was a horse belonging to Qays b. Zuhayr b. al-Jalad b. Rawāḥa b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Qutay'a b. 'Abs b. Baghīḍ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān which he raced against a mare of Ḥudhayfa b. Badr b. Ḥarb b. 'Amr b. Zarb b. 'Awwāl b. Ghaḍūbān b. Tha'laba b. Adhī b. Fazāra b. Dhubyān b. Baghīḍ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān called al-Ghabrā. Ḥudhayfa had posted 40 men in ambush and ordered them to hit Dāḥis on the face if they saw him taking the lead. That is precisely what happened and so Ghabrā came in first. When the rider of Dāḥis came he told Qays what had happened, and his brother Mālik b. Zuhayr got up and slapped al-Ghabrā in his face whereupon Ḥamal b. Badr got up and slapped Mālik's face. Afterwards Abū'l-Junaydib al-Abasī fell in with 'Auf b. Ghaṭafān and killed him, then a man of the B. Fazāra met Mālik and killed him, and Ḥamal, Ḥudhayfa's brother, said:

> We have killed Mālik in revenge for 'Auf
> If you try to get more than your due from us you will be sorry

Al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-'Abasī said:

> After Mālik b. Zuhayr has been killed,
> Can women hope for marital delights?[1]

Then war broke out between Abs and Fazāra, and Ḥudhayfa b. Badr and his brother Ḥamal were killed. Qays b. Zuhayr was grieved and composed an elegy on him.

> How many a knight who is no knight is called (to war)
> But at al-Rabā' there was a true knight
> So weep for Ḥudhayfa; you will not mourn his like
> Lest tribes not yet born shall have perished.

He also said:

> The young man Ḥamal b. Badr did wrong,
> And injustice is an evil food.

[1] i.e. War will break out and then marital pleasures will be over

Al-Hārith b. Zuhayr the brother of Qays said

> I left at al-Habū'a without pride
> Hudhayfa's body and the broken spears

Some say that Qays raced the horses Dāhis and al-Ghabrā' while Hudhayfa raced al-Khattār and al-Hanfā' but the first account is the sounder. I cannot go into the story further because it interrupts the apostle's biography.

As to the words 'war of Hātib' the reference is to Hātib b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. Hawshab b. al-Hārith b. Umayya b. Mu'āwiya b. Mālik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik b. al-Aus who had killed a Jew under the protection of al-Khazraj. So Yazīd b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. Hāritha b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj knows as Ibn Fushum from his mother Fushum, a woman of al-Qayn b. Jasr, went out by night with a number of B. Hārith b. al-Khazraj and killed Hātib. Then war broke out between al-Aus and al-Khazraj and was waged fiercely until victory went to al-Khazraj. Suwayd b. Sāmit b. Khālid b. Ajlān b. Hārit b. Habīb b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik b. al-Aus was killed by al-Mujaddhir b. Dāwūd al-Bahwī whose name was 'Abdullāh, an ally of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj. Al-Mujaddhir went out with the apostle to the battle of Uhud and al-Hārith b. Suwayd went out with him. Al-Hārith took al-Mujaddhir off his guard and killed him in revenge for his father. I shall mention the story in its proper place if God will. I cannot go into the details of the war which followed for the reasons which have been given already.

177. A learned traditionist told me that the worst treatment that the apostle met from Quraysh was one day when he went out and everyone that met him, free or slave, called him a liar and insulted him. He returned to his house and wrapped himself up because of the violence of the shock. Then God revealed to him, 'O thou that art enwrapped. Rise and warn' (Sūra 74).

178. Others put 'Alqama and Kalada in reverse order.

179. He it is who according to my information said, 'I will send down something like what God has sent down.'

180. *Ikhbā'an nafsak* means 'committing suicide' according to what Abū 'Ubayda told me. Dhū'l-Rumma said

> O thou that destroyest thyself
> In longing for that which has left thee.

The plural is *ikhbā'āt* and *ikhbā'a*. The Arabs say 'I have impressed (*bakka'a*) my advice upon him', i.e. I have laboured so to do.

181. *Sa'īd* means 'the ground', pl. *su'ud*. **Dhū'l-Rumma**, describing a little gazelle, said:

> In the morning it kept early over the ground
> As though wine coursed through the very bones of its head.

Sa'īd also means 'the way' as you find in the tradition 'Beware of sitting by the wayside' meaning the road. The word *jurza* means 'barren land', pl. *ajrāz*. You can say *sana jurza*, 'a barren year', and *sinūn ajrāz*, i.e. years in

which no rain falls, and drought, desolation, and hardship result. The same poet describing camels wrote:

> Their bellies contain naught but disease and barrenness.
> They are nothing but inflated boots.

182. *Rāqim* is the book in which their story was inscribed [*raqima*], pl. *raqam*. Al-'Ajjāj said

> The place of the inscribed volume (*marqūm*).

183. *Shaṭaṭ* means 'exaggeration and going beyond what is right'. A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said

> They will not cease, nothing will halt the wicked
> But a thrust in which the oil and the wick perish.

[i.e. a deadly wound. *Dīwān*, ed. R. Geyer, xlviii. 1. 1, beginning *Ad ma la* as here].

184. *Tawāwaw* means 'to incline' from *aw*. Imru'al-Qays b. Hujr said.

> I am a chief: if I return a king
> I will be in such a way as to make the guide appear to be going astray.

Abū'l-Zahf al-Kulayḥī describing a district said

> The coarse salt herbage is not what we want
> To do without water for five days makes the camels thin.

Taqrifhum dhāt al-shimāl means passing them and leaving them on the left. Dhū'l-Rumma said.

> To hewdahs which passed by the sand-dunes of Mushrif
> To the left while on their right are the horsemen.

[A.Dh. says that *faqārib* means sandhills.]

Fajwa means 'space', pl. *fajā'*, as the poet says

> You clothed your people with shame and debasement
> Until they became outlaws and forsook the space where their dwellings were.

185. *Wajd* means 'a door'. 'Ubayd b. Wahb al-'Abdī said.

> In a desert land its door wide open to the
> In which my merits are not unknown.

Wafd also means 'outward'. Plurals *awfād*, *wufūd*, *waqafāt*, and *ayād* and *ayādī*.

186. His name was Alexander. He built Alexandria and it was named after him.

187. *Yanbū'* means 'water which bursts forth from the earth'. The plural is *yanābī'*. Ibn Hanna, whose name was Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Fihrī, said

> If you shed a tear in every dwelling
> Their source would dry, but your tears would be a spring (*yanbū'*).

Kisaf means 'portions of punishment'. The singular is *kisfa* like *sidra*; it is also the singular of *Mif*. *Qabil* is that which is opposite before the eyes, compare God's saying, 'Punishment will come to them straight at their faces' i.e. visibly (Qur. xl. 53).

Abū 'Ubayda quoted to me the lines of A'sha of the Banū Qays:

> I will befriend you until you do the same again,
> Like the cry of the woman in travail, where her midwife helps.[1]

She is then called because she faces her and receives her child. *Qabil* with the plural *qabal* means gathering, as in the Qur'ān, 'We will gather to them everything in groups' (Sūra vi. 111). 'The plural is like *wahal* and *nawr* and *qawr*, all of the *fa'al* form. *Qabil* also occurs in a proverb: 'He does not know the corner from the gear', i.e. he does not know how to distinguish what is turning [illegible] Zayd said, 'Affairs were to [illegible] tell the corner from the gear.'[2] It is said that by that word *qabil* is meant 'a thread'. What is twisted towards the forearm is the *qabil* and what is twisted towards the ends of the fingers is the *dabir*, so called because it comes forward and goes back, as I have explained. It is said that the thread of the spindle when it is twisted towards the knee is the *qabil* and when it is twisted towards the thigh it is the *dabir*. *Qabil* also is used of a man's tribe. *Zabarraj* means 'gold'. *Mazabbaraj* means 'adorned with gold'. Al-Ajlaḥ said: 'A ruined house, whose cornices you would think was a book, gilded and illuminated.' You can call any ornamented thing *mazabbaraj*.

188. *Nagla'an* means 'we will raise and drag', as the poet said:

> A people, who when they hear a cry for help,
> You see them holding their mares or taking hold of their footmen.

The *nādī* means 'the meeting place in which people gather together and [illegible] your assembly'. Another form of the word is *nadī*. A poet said:

> Look to your own affairs, for I belong to the Banū Asad,
> A people of assemblies, generosity, and meetings.

And in the book of God, 'and the best as a company' (Qur. xix. 73). The plural is *andiya*. 'Let him call his gang' is like the expression 'ask the city' (i.e. its people, meaning, of course, the people of the city).

Salama b. Jandal, one of B. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm said:

> There were two days, one a day of conference and meetings,
> And a day given up to a foray against the enemy.

And Al-Kumayt b. Zayd said:

> No verbose prattlers in the assembly
> And none silent under duress.[3]

[1] As A.D.b. But cf. Geyer's *Diwān of al-A'sha* (Gibb Memorial Series), 224, where the reading [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

Nādī means 'those sitting together' and *nādiyya* means rough, violent people, and in that context 'the guardians of Hell'. In reference to this world it means 'the troops who act as a man's bodyguard', and the singular is *nādiya*.

Ibn al-Zibaʿrā said in reference to them:

> Lavish in hospitality, thrusting in hands,
> *Zabāniya*, violent, coarse are their minds.

He means 'violent'. Sabīrā b. Abdullāh al-Hudhalī, the 'erring Sakr', said:

> And of Kabīr is a number of slow-deals.[1]

189. Others say of Asma b. Amal b. Rabī'a.

190. 'Uthmān b. Maʿ'ūn was in charge of them according to the information a traditionist gave me.

191. Himyarī.

192. Mu'ayqīb belonged to Dawṣ.

193. According to others Hawl b. Fīl b. Dhuqr and Dāsir b. Thawr.

194. Shamardal's name was 'Uthmān. He was called Shamardal for the reason that a demon came to Mecca in pagan times, a man so handsome as to excite general admiration. 'Ā'isha b. Rabī'a, who was the maternal uncle of Shamardal, said, 'I will bring you a Shamardal more handsome than he,' and he fetched his sister's son 'Uthmān b. 'Āmir, and so he was called Shamardal according to what Ibn Shihāb and others said.

195. Others say Hubaysha b. Salūl who was called Mu'awwiḍ b. Hawwāl.

196. Shawāhid b. Abdullāh, one of the Ghawth b. Murr, brother of Tawāma b. Murr.

197. Al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il b. Hishām b. Sa'd b. Sahm.

198. Sa'd b. Khaula was from the Yamāma.

199. Another reading is *dhawu* 'great wealth', and maybe 'you may pasture at will'. *Dabr* in Abyssinian means 'mountain'.

200. A traditionist told me that his son added, 'May God reward him well,' to which he replied, 'May God not reward him well' (presumably because he was not a Muslim).

201. And, it is said, al-Nazr b. al-Ḥārith.

202. *Tabbat* means 'he lost' and *tabāb* means 'loss'.

Habīb b. Khālid al-Khārijī, one of B. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, said:

> O Tāb, we are among a people
> Whose glory has departed in death and destruction (*tabāb*).

[1] Kabīr was a [illegible] of Hudhayl [illegible]

203. *Jid* means 'neck', as in the verse of A'shā of B. Qays:

> The day that Qutayla showed us a lovely neck
> Which necklaces adorned

(*Dīwān*, p. 140 6 (with unimportant variants)). The plural is *ajyād*. *Masad* is fibre crushed like cotton, and rope is twisted from it. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī whose name was Zeyād b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya said

> Many a fat young mare has a tooth
> Which has a sound like the waterwheel and the rope.[1]

The singular is *masada*.

204. The words 'his religion we loathe and hate' are not from I.I.

205. *Hamaza* is one who insults a man publicly. He shuts his eyes upon him and winks at him. Ḥassān b. Thābit said

> I bit into you with a rhyme that burnt like fire
> And you grovelled in humiliation.[2]

Plural *hamazāt*. *Lamaza* is one who insults a man secretly. Ru'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj said.

> In the shadow of him who oppresses, despises, and slanders me

Plural *lumaza*.

206. *Affāk* means 'liar'. Cf. 'Lo, it is of their lying that they say God has begotten. Verily they tell a lie' (Sūra 37. 151). Ru'ba said

> Not of a man who uttered a lying speech.

207. The *waqūd* of Gehenna is everything that is kindled in it. Abū Dhu'ayb al-Hudhalī whose name was Khuwaylid b. Khālid said

> Quench, do not kindle, and do not feed the flame
> Of war lest its horrors hasten on you.

Another reading is 'And do not be the firestick' [the equivalent of our poker. *Dīwān* xxx, C. 6]. As the poet says

> I stirred up my fire for him and he saw the blaze.
> Unless I had stirred it he would have missed the way

208. *Muhl* means molten bronze or lead or any other metal, according to what Abū 'Ubayda told me. We were told that al-Ḥasan b. Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Basrī said: Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd was put in charge of the treasury of Kūfa by 'Umar. One day he ordered silver to be melted down, and it began to change its colour, so he ordered everyone who was near the door to come

[1] The poet was a man who had lost one of the teeth which was in the front of his mouth. [illegible]

[2] [illegible] It will be found that [illegible] words [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] B. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

in and look at it, saying, 'The nearest thing to *muhl* which you will ever see is this.'[1]

The poet said:

> My Lord will give him molten metal to swallow at a draught.
> It will shrivel the faces while it is molten in his belly

It is said that *muhl* also means pus. I have been told that Abū Bakr when he was at the point of death ordered that two old garments should be washed and that he should be wrapped in them. 'Ā'isha said to him, 'My dear father, Allāh has so enriched you that you do not need them, so buy a shroud.' He answered: 'It will be only an hour until it becomes pus.'

The poet said:

> He mingled toothsome pus from it with water
> Then he drank death draught after draught.

209. I. Umm Maktūm was one of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy whose name was Abdullāh, or, according to some, 'Amr.

210. *Nahb* means 'plunder'. I have omitted the last verse.

211. 'They were all confederates and were called Aḥābīsh because they had made an alliance in a valley called al-Aḥbash below Mecca.

212. A traditionist told me that the apostle said to Abū Ṭālib, 'O uncle, Allāh my Lord has given worms power over the Quraysh document. They have left every name of God on it and destroyed the injustice, boycott, and malice.' He said: 'Do your Lord tell you of this?' and when he said that He had, he was angered greatly, more than had come to me before. Immediately he went and told Quraysh what Muḥammad had said and commanded them to look to their document. 'If it is as my nephew says, then end your boycott and your course of action; if he is lying, I have him over to you.' The people were satisfied with this offer and bound themselves accordingly. On inspection they found that the apostle was right, but this but increased their malice. Thereupon a number of Quraysh took steps, which have just been recorded, to destroy the boycott.

213. The word 'both' (in v. 2) is not from I.I. As to the words 'you protected from a apostle from them', the point is this: When the apostle departed from al-Ṭā'if having failed to convert his people, he went to Ḥira. Then he sent to al-Akhnas b. Sharīq to ask his protection. He replied that he was a *ḥalīf*,[2] and as such could not grant protection. The apostle then appealed to Suhayl b. 'Amr, who replied that B. 'Āmir did not give protection against B. Ka'b. Finally he sent to al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī, who agreed. Thereupon he armed himself and his household and went out to the mosque. There he invited the apostle to enter. He did so and walked round the temple and

[1] The text has al-mufīḍ which means 'he sided of the bar'. This seems to yield a good sense and [illegible] adopted the reading suggested to me by Professor Albert al-Mamun.

[2] The *ḥalīf* often rendered 'ally' was a refugee who had sought and obtained protection from a tribe, though admitted to the tribe could not use the name of the tribe and give a protection which might be upheld by every other member. This al-Akhnas' reply was perfectly correct.

prayed there. Then he went to his house. That is what Hassān is referring to. [This is an abbreviation of I.I.'s account in T 1203.]

214. Hifsān was one of Sufyān or Sulaym.

215. Or *ḥawl*.

216. AL-A'SHĀ OF THE BANŪ QAYS B. THA'LABA

Khālid b. Qurra b. Khālid al-Sadūsī and other shaykhs of Bakr b. Wā'il from scholars told me that al-A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba b. 'Ukāba b. Sa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il went to the apostle desiring to accept Islam and composed the following poem in praise of the apostle:[1]

Did your sore eyes not close the night
You lay sleepless as though a snake had bitten you?
'Twas not for desire of women, for before this
You had forgotten the society of Mahdad.
But I see that Time the deceiver
Destroys again what my hands have repaired.
Youth, maturity, and wealth I've lost.
In God's name, how this Time does change!
Ever since I was young have I sought wealth
In all four stages of man's growth.
I made full use of the swift tawny camels
Racing across the land between al-Hujayr and Sarḥad.
If you ask about me (and many an importunate
Asks about A'shā) whether he has gone
O you who ask me whether they are going,
I tell you they have a meeting with the people of Medina.
She urges forward her swift bindleg,
Folding back her forelegs but not as though hobbled.
In the noonday's savage heat she's frisky
When you'd think the chameleon would sink his head.[2]
I swore I would not spare her fatigue
Or footsoreness till we met Muhammad.
When she kneels at the door of Hāshim's son
She may rest and partake of his bounty
A prophet who sees what you cannot see,
Whose reputation has reached the lowlands and the hills.
His gifts and presents are not intermittent
If he gives today it does not stop him giving tomorrow
I adjure thee, did you not hear the counsel of Muhammad
The prophet of God when he counselled and warned?
If you do not travel with provision of piety
And after death meet one who has taken such provision
You will regret that you are not like him

[1] See *Gedichte von Abū Baṣīr Maimūn b. Qays al-A'shā* ..., ed. Rudolf Geyer (Gibb Memorial Series), London, 1928, pp. 101 . I have transposed verses 7 and 8 in the text of the *Sīra*, as the order of the *Dīwān* is obviously right. The text will repay collation.

[2] This creature is said to face the sun throughout its daily course, and at noon it would (and should) peer up at the sky.

With preparation such as he has made.
Beware of the bodies of animals—touch them not,
Bleed them not with an iron arrow.
Do not venerate standing stones
Nor worship idols, but worship God.
Come not near a free woman—she is unlawful to you.
Marry or remain celibate.
Wrong not your kinsman
Nor the prisoner in bonds.
Glorify God night and morning.
Praise God and not Satan.
Mock not the poor man in his need,
Nor think that wealth can make a man immortal.[1]

When he was near Mecca or actually in it one of the heathen Quraysh met him and he told him that he was making for the apostle of God to adopt Islam. He said to him, 'O Abū Baṣīr, he prohibits fornication!' Al-A'shā replied, 'But that's something I've no desire for.' 'Ah, but he forbids wine!' 'Now that's something that I still take pleasure in. I will go away and drink long and deeply for a year and then return and accept Islam.' So he went away and died in the year so that he did not return to the apostle.

217. Some say Irisha.

218. *Yuḥibbūna ḥayḥi* means 'incline to' and *ḥīd* is 'inclining away from the truth'. Ru'ba b. al-Ajjāj said

When every heretic (*mulḥid*) followed al-Dahhāk.

Al-Dahhāk the Khārijite.

219. The owner of Malhūb was 'Auf b. al-Ahwaṣ b. Ja'far b. Kilāb who died in Malhūb. When he says 'at al-Radā' in the house of another great man' he means Shurayḥ b. al-Ahwaṣ who died in al-Radā'. By Kawthar he means Ṣadir, for the former is derived from the latter. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd said in praise of Hishām b. 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān.

You are *ṣādir*, O Ibn Marwān, good:
And your father, the son of noble women, was great (*kawthar*).

Umayya b. Abū 'Ā'idh al-Hudhalī describing a wild ass said:

He protects his females when they run
And bray in clouds of dust as though covered with a cloth.

By *kawthar* he means a cloud of dust which he likens to horsecloths because of its denseness.

220. i.e. Ja'far b. 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī.

221. The following description of the apostle comes from 'Umar, freedman of Ghufra from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. 'Alī used to

[1] It will be observed that Ibn Isḥāq knows nothing about this poem which, especially in its later verses, falls below the high standard of Arabic verse. For enlightened Arab criticism see Ṭā Ḥā Ḥusayn, *Fī'l-adabi'l-jāhilī*, p. 218

say when he described the apostle. He was neither too tall nor unduly short but of normal height; his hair was not too curly nor lank but definitely curly; his face was not fat nor too rounded; it was white tinged with red; his eyes were black, fringed with long lashes; he was firmly knit and broad shouldered; the hair on his body was fine, thick on hands and feet. When he walked he picked his feet up smartly as though he were going down hill; when he turned he turned his whole body; between his shoulders was the seal of prophecy, he being the seal of the prophets. He was the most generous of men, the boldest, most veracious, most faithful to his undertaking, the gentlest with easy manners, the noblest in social intercourse. Those who saw him for the first time were overcome with awe; those who knew him well loved him. Neither before nor after him have I seen his like. God bless and preserve him!'

222. Add I. Sa'ayd b. Salma.

223. I have omitted a verse which is obscure.

224. Abū 'Ubayda told me that the woman who stood up in defence of Dirār was Umm Jamīl and since others say it was Umm Ghaylān, it may well be that both played their part with the other women who were there. When 'Umar came to power I came [and] came to him, for she thought that he was his friend and when her genealogy had been given he knew her story and said to her: 'I am not but human; can you an relain. There is now no service service. I know how much he owes you.' So he made her a gift as though she were a traveller. The narrator says: He said: Dirār had met 'Umar at the battle of Badr when he began to beat him with the flat of his sword saying, 'Be off with you, I. al-Khaṭṭāb, I will not kill you!' 'Umar remembered this in his favour since he had become a Muslim. [This is a passage which W. relegated to his critical notes, but which I prefer without comment. The expression 'The narrator says' is unique in the Sīra and therefore to be suspected, on the other hand, the story rings true.

225. 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ said:

> News came to me from Tamīm that they
> Were indignant and wrathful at the slain of 'Āmir

See *Diwān of 'Abīd*, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, 1913, p. 16. Considerable uncertainty about the word, *dhā'ūn* perhaps. [Commentators, ancient and modern, differ. The reading of the *Diwān* and T. *tughādiyāh* seems preferable to C.'s *to agree*.] W. has *ra'a abā*, 'found it hard to bear'.

226. Rabī'a b. 'Abbād is the correct form.

227. Al-Nābigha said:

> As though you were a camel of the Banū Uqaysh
> With an old skin rattling behind your legs

(to scare it into movement).

228. Fīrūz b. 'Abdullāh b. Salama b. Qunbuṣ b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a.

229. Afīf was s. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār.

230. Others say 'Āmir b. al-Azraq.

231. 'Amr was Ibn Sawād. He had no son called Ghanm.

232. Dhakwān was an emigrant and a helper.

233. They were called Qawāqil because whenever anyone asked for their protection they used to say as they handed him an arrow, 'Walk where you like in Yathrib with it.' *Qawqala* means a way of walking.

234. Tayyibān can be spelt Tayibān like *sayyid* and *mayt*.

235. Zafar's name was Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus.

236. The two verses beginning 'were it not' and the last line were quoted to me by a man of the Anṣār or a man of Khuzā'a.

237. 'Amr b. Ayyūb al-Anṣārī said:

> To us belongs the man who was the first to pray
> Facing the Rahmān's Ka'ba between the sacred sites.

meaning al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr.

238. *Hudna* can be read *hudum*, meaning sanctity, i.e. what is sacred to you is sacred to me and your 'blood' is my blood.

239. He was Ghanm b. 'Auf, brother of Sālim b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf.

240. Though some say the last name should be b. Khunays.

241. The learned number among them Abū'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, but they do not include Rifā'a.

Ka'b b. Mālik mentions them in the poem which Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me:

> Tell Ḥārith that his opinion was false
> He died on the morning of the battle, and death is one inhabitant
> May God refuse what your soul desires
> He was and years of life watches the affairs of men
> Tell Abū Sufyān that there appeared to us
> A shining light of God's guidance in Ahmad
> Don't be too eager in gathering what you want
> But gather whatever you can.
> Beware! Know that when the tribe gave their allegiance[a]
> They refused to allow you to break our covenant.
> Both al-Barā' and Ibn 'Amr refused,
> As did also Sa'd and Rāfi'
> Sa'd al-Sā'idī refused and Mundhir
> Would cut off your nose if you attempted it

[a] where fealty was sworn, i.e.

[b] Or 'which they followed one after the other.' This is one of the forger's favourite words.

Ibn Rabi' if you got his word
Would not surrender him. Let none hope for that
Likewise Ibn Rawaha would not give him up to you
He would rather drink deadly poison than perjure himself
In loyalty to him. And al-Qaqqil b. Sinut
is far from doing what you propose.
Abu Hurayra also was faithful,
Bound by his word.
You cannot hope to get Ibn Hudayr's help
Why don't you abandon your foolish error?
Sa'd the brother of 'Amr b. 'Auf
Is utterly opposed to your suggestion.
These are stars which will bring you ill fortune
When they rise in the darkness of the night

Thus Ka'b mentions Abu'l-Haytham among them, but he passes over Rifa'a.

242. Sahl was a woman of Khazraj married Umm Ubayy b. Malik b. al-Harith b. 'Ubayd b. Malik b. Salim b. Ghanm b. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj.

243. The name is also written I. Uqayb.

244. The man who took pity on him was Abu'l-Bakhtari b. Hishami.

244a. For Amar Aariyyam some say *Amar hayfam*.

245. The name is sometimes spelt Za'urd.

246. I.I. relates him to B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, but he was of B. Ghanm b. al-Salim. It often happens that when a man lives among a tribe he is supposed to be related to them.

247. Or Umayya b. al-Bark.

248. Or Rifa'a b. al-Harith b. Sawad.

249. Hudayla was d. Malik b. Zayd Manat b. Habib b. 'Abda Hiritha b. Malik b. Ghafl b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj.

250. The genealogy of Ghaziya should be Ghaziya b. 'Amr b. 'Atiya b. Khansa'.

251. Some say Wadi'a.

252. Some spell the name Jabbar.

253. Sayfi was I. Aswad b. Abbad b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawad. Sawad had no son called Ghanm.

254. 'Umayr was the son of al-Harith b. Labda b. Tha'laba.

255. The Aus referred to above was I. Abbad b. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Uthman b. Sa'd. (For Uthman W. has Udayy.)

256. His ancestor Ghanm b. 'Auf was the brother of Salim b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf.

257. al-Ghalid was Salim b. Ghanm b. 'Auf and he got the name from his big belly. [See S. 19 n.

258. Rifa'a was the son of Malik b. al-Walid b. Abdullah b. Malik b. Tha'laba b. Jusham b. Malik b. Salim.

259. al-Mundhir was the son of 'Amr b. Khanash.

260. This verse really comes from an ode of Abu Du'ad al-Iyadi. The word *ghi* means painful distress. Some manuscripts add 'in another context "need" is the meaning, the word also means "sin".

261. The word *qatl* means 'war', as in the line of Labid b. Rabi'a:

> 'The fate of every freeborn man is one
> However many they be.

(Diwan, Cairo, 1891, 19.)

262. Others say Hunayya.

263. The words 'anywhere but to Yathrib,' and 'when friendship is lacking' are not from I.I. By *idh* he means *idhā* 'when' as in the word of Allah (Sūra 34, 30) 'Ah the sinners are stationed before their Lord'. Abu Nuwas al-Ijli said

> Then may God reward him for us when He awards
> The gardens of Eden in highest heaven.

264. One I can trust told me that the apostle said when he was in Medina: 'Who will bring me Ayyash and Hishām?' Al-Walid b. al-Walid b. al-Mughira volunteered to do so and came to Mecca secretly. He met a woman carrying some food and asked her where she was going. She said that she was going to two prisoners, and he followed her so that he would learn where they were. He found that they were in a house which had no roof, and when night fell he climbed the wall; then he took a stone and put it under their fetters and cut them through with a stroke of his sword. For this reason his sword was called 'the fetter-cutter'. Then he mounted them on his camel and led them away. He stumbled and cut his toe and said:

> You are naught but a toe that bled,
> This has happened to you in the way of Allah.

Then he took them to the apostle in Medina. [W. ascribes this passage to I.I. himself.]

265. Abu Khaulī belonged to B. 'Ijl b. Lujaym b. Sa'b b. Ali b. Bakr b. Wa'il.

266. It was mentioned to me that Abu 'Ubayda al-Nahwi said that he had heard that when Suhayb wanted to emigrate the unbelieving Quraysh said, 'You came to us a penniless beggar and have acquired wealth among us and then you think that you can go off with your money? By God, that shall not be!' However, Suhayb was so eager to be off that he made his money over to them, and when the apostle heard of it he exclaimed twice 'Suhayb has made a profit!'

267. Or Husayn.

268. Sālim was the former slave of Thubayta d. Ya'ār b. Zayd b. 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik b. al-Aus. When she freed him he was attached to Abū Hudhayfa, who adopted him. Others call him Sālim, freedman of Abū Hudhayfa, and it is said that Thubayta was the wife of the latter and that she freed him and so he got the name of Abū Hudhayfa's freedman.

269. *Mawt* means 'death'; *rawā'i'l-mawt* means its dread and its occurrence as in the line of Abū Dhu'ayb al-Hudhalī:

> Are you distressed at the thoughts of death and its occurrence?
> Fate does not excuse those who fear.

270. A learned traditionist told me that al-Hasan b. Abū'l-Hasan al-Basrī said that when they came to the cave at night Abū Bakr went in and searched it to see if it harboured wild beasts or snakes, guarding the apostle with his own life.

271. I have heard more than one learned traditionist say 'She of the two girdles', the explanation being that when she wanted to fasten on the bag she tore her girdle in two, using one piece as a rope and the other as her girdle.

272. Umm Ma'bad belonged to B. Ka'b of Khuzā'a. The words 'who pitied in the two tents and they came with good intent and went off at nightfall' do not come from I.I. [However, T. (1240–1), who often ignores I.I.'s verses, quotes these lines with a few variations as does I.S. 156, 7.]

273. Others say 'Abdullāh b. Uraygit.

274. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān was I. al-Hārith b. Mālik b. Ja'shum.

275. Others say Lift, as in the line of Ma'qil b. Khuwaylid al-Hudhalī:

> A stranger from the people of Lift drawing milk
> For a clan between Achīs and Nihlan.

276. Or Mijlaj.

277. Or al-Adwayn.

278. Or al-Abkhib or al-Tkhyhot which means al-Abkhib.

279. Or al-Ojja.

280. Or al-Ghā'ir.

281. This is no rajaz but bald prose. [Few will be found to dispute this statement!]

282. I asked more than one authority on poetry about this rajaz and all they would say was that they had heard that Ali composed it, but it was not known whether he had or not.

283. The *mufrish* is one burdened with debt and a large family as the poet says:

> If you never return what has been left in your care
> And take charge of more property the trust-money will make you a pauper.

284. Another version is 'in beneficent loyalty'. *Yūlaj* means 'to destroy' or 'ruin'.

285. Ja'far at that time was absent in Abyssinia.

286. I have heard more than one learned person say that Abū Dharr was Jundub b. Junāda.

287. Some say 'Uwaymir was the son of Āmir or of Zayd.

288. T. 'Urwa mentioned that Ark said to him: I heard 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr al-Laythī say: The prophet and his companions had conferred about a clapper for summoning to prayer and while 'Umar was intending to buy two pieces of wood for the clapper he heard in his sleep a voice saying, 'Don't make a clapper, but call to prayer.' So he went to the apostle to tell him of what he had seen and the prophet himself had actually had a revelation of it. 'Umar had hardly got back to his house when Bilāl was calling. When he told the apostle of this he said, 'Revelation got before you.'

289. His full name was Abū Qays Sirma b. Abū Anas b. Sirma b. Mālik b. 'Adiy b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Adiy b. al-Najjār.

290. There is a variant *fa-fuddiyatan* for *fa-fiqāmatan*.

291. The line beginning 'Go where you will' and the following verse are the work of Ubān al-Taghlibī who was Sawwān b. Ma'dān.[1]

292. Or Luqayt.

293. Or I. Dayf.

294. Or Amr b. Amr.

295. *Ādin* means 'painful'. Describing camels Dhū'l-Rumma said:

> We urge on the tall camels
> While the painful heat of noon smites them in the face. [*Dīwān* xxvi. 16.]

296. al-Mujadhdhar had killed Suwayd b. Sāmit in one of the engagements between Aus and Khazraj, and as Ubud al-Hārith sought to take al-Mujadhdhar unawares to kill him in revenge for his father. It was only this man that he killed. I have heard more than one learned traditionist say this. The proof that he did not kill Qays b. Zayd is that I.I. does not mention him among those that died at Uhud.

297. Mu'attib b. Qushayr and Tha'laba and al-Hārith, the two sons of Hātib of B. Umayya b. Zayd, were at Badr and were not hypocrites, according

[1] Hirschfeld included this poem in Ibrahim's *Diwān*. Cf. No. 312 and H.'s note on p. 41.

to what a trustworthy traditionist told me. I.I. himself includes Tha'laba and al-Hirith among the B. Umayya who were at Badr.

298. I.e. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus.

299. *'Aura* means 'open to the enemy and abandoned', plural *'uwar*. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī said:

> When you meet them you don't find a house exposed to attack.
> The guest is not forbidden and nothing is neglected.

'Aura also means a man's wife, and also the pudenda.

300. *Ardjak* means 'Go back by the way you came', as in the words of the poet:

> He went back and retraced his steps
> And he who was there behaved unjustly.

301. *Lada* means 'a blow with the clenched fist'. Tarafa b. Ubayy b. Mughīl said:

> The heart pounded beneath its arteries
> Like the thump of a stone which a boy throws into soft ground.

Ghayb means 'low ground'. *Abhur* are the arteries of the heart.

302. Bi'ida b. Ju'ayya al-Hudhalī said:

> They said, We saw people standing round him.
> There was no doubt that a man had been killed there.

Rayb also means 'suspicion', as in the line of Khālid b. Zuhayr al-Hudhalī:

> As though I suspected him.

He was the son of the brother of Abū Dhu'ayb al-Hudhalī.

303. *Amlah* means 'bewildered'. The Arabs say a man is 'amlah and *amah*, Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj describing a country said:

> The blindest guidance is from the ignorant in perplexity.

Plural of *amah* is *amam*, and plural of *amm* is *amamin*: lists *amaha* and 'amahā'.

304. *Sayyib* means rain from *sabb*, *yasubbu*, like *sayyid* from *sada*, *yasuddu* and *sayyit* from *mata*, *yamūtu*. Plural *sayā'ib*. Al-Aqra' b. Abadī, one of B. Rabī'a b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, said:

> When the clouds poured down on them
> They were like birds creeping about in terror of the thunder.

and the line:

> Do not think me an inexperienced wight
> May rains refresh you wherever they fall.

305. *Audād* means 'the like things'; singular *wadd*. Labīd b. Rabī'a said:

> Praise God who has no rival.
> In His hands is good; what He wills He does.

306. *Tahra* means 'so that we can see clearly with nothing to conceal Him from us'. Abū'l-Akhzar al-Hummānī, named Quraybā, said:

> Making plainly visible the midst of the waters which was covered with sand.

Here *tahrahu* means 'bringing the water to light and clearing away from it the mud and other matter which was hiding it'.

307. *Manna* is something which fell on their trees in the early morning and they used to gather it; it is sweet like honey. They both ate and drank of it. al-A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said:

> If they were given manna and quails to eat on the ground
> A man would never see good food among them!

Salwā are birds, singular *sahwī*; another name for them is *sumānā*. Honey, too, is called *salwā*. Khālid b. Zuhayr al-Hudhalī said:

> He came to them, by God it's true,
> You're sweeter than honey fresh from the comb.

Nīqū means 'Remove our sins from us'.

308. The tradition appears in a slightly different form with *tawa* for *fūm* and *sha'īra* for *thu'ra*.

309. *Fūm* is wheat. Umayya b. Abū'l-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī said:

> On large dishes like cisterns there were
> Pieces like silver among the pure wheat.

Wadhā'i means pieces of silver and *fūm* is flour; singular *fūma*.

310. *Illā amānīya* means 'except reciting', because the *ummī* is one who can recite but cannot write. He says that they do not know how to write but they can read a book. I.H. said on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda and Yūnus that they interpreted what God says to refer to the Arabs. Abū 'Ubayda told me about that. Yūnus b. Habīb the grammarian and Abū 'Ubayda told us that the Arabs say *tamannā* in the sense of 'he recited' and in the Qur'ān we find 'We never sent an apostle or a prophet before thee but when he recited Satan cast (something) into his recitations' (Sūra xx. 51). [As the context shows, this could mean: 'when he desired something Satan cast something into his desire.'] Abū 'Ubayda the grammarian quoted to me:

> He recited God's book at the beginning of the night
> And at the end of it death claimed him.

and also:

> He recited God's book at night alone
> As David recited the psalms at his ease.

The singular of *amānī* is *umniya*; *amānī* can also mean a man's desire for wealth and other things. [There is no real distinction between reading and reciting. Right down to the Middle Ages it was a matter of surprise if a man was able to read a text without forming the words with his lips and so reciting it.]

311. *Sifaha* means 'pour out'. The Arabs say 'he shed his blood' and 'he poured out wine'. The poet says

> Whenever a guest comes into our land
> We shed the blood of the victims in the dusty earth.

By *hal* is meant clay mingled with sand which the Arabs call *ashla*. The word occurs in a *hadith* when Pharaoh said 'I believe that there is no God but He in whom the children of Israel believe' Gabriel took some river mud and slime and threw it in his face. *Hal* is like *haw'a*.

312. *Ba'a bi-ghaldihi* means 'they admitted it and bore it'. A shi'r of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said.

> I will befriend you until you do the same again
> Like the cry of the woman in travail whom the midwife helps.

[This line has been quoted on W. 199, q.v., *Yamrathu* means 'made her sit down to bring forth'.

313. *Shafa'in* means 'shoots', singular *shafa'atun*. The Arabs say *qad ashfa'a al-zar'u*, 'the seed has sprouted' when it has put forth its shoots. *Amara* means 'strengthened'. That which preceded it is like mothers. Because he has explained 'shoots' by *firakh* which could mean 'chicks', Imru'u-Qays b. Hujr al-Kindi said

> On a slope whose herbage equalled the lote trees
> The track of conquering and defeated armies.

Hunayd b. Malik b. al-Arqat one of B. Rabi'a b. Malik said

> Seed produce and clover whose herbage is matted and strong.

Sily without hamza is plural of *silw*, the stem of a plant.

314. *Sawa'in* means the middle (of the path), as in the lines of Hassan b. Thabit

> Alas for the prophet's helpers and family
> After his was concealed in the middle of the grave!

315. *Shatra* means 'towards'. Amr b. Akhnas al-Bahili (Bahila was the son of Ya'sur b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Aylan) describing his camel, said

> She takes us towards Jam, tucking her tail between her legs,
> Her tail nearly reaches her girth.

Qays b. Khuwaylid al-Hudhali, also describing his camel, said

> The sluggish (*al*, unmilked) camel has an all-pervading disease
> One looks at her with a tired eye.

Ma'ila is his camel: she had a disease and he looked at her with a tired eye. The word occurs in Sūra 67. 4.

316. *Rabbaniyyūn* are the learned, the lawyers, and the clerks. The singular is *rabbani*. A poet said

> Were I living as a monk in a cell
> Her voice would have enticed me forth and the most learned of them too!

Lane, 1a 5, c, indicates that 'neglected' is a possible meaning.

Qilā means a monk's cell, *alhaan* in the dialect of Tamim, *fatasawwi* being the dialect of Qays. Jarir said

> There's no union when Hind departs. Had she stayed
> She would have entertained me and the catechist within his cell.

i.e. the monk's cell. *Rabbani* is derived from *rabb* which means 'master'. In God's book you find 'He gave his master wine to drink' (12. 41), where *rabb* means 'master'.

317. Abu Qays b. al-Aslat said

> I was pained at the loss of a doughty defender.
> A permanent grief afflicted me.
> Though you killed him, a
> Sharp sword has bitten into Amr's head.

The story of Bu'ath is too long to go into here for the reasons which I have given above. *Sarfa* is the same as *marwa* from *sarwaha*, 'he sharpened it'.

318. The *ahd* of the night are the hours, the singular being *hour*. Al-Mutanakhkhil al-Hudhali whose name was Malik b. 'Uwaymir said bewailing the loss of his son Uthayla

> Sweet and bitter was his nature like the shuffling of gaming arrows
> At any hour the night demanded he stood ready shod.

Labid b. Rabi'a describing a wild ass said.

> Throughout the day he is as excited as though he were a misguided fellow
> Whom a boon-companion had given wine among the wine sellers

According to what Yunus told me you can say *laan* with *alif maqsura* [S. points out that *laan* is used in the Qur'an.]

319. *Tawwa* means to rub off and make level so that eye, nose, mouth and everything that made up the face is no more to be seen, similarly 'We blotted out their eyes' (Sūra 54. 37), the effaced of eye with no gap between his eyelids, and you can say 'I erased the writing and the mark so that nothing can be seen of it'. Al-Akhnas whose name was al-Ghauth b. Hubayra b. al-Salt al-Taghlibi, describing a camel he had tried hardly, said

> We gave her the hard task of going to every distant well whose mark was obliterated
> Where you can see the chameleons writhing in the heat. (Aidha) 7. 5

Shaw in the singular is *shawa*, which means a mark to indicate a road or a waterhole. He says that it was rubbed off and made level with the ground so that there was nothing showing above the soil.

320. *al-Jibt* among the Arabs means whatever is worshipped other than God. *Taghūt* means everything that leads away from the truth: plural *tuqā* and *tawāghīt*. I was told that Abu Najih said that *jibt* means sorcery and *taghūt* Satan.

321. This paragraph is what I.I. said: what follows continues the preceding *adith*.

322. *Ayyāna* means 'when', as in the line of Qays b. al-Hudādiya al-Khuzā'ī:

> With a secret that we shared I came
> To ask her when he who was away would return.

Marsāha means 'end' and the plural is *marāsī*. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī said:

> And those who found the door which others missed
> The haven of the principles of Islam. (*Aghā.* xv. 123, 26.)

The *mursā* of a ship is where it comes to rest. *Hafiyun anka* comes in a sentence in which the order is inverted. He says 'They will ask you about it as though you would favour them, i.e. tell them what you will not tell anyone else. *Al-hafiy* means 'the kind, the considerate' and in God's book 'Verily He is gracious to me' (19. 48). The plural is *ahfiyā'*. A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said

> If you ask about me, many a one asks about A'shā,
> 'Where has he gone? Good friends that they are.

Hafiy also means *al-mustaqṣī*, the one who exceeds all bounds in asking questions.

323. *Yuddūna* means they imitate their speech, the speech of the infidels. If you say something and someone says the same thing he copies (*yuddū*) you.

324. *Ẓahīr* means 'help'. The Arabs say *taẓāharū 'alayhi*, i.e. they helped one another against him. The poet said

> O namesake of the prophet, you were a support to religion
> And a help to the imam.

The plural is *aẓhirā'*.

325. *al-ṣamad* means one on whom one depends and in whom one takes refuge. Hind d. Ma'bad b. Nadla mourning Amr b. Mas'ūd and Khālid b. Nadla her two uncles the Asadites (they were killed by al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir al-Lakhmī and he built the two standing stones which are in Kūfa over them) said

> One came early to tell me of the death of the two heirs of Asad,
> Amr b. Mas'ūd and the dependable chief (*al-ṣamad*).

[The meaning of this word is most obscure and commentators on the Qorān differ widely. The Gharīyān were two standing stones which were smeared with the blood of the victims sacrificed there. See W. R. Smith, *RS* 154, 201, 210 and the literature cited there. For the present-day survival of the rite see Freya Stark, *A Winter in Arabia*, London, 1940, 153.]

326. Others say Ḥurz.

327. I have heard that the chiefs of Najrān used to inherit books from their predecessors. Whenever one chief died and authority passed to his successor he would seal those books with the seals that were before his time and not break them. The chief, contemporary with the prophet, went out walking and stumbled and his son said, 'May so-and-so stumble' (meaning the prophet), and his father said to him, 'Don't say that, for he is a prophet and his name is in the deposits' (meaning the books). As soon as he was dead his son ran and broke the seals and found in the books the mention of the prophet, so he became a good Muslim and went on pilgrimage. It was he who said

> To you she runs with loosened girth,
> Her foal 'tis clear soon comes to birth.
> The Christian faith she scorns its worth.

Wadha means a camel's girth. Hishām b. 'Urwa said that the 'Iraqis added the second line; but Abū 'Ubayda quoted it in its place.

328. *Kaffalahā* means 'he took her to himself'.

329. *Aqlāmahum* means their arrows by which they cast lots for her. Zacharīyā's lot came out and he took her according to what al-Ḥasan b. Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said.

330. *al-ahmaq* is one who is born blind. Ru'ba b. al-Ajjāj said:

> I cried out and it withdrew as a blind man does.

Plural *humq*. *Ḥarraja* means 'I cried out at the lion and threatened it'.

331. Abū 'Ubayda said *nabtahil* means 'let us invoke a curse'. A'shā of B. Qays said

> Don't sit down when you have kindled the fire of war
> Praying for protection from an evil when it comes and cursing foolly.

[C reads 'we', &c., but the context (see *Mirdās* vi. 32) shows that W is right.] He means 'We will invoke a curse'. The Arabs say God *bahala* someone, i.e. 'May he curse him'; and 'on him be the *bahla* of God' or *lubla*, i.e. the curse. *Tabāhala* also means to be earnest in prayer. It would seem more natural to adopt this meaning here in spite of I.H.,

332. There is a variant reading *nalim* for *nabtahil*.

333. Muzāḥim is the name of a fort.

334. The second verse has not I.I.'s authority.

335. By his *jaw* he means his *jāh* (might).

336. Shāma and Ṭafīl are two mountains in Mecca.

337. He left Sa'd b. 'Ubāda in charge of Medina.

338. **This was the first of his raids.**

339. I. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' from Abū 'Amr al-Madanī told me that Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf, one of B. Ma'ṣ b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr, was in command of them.

340. Most authorities on poetry deny that this ode is from Abū Bakr.

34 I have omitted one verse. Most authorities on poetry deny that I. Zibá'a was the author of this ode.

342. Most authorities on poetry deny that Sa'd wrote this verse

343. Most authorities deny that this is Hamza's verse.

344. Most authorities deny that Abú Jahl was the author

345. He put al-Sá'ib b. 'Uthmán b. Maz'ún in charge of Medina.

346. He put Abú Salama 'Abdu'l-Asad in charge of Medina.

347. Some traditionists say that this took place after Hamza was sent.

348. He left Zayd b. Hárisha in charge of Medina.

349. His name was 'Abdullah b. 'Abbád or according to others Málik b. 'Abbád, one of al-Ṣádir. Sa'd's name was 'Amr b. Malik, one of al-Bahrán b. Ashras b. Kinda or Kindí

350. It was the first booty taken by the Muslims, and 'Amr b. al-Hadramí was the first man that the Muslims killed, while 'Uthmán b. 'Abdullah and al-Hakam b. Kaysán were their first prisoners.

351. The verses come from 'Abdullah b. Jahsh.

352. Or Hishám.

353. *Faraḍ* elsewhere means a determined man but here a 'sword' *Ayhab* means 'without intelligence' and it can be applied to a buck or the male ostrich. Al-Khalil said that it means a man too weak to exact vengeance. Lexicographers vacillate between *ayhab* and *ghayhab*. Most of this useful note is lacking in W

354. On Monday 8th and left 'Amr (or 'Abdullah) b. Umm Maktúm brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy to preside over prayers. Later he sent back Abú Lubába from al-Rauḥá' to take command in Medina.

355. It was white

356. The Ansár's flag was with Sa'd b. Mu'ádh

357. Dhátu'l-Jaysh.

358. The word Zabya is not from I.I.

359. Said to be Abú Bakr.

360. The old man's name was Sufyán al-Damrí.

361. The last two lines come from more than one *rajz*.

362. al-Ḥanẓaliya was the mother of Abú Jahl. Her name was Asmá' d. Mukharriba, one of B. Nahshal b. Dárim b. Málik b. Ḥanẓala b. Málik b. Zayd Manát b. Tamím.

363. Getting ready.

364. *Sahr* is the lungs together with the parts above the navel adjoining the windpipe what is below the navel is called *gut*, as in the prophet's saying related to me by Abú 'Ubayda I saw 'Amr b. Luhayy dragging his guts (*gut*) in hell fire.

365. According to some Sawwád. Sawád of the Anṣár was another man.

366. Another reading is *mu'ammal*.

367. Others read *to ajimmanahu*, 'I will strike his jaw with my sword'

368. *al-mu'ri* is not from I.I It means a camel whose milk is drawn with difficulty.

369. Abú'l-Bakhtarí was al-'Ás b. Hishám b. al-Hárith b. Asad.

370. By milk he means 'I shall redeem myself from my captors with camels rich in milk

371. A learned traditionist told me that 'Ali said: 'Turbans are the crowns of the Arabs. The mark of the angels at Badr was white turbans flowing freely behind them except Gabriel who wore a yellow turban.'

372. The war-cry of the apostle's companions that day was 'Ḥum! Ḥum!'

373. *Marwa* means 'thickly matted growth' There is a tradition that 'Umar asked a Badú what the word meant and he said that it was a kind of growth which could not be penetrated.

374. *Dababa* means 'to clutch and hold someone' Dabí' b. al-Harith al-Burjumí said

> Because of the love between me and you,
> I've become like one who holds water in his hand.

Others said that he said: 'Is it a disgrace for a man to be killed by you?' Then he asked for tidings of the battle

375. Abú 'Ubayda and others of those learned in the wars told me that 'Umar said to Sa'id b. al-'As when he passed him: 'Methinks you've some thing on your mind You are thinking that I killed your father. Had I killed him I should not apologize to you for having done so. As a matter of fact I killed my maternal uncle al-'As b. Hishám b. al-Mughira. I passed by your father as he was tearing up the ground as an ox does with his horn and I turned to one side It was his cousin 'Ali who went for him and killed him.

376. Hilál b. Tulayḥa and Thábit b. Aqram al-Anṣárí.

377. Abú Bakr called his son 'Abdu'l-Rahman who was at that time among the polytheists saying, 'Where is my property you rascal?' And he replied

> Save weapons and horses nothing is left
> But a sword to slay a senseless old doit!

378. His name was Ṣudayy b. Ajlán

379. Said to have been Adiy b. Abū'l-Zaghbā'

380. *al-mala'* means the nobles and chiefs.

381. The name of this place is not mentioned by I.I

382. It is said that 'Alī killed him. Al-Zuhrī and other traditionists told me so.

383. *Hawdj* means a sign.

384. Abū 'Azīz was the standard-bearer of the polytheists at Badr after al-Nadr, and when his brother Mus'ab said these words to Abū'l-Yasar who had captured him he said, 'Brother, is this the sort of advice you give about me?' Mus'ab answered, 'He is now my brother in your place.' His mother asked what was the most that was paid to redeem a Quraishī, and when she was told that it was 4,000 dirhams she sent the money and redeemed him

385. Abū Sufyān's name was al-Mughīra.

386. Here is an example of faulty rhyming known as *aqwā'* which is often found in their verse. We call it *ifāf* I have omitted some better known lines that occur in I.I.'s narrative

387. Some authorities on poetry deny that these lines are Ibn Dukhshum's.

388 I shall mention the tradition about that stand later, God willing

389. Some authorities on poetry deny the authenticity of these lines.

390. Amr's mother was d. Abū Amr and the sister of Abū Mu'ayt b Abū 'Amr

391. 'Alī had captured him.

392. Khirāsh b. al-Simma, one of B. Ḥarām, had captured him

393. It was Abū Khaythama.

394. Another reading is 'a shirt of fire'

395. Abū Sufyān's sworn friend who is referred to here was 'Uqba b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥadramī. As for Amr b. al-Ḥadramī, he was slain at Badr

396. I.I has named the man in his account as Nāfi' b. 'Abdu Qays.

397. Abū 'Ubayda told me that when Abū'l-'Āṣ came from Syria with the property of the polytheists he was asked if he would like to become a Muslim and take the property because it belonged to polytheists He answered: 'It would be a bad beginning to my Islam if I were to betray my trust' Abdu'l-Wārith b. Sa'īd al-Tannūrī from Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind from Āmir al-Sha'bī told me the same thing as Abū 'Ubayda about Abū'l-'Āṣ

398. Khālid b. Zayd Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, brother of B. al-Najjār, had captured him

399. The ransom of the polytheists was fixed at 4,000 dirhams per man, though some got off with 1,000. Those who had nothing the apostle released freely.

400. Rifā'a b. Rāfi', one of B. Zuraiq, captured him

401 *Nakaṣa* means 'returned' Aus b. Ḥajar, one of B. Usayd b. 'Amr b Tamīm, said:

> You turned on your heels the day you came
> Leading away the spoils of a large army.

[In W 's text this line reads:

> You turned on your heels then you came (on)
> Hoping for the spoils &c.]

402. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me the line 'When he came to them noble of race'

403. Others say al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith b. Alqama b. Kalda.

404. THE NAMES OF THE HORSES OF THE MUSLIMS AT BADR

A learned person told me that at Badr the Muslims had the following horses al-Sakb belonging to Marthad al-Ghanawī Ba'ṣa belonging to al-Miqdād b. Amr al-Bahrānī (others say its name was Sabḥa), al-Ya'sūb belonging to al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām The polytheists had one hundred horses.

405. *Mukā'* means whistling and *taṣdiya* means clapping
'Antara b. Amr b Shaddād al-Absī said

> Many an equal have I left on the ground
> His blood whistling in his throat like a camel's breath.

meaning the sound of the blood rushing out of the wound like whistling. Al-Tirimmāḥ b Ḥakīm al-Ṭā'ī said

> When it is frightened it stamps its feet and stands listening
> In a safe distant refuge of the two mountains of Ibnā Shamlan.

He is speaking of the mountain goat which when frightened stamps on the rock with its feet, and then stands still and listens. In stamping on the rock makes a noise like clapping. *Maqlab* means a safe refuge. Ibnā Shamlan are two mountains. [No. 47, line 28, in Krenkow's edition.]

406. *Ankāl* means fetters, singular *nikl*. Ru'ba b. al-Ajjāj said:

> My fetters will keep you from wanting any other fetters

407. *Tukhawwifu* is an alteration of the word that I.I wrote which I have not recorded. [A Dh. writes: 'the word (*takhawwafu*) is written ت, kha, waw, with *fatha* is said that *takhawwafu* was written originally ثو that I.H corrected it because it is the wrong way to speak of God. This seems probable because elsewhere in this section I.I. ventures to put words into the mouth of God when explaining the meaning of this *sūra*. W. reads *yuakhawwafu* (or the corresponding passive); C a reading seems preferable,

408. The explanation of this passage has already been given.

409. *Janaḥū lilsalm* means they inclined to peace. *Al-janaḥ* is declining. Labīd b. Rabī'a said

> The bending of the polisher over his hands
> Stooping to find the rust on the arrow-heads

He means the polisher who bends over his work. *Nuṣub* means 'rust' on a sword. *Ṣayqal* means polishing a sword. *Salm* also means peace, and in the book of God 'Be not weak and call to peace when you have the upper hand'. It is also read as *silm* with the same meaning. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā said

> 'You said if we can possibly attain peace
> By money and good words we will make peace.'

I was told that al-Ḥasan b. Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said that 'and if they incline to *salm* meant Islam', and in the book of God 'O you who believe enter into *silm* all of you' can be read as 'into *salm* which is Islam'. Umayya b. Abū'l-Ṣalt said,

> They did not come back to *salm* when God's apostle
> Warned them, and they were not supporters of it

The Arabs call a long bucket a *salm*. Ṭarafa b. al-'Abd, one of B. Qays b. Tha'laba, describing a she-camel of his, said

> Her two flanks are splayed as though
> She was borne down by the weight of two buckets

There is a variant reading *dilj*.[1]

410. Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. Sharāḥīl b. Ka'b b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. 'Amr b. al-Nu'mān b. 'Amir b. 'Abdu Wudd b. 'Auf b. Kināna b. Bakr b. 'Auf b. 'Udhra b. Zaydullāh b. Rufayda b. Thawr b. Ka'b b. Wabra.

411. Anasa was an Abyssinian and Abū Kabsha a Persian.

412. Kannāz b. Ḥuṣayn.

413. Abū Ḥudhayfa's name was Mihsham, and Salim a freed slave of Thubayta d. Ya'ār b. Zayd b. 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik b. Aus. She set him free and he was attached to Abū Ḥudhayfa, who adopted him as a son. It is said that Thubayta d. Ya'ār was the wife of Abū Ḥudhayfa and she freed Sālim. Others say he was Abū Ḥudhayfa's freedman.

414. Mālik.

415. Abū Nukhāla was a Tayy, his name being Sawād b. Nukhāla.

[1] [illegible] 204.
[2] Lyall, *Pre-Islamic Poems*, Calcutta, 1894, p. 48 l. 9.
[3] On [illegible] p. 32 [illegible] shows that this is the true reading. The *dilj* is the man who carries two large buckets from well to cistern holding them away from his body to avoid wetting his clothes. In this metaphor he seems reminded the goat of the widespread legs of his camel.

416. Abū Balta'a's name was 'Amr, a Laḥmite, his freedman Sa'd was a Kalbite.

417. Others say Hind b. Qīs b. Dhirr.

418. Al-Qīra is their nickname as in the line

> Those who compete in archery with the Qīra will have been fair to them.

They were great bowmen.

419. He was called Dhū'l-Shimālayn because he was ambidextrous; his name was 'Umayr.

420. Khālid belonged to B. Tamīm and has descendants in Kufa; others say that he belonged to Khuzā'a.

421. His real name was 'Abdullāh; he was nicknamed 'Atīq because he was so handsome.

422. He too was born a slave among the Asd. He was a black whom Abū Bakr bought from them.

423. Al-Namir was the son of Qāsit b. Hinb b. Afṣā b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār; others say Afṣā b. Du'mī b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār. It is said that Suhayb was the freedman of 'Abdullāh b. Jud'ān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym and that he was a Rūmī. Those who say that he belonged to al-Namir maintain that he was merely a prisoner among the Byzantines and that he was bought from them (i.e. ransomed). However, there is a tradition that the prophet said 'Suhayb is the first-fruits of Byzantium'.

424. Shammās's name was 'Uthmān; he was called Shammās for the reason that a Shammās came to Mecca on pagan times, a man so handsome as to excite general admiration. Utba b. Rabī'a, who was the maternal uncle of Shammās, said, 'I will bring you a Shammās who is more handsome than he', and he brought his nephew 'Uthmān b. 'Uthmān. Thus he was called Shammās according to what Ibn Shihāb and others told me. [This is a repetition of what I.H. has already said on W., p. 214.

425. The latter was an 'Anaz of Madhḥij.

426. Mujja' was from Akk b. 'Adnān.

427. Abū Khālid was of B. Ijl b. Lujaym b. Ṣa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il.

428. 'Amr b. Wā'il was b. Qāsit b. Hinb b. Afṣā b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār; others say Afṣā was b. Du'mī b. Jadīla.

429. Sa'd b. Khaula came from the Yaman.

430. Many learned men other than I.I. mention among the companions of Badr of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, Wahb b. Sa'd b. Abū Sarḥ and Ḥāṭib b. 'Amr, and of B. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr, 'Iyāḍ b. Abū Zuhayr.

432. Aslam was the son of Hārūn b. 'Adiy.

433. Others say 'Amr b. al-Tayyahān.

434. 'Abdullāh b. Sahl was the brother of B. Za'ūrā. Others say he belonged to Ghawlān.

435. Ẓafar was b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus.

436. 'Ubayd was called Muqarrin because he bound four prisoners together at Badr. It was he who captured 'Aqīl b. Abū Ṭālib.

437. Others say his name was Mas'ūd b. Abdu Sa'd.

438. 'Umayr b. Ma'bad is correct.

439. The latter was his mother's name.

440. He sent them back from al-Rauḥā'. Hilāl was b. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. 'Umayya, and Abū Lubāba's name was Bashīr.

441. He was b. Thābit b. al-Nu'mān b. Umayya b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Tha'laba.

442. He was Abū Qayyāl's brother, and it is said that his name was Abū Ḥabba. It is said that it was Imru'ul-Qays who was called al-Burak b. Tha'laba.

443. Others say Thābit was b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba.

444. Others say al-Ḥārith b. Jabjabā.

445. Others say Tamīm b. Irāsha and Qīmil b. Fārisa.

446. Aṭiyya was b. Ka'b b. al-Nabbāṭ b. Ka'b b. Ḥāritha b. Ghanm.

447. 'Āmir was the foundling of Sa'd b. Khaythama.

448. Others say Julās, but I reckon that is wrong.

449. Others say Qays was b. Abbas b. Umayya.

450. Fushūm was his mother, wife of al-Qayn b. Jasr.

451. Sufyān b. Nasr b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b b. Zayd.

452. Others say 'Abdullāh b. 'Umayr b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. Jidāra.

453. Zayd was b. al-Muzayy.

454. Bilāl b. Ghānim b. 'Auf got the name of Ḥubshī from his big belly.

455. Others say 'Amr b. Salama. He was of Balī of Quḍā'a.

456. Ma'bad was b. 'Ubāda b. Qushayr b. al-Muqawwam; etc. it is said that 'Ubāda was b. Qays b. al-Qudām.

457. 'Āmir b. al-'Uzayr; others say 'Āṣim b. al-Thābit.

458. This is Ghānim b. 'Auf, brother of Sālim b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj, and Ghānim b. Sālim preceded him according to I.I.

459. Another form of the name is Qurṭa.

460. His full name was Mālik b. al-Duḥshum b. Mālik b. al-Duḥshum b. Mardakha.

461. It is said that 'Amr b. 'Iṣla was the brother of Rabī' and Wazzāg.

462. She was their mother, their father being 'Amr b. 'Umāra.

463. Others say Qays b. Tamīm b. Irāsha and Qīmil b. Fārisa. al-Mujadhdhar's name was 'Abdullāh.

464. Others say Bahdath b. Tha'laba.

465. 'Utba b. Bahz from B. Sulaym.

466. He was Sinnar b. Aus b. Khanasha b. Laudhān b. 'Abdu Wadd b. Zayd b. Tha'laba.

467. It is said that al-Mundhir was b. 'Amr b. Khanbash.

468. Mālik b. Mas'ūd was b. al-Badly according to some learned authorities.

469. It is said that Ka'b was b. Jamrāh and was from Ghubshān.

470. **Dumra and Zayd were the sons of Bishr.**

471. In all the above cases it was al-Jamūḥ b. Zayd b. Ḥarām except for the grandfather of al-Ṣarma b. 'Amr who was al-Jamūḥ b. Ḥarām. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥamām was b. Labda b. Tha'laba (is the name of the twelfth on the list).

472. It is said that Jabbār was b. Ṣakhr b. Umayya b. Khansā.

473. Others say Bulḍhūma or Bukhūma.

474. Others say Sawād was b. Rizn b. Zayd b. Tha'laba.

475. Others say Ma'bad b. Qays was b. Ṣayfī b. Ṣakhr b. Ḥaram b. Rabī'a.

476. Sawād had no son with the name Ghanm.

477. 'Antara was from B. Sulaym b. Manṣūr, then of B. Dhalwān.

478. Aus was b. Abbād b. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Udayy b. Sa'd. I.I. relates Tha'lab b. Ishāq to B. Sawād because he lived with them, he was not of their stock.

479. 'Amir is said to be the son of al-Azraq.

480. Others say Qays b. Ḥiṣn.

481. His name should be spelt Bisr.

482. Or Wadīa.

483. Or Rukhayla.

484. Others say 'Uluyla.

485. Others say 'Uzayr or 'Ushayra.

486. Ḥāritha b. al-Nu'mān was the son of Nafi' b. Zayd.

487. Or 'Abd.

488. She was d. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār. It is said that Rifā'a was b. al-Ḥārith b. Sawād.

489. Or Nu'aymān.

490. Abū'l-Ḥamrā' was the freedman of al-Ḥārith b. Rifā'a.

491. Ḥudayla was d. Mālik b. Zayd Allāh b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abdu Ḥāritha b. Mālik b. Ghaḍb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj and the mother of Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār and the B. Mu'āwiya are named after her.

492. They are the B. Maghāla d. Auf b. 'Abdu Manāt b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. Kināna b. Khuzayma. Others say that they are of B. Zuraiq. Maghāla was the mother of 'Adiy b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār and the B. 'Adiy trace their descent from her.

493. Abū Shaykh was Ubayy b. Thābit, brother of Ḥassān b. Thābit.

494. Others say Sawād.

495. Others say Abū'l-A'war was al-Ḥārith b. Zālim.

496. Bujayr was from 'Abs b. Baghīḍ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān of the clan of B. Judhāma b. Rawāha.

497. Most traditionists mention among the Khazraj who were at Badr: Of the B. al-'Ajlān: Zayd b. Ḥasan b. Sinān b. Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Auf. Ribʿī b. Anas b. Mālik b. 'Amr and Nu'mān b. Nafi' b. Nabīra b. Khālid and 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit b. Nabīra. Of the B. Ḥabīb b. 'Abdu Ḥāritha: Anas b. Mālik b. Ghaḍb b. Anjūma who are among the B. Zuraiq: Aus b. al-Arqam b. 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. 'Adiy b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. Mālik b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Ḥabīb.

498. Brother of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ according to I.H.

499. Zayd b. Ḥāritha killed him; others say Ḥamza, 'Alī, and Zayd killed him between them.

500. 'Ammār b. Yāsir killed 'Amr and al-Nu'mān b. 'Amr killed al-Ḥārith. He was an ally of al-Aus.

501. Sālim, freedman of Abū Ḥudhayfa, killed 'Umayr.

502. Others say 'Alī killed him.

503. Ḥamza and 'Alī shared in the killing of him.

504. Thābit b. al-Jidh, brother of B. Qurṭum, killed him; others say Ḥamza, 'Alī, and Thābit did.

505. 'Ammār b. Yāsir killed him.

506. Ḥamza and 'Alī killed him.

507. Abū'l-Bakhtarī was al-'Āṣ b. Hishām.

508. Others say at al-Athīl; it is said that his name was al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Alqama b. Kalada b. 'Abdu Manāf.

509. Bilāl killed Zayd, who was an ally of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār from B. Makān. Others say that al-Miqdād killed him.

510. 'Alī, or according to others 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Auf killed him.

511. He was one of B. 'Amr b. Tamīm, a stout warrior whom 'Ammār b. Yāsir killed.

512. Abū Thajjāna killed him.

513. Khārija b. Zayd killed him, though others say 'Alī did. Ḥamza was of Asad.

514. 'Alī killed him.

515. Ḥamza killed him.

516. 'Alī, or according to others 'Ammār killed him.

517. Sa'd b. al-Rabī killed him.

518. Mālik b. 'Adiy, an ally of B. 'Ubayd, killed him.

519. 'Alī killed him.

520. Al-Sā'ib b. Abū'l-Sā'ib was a partner of the apostle, and there is a tradition that the prophet said that he was an excellent partner who was never ill-tempered or obscurate. According to our information he became an excellent Muslim. But God knows the truth. But Shaykh Al-Zuhrī informed me from 'Abdu'l-Allāh b. 'Utba from Ibn 'Abbās that al-Sā'ib b. Abū Sā'ib b. 'Abd b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm was one of the Quraysh who swore fealty to the apostle, and on the day of al-Ṭā'if he gave him his share of the booty of Ḥunayn; someone other than Ibn Ishāq says that al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām killed him. This explanation of yusdhī is in accordance with the *Zāhir* under *sharra*.

521. Others say Ḥājiz. 'Alī killed Ḥājib.

522. al-Nu'mān b. Mālik killed him in single combat.

523. Yazīd b. Ruqaysh killed 'Amr and Abū Burda killed Jābir.

524. 'Alī killed him.

525. Ḥamza killed him with the help of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ.

526. 'Alī, or al-Nu'mān b. Mālik, or Abū Dujāna killed him.

527. Abū'l-Yusr killed him.

528. Others say it was Mu'adh b. 'Afrā' and Khārija b. Zayd and Khubayb b. Isāf jointly.

529. 'Alī killed him, or according to others al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥārith and 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn together.

530. Others say 'Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan did so.

531. Others say Abū Dujāna did so.

532. Abū 'Ubayda from Abū 'Amr told me that the polytheists lost 70 killed and an equal number of prisoners. This agrees with what Ibn 'Abbās and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab said, and in God's book (we read), and is it not a fact that when a disaster befell you you had brought [illegible] twice as great a disaster on them? [illegible] in reference to those who took part in the battle of Badr. [illegible] were [illegible] number 70 men. He says: 'You brought disaster at Badr on twice as many as you lost as martyrs at Uḥud, 70 dead and 70 prisoners.' Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me the line of Ka'b b. Mālik:

> There remained where the camels rest (by the trough)
> Seventy dead, among them 'Utba and al-Aswad.

He means the slain at Badr. God willing, I shall mention this ode of his later on.

Here are some of the names which I.I. does not mention of the slain at Badr:

Of B. 'Abdu Shams: Wahb b. al-Ḥārith of B. Anmār, an ally, and 'Āmir b. Zayd an ally from the Yaman. Total 2.

Of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā: 'Uqba b. Zayd an ally from the Yaman and 'Umayr a freedman of theirs. Total 2.

Of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār: Nubayh b. Zayd and 'Ubayd b. Sā'ib an ally from Yaman. Total 2.

From B. Taym: b. Murra: Mālik b. 'Ubaydullāh, brother of Ṭalḥa, who was taken prisoner and died in captivity and so is counted among the slain; and some add 'Amr b. 'Abdullāh b. Jud'ān. Total 2.

Of B. makhzūm: Hudhayfa b. Abū Hudhayfa whom Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ killed, and Hishām b. Abū Hudhayfa whom Suhayb killed, and Zuhayr b. Abū Rifā'a whom 'Amr b. Sawā killed, and A'sā'ib b. Abū Rifā'a whom 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Auf killed, and 'Ā'idh b. al-Sā'ib who was taken prisoner, then ransomed, and then died on the way home from a woman which Ḥamza had given him, and 'Ubayd an ally from Yaman, and Khiyār an ally from al-Qāra. Total 5.

Of B. Jumaḥ b. 'Amr: Sabra b. Mālik an ally. Total 1.

Of B. Sahm b. 'Amr: al-Ḥārith b. [illegible] whom Shujā' killed, 'Amr b. Abū 'Auf b. Duhayra whom 'Abdullāh b. Salama al-'Ajlānī killed; others say Abū Thujāna. Total 2.

533. Others say Ibn Abū Wahb.

534. He was al-Ḥārith b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Uthmān.

535. There is a variant reading for Ḥaḍa, namely Ḥaḍb. Khālid was from Khuzā'a, according to others an 'Uqaylī.

536. One name is missing from I.I.'s list to make up the total number he gives.[1] Among the prisoners he does not mention are the following:

From B. Hāshim b. 'Abdu Manāf: 'Uqba, an ally of theirs from B. Fihr. 1.

[1] This remark is interesting for more than one reason. Abū Dhar says of the Hāshimites list: 'He does not mention al-'Abbās b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib with the other two because he had

From B. al-Muṭṭalib: 'Aqīl b. 'Amr, an ally, and his brother Tamīm, and his son. 3.

From B. 'Abdu Shams: Khālid b. Asīd b. Abū'l-'Īṣ; and Abū'l-Arqam Yasār, freedman of al-'Āṣ b. Umayya. 2.

From B. Nawfal: Nabhān, one of their freedmen. 1.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā: 'Abdullāh b. Hunayd b. Zuhayr b. al-Ḥārith. 1.

From B. 'Abdu'l-Dār: 'Aqīl, an ally of theirs from the Yaman. 1.

From B. Taym b. Murra: Mustā'ir b. Ḥarīd b. Sakhr b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym, and Jābir b. al-Zubayr, an ally. 2.

From B. Makhzūm: Qays b. al-Sā'ib. 1.

From B. Jumaḥ: 'Amr b. Ubayy b. Khalaf, and Abū Ruhm b. 'Abdullāh an ally; and an ally of theirs whose name escapes me, and two freedmen of Umayya b. Khalaf, one of them Nisṭās, and Abū Rāfi' a slave of Umayya b. Khalaf. 6.

From B. Sahm: Aslam freedman of Nubayh b. al-Ḥajjāj. 1.

From B. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy: Ḥabīb b. Jābir, and al-Sā'ib b. Mālik. 2.

From B. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr: Shifā and Shifā', two allies of theirs from the Yaman. 2.

537. Most authorities on poetry refuse to accept it and its counterblast as authentic.

538. We have changed two words in I.I.'s version of this ode, namely, 'boastful' at the end of line 20 and 'kindly' at the beginning of line 22, because he casts aspersions on the prophet in them.

The following verses which I.I. attributes to 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib are not recognized by any authority on poetry, as is the counterblast. We have included them in order because they mention that 'Amr b. 'Abdullāh b. Jud'ān was killed at Badr, although I.I. does not mention him among the slain as these verses do.

539. Others say the author was al-Aṣhal b. Zurāra b. al-Nabhān, one of the B. Usayd b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, an ally of B. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manāf.

540. We have omitted three verses of Ḥassān's poem because they are obscene.

541. We have left out one verse which is obscene.

542. Some say that 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Sahmī was the composer.

543. The fifth verse comes from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī.

became a Muslim and was concealing his faith out of fear of his people. This writer is convinced with Nöldeke's view that [illegible] confident that [illegible] reasons and [illegible] personal safety [illegible] examination of the name of [illegible] perfectly [illegible] originally [illegible] and [illegible] section [illegible] other [illegible] prisoners [illegible] Either [illegible] offending words when he gave his copy to the [illegible] or else [illegible] unimportant. Clearly the change came about when the [illegible] Abbās [illegible] the work of Umayya.

[1] For al-fahlu a single manuscript would be al-fajir 'villainous'.

544. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me the verse about Abū Jahl.

545. The last line is not from I.I.

546. Some authorities on poetry deny that these verses are 'Ubayda's.

547. When 'Ubayda's foot was smitten he said, By God, if Abū Ṭālib had lived to see this day he would know that I have a better right than he to say:

> You lie, by God's house
> Muhammad shall not be maltreated,
> Before we have used our swords and bows in his defence
> We will not betray him until we lie dead around him,
> And be unmindful of our children and wives.

These two verses are in the ode of Abū Ṭālib which we have already quoted (p. 154).

548. Some authorities on poetry deny that Dirār was the author of these lines.

549. Some authorities on poetry deny Ḥārith's authorship of these lines, and the second line is not from I.I.

550. Abū 'Ubayda, the grammarian, quoted to me the last line, saying that (Shaddād) had become a Muslim and then apostatized, thus:

> The apostle tells us that we shall live again
> But what sort of life have corpses and wrecks?

551. We have omitted two verses in which he spoke disparagingly of the apostle's companions. Another learned authority on poetry recited to me the penultimate verse and also the line beginning givers of hundreds and the following line.

552. This ode has been handed down in a confused state which cannot be considered satisfactory. Abū Muḥriz Khalaf al-Aḥmar and another person recited it to me, one quoting what the other left out.

553. He was a polytheist.

554. (which are the most authentic of the poetry about the men of Badr).

555. Abū Muḥriz Khalaf al-Aḥmar recited to me the line 'We left the way and they overtook us as swift as the tides of the sea' thus. The line, 'no lion from his lair', is not from I.I.

556. I have dropped the ode of Abū Usāma rhyming in L because it only mentions Badr in the first and second verses, in order to keep the narrative within bounds.

557. Some authorities on poetry deny that Hind was the author.

558. Some authorities on poetry deny that Hind wrote thus.

[1] LH then sets out the whole poem. The only difference of any significance is that line 3 reads 'In a death like theirs the Council fell'.

559. The last line was cited to me by some authorities on poetry.

560. One tradition of this poetry separates the line, 'no lion of the jungle' &c., from the two preceding verses.

561. Most authorities on poetry deny that Hind said this.

562. It is said (though only God knows the truth) that when the apostle heard this poetry he said, 'If I had heard this before he was killed I would have spared him.'

563. He put in charge of Medina Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭa al-Ghifārī or Ibn Umm Maktūm.

564. He put Bashīr b. Abdu'l-Mundhir who was Abū Lubāba in charge of Medina.

565. It was called the raid of al-Sawīq because most of the provisions which the raiders threw away was sawīq, i.e. parched corn, and the Muslims seized a great deal of it. This is what Abū 'Ubayda told me.

566. He put 'Uthmān b. 'Affān in charge of Medina.

567. He put Ibn Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

568. Abdullāh b. Ja'far b. al-Miswar b. Makhrama from Abū Aun said: 'The affair of the Banū Qaynuqā' arose thus. An Arab woman brought some goods and sold them in the market of the Banū Qaynuqā'. She sat down by a goldsmith, and the people tried to get her to uncover her face but she refused. The goldsmith took hold of the end of her skirt and fastened it on her back so when she got up she was immediately exposed, and they laughed at her. She uttered a loud cry and one of the Muslims leapt upon the goldsmith and killed him. He was a Jew, and the Jews fell upon the Muslim and killed him, whereupon the Muslim's family called on the Muslims for help against the Jews. The Muslims were enraged, and bad feeling sprang up between the two parties.

569. This was called *dhāt'l-fuḍūl*.

570. He besieged them for fifteen nights and put Bashīr b. Abdu'l-Mundhir in charge of Medina.

571. Fārit belonged to Banū 'Ijl, an ally of Banū Sālim.

572. Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib wrote a counterblast which we shall mention together with the verses of Ḥassān in their proper place, God willing. [See p. 449.]

573. The words *Sabbā'* and *ummu Ḥārithiyya* do not come from I.I.

574. Most authorities on poetry deny Ḥassān's authorship. The first two words are not from I.I.

575. Her name was Maymūna d. 'Abdullāh. Most authorities on poetry deny that she wrote these verses and that Ka'b composed the counterblast to them.

976. Another version is: 'Will you give me your wives as a pledge?' He answered: 'How can we give our wives to you as a pledge when you are the most generous, highly esteemed man in Medina?' He retorted, 'Then will you give your sons as a pledge?'

977. These verses occur in an ode of his on the battle with B. Nadir which I shall mention in its proper place, God willing. [See p. 441.]

978. I shall mention the killing of Sallam in the proper place, God willing. The word 'shortly' does not come from I.

979. Or Sulayym. His full name was Muhayysa b. Nas'ud b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Adiy b. Majda'a b. Ghanim b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus.

[illegible]

hundred men from the Jews who had been allies of Aus against Khazraj and ordered that they should be beheaded. Accordingly Khazraj began to [illegible]

between them and the B. Quraiza. When there were only twelve of them left he gave them over to Aus, assigning one Jew to every two of Aus, saying [illegible]

980. Others say Ruqayya.

981. A tradit[illegible] that the [illegible] being disappointed they [illegible] Aus [illegible] be killed.'

982. He put I. Umm Maktum in charge of the public prayers.

983. For [illegible] [illegible] small hands so pay on the hair of the dwarf to mount.

984. The apostle allowed Samura b. Jundub al-Fazari and Rafi' b. Khadij brother of B. Harisha to go to battle although they were but fifteen years of age and he had sent them back at Jurf. But he was told that Rafi' was a good archer so he let him go, and after having given him permission he was told that Samura could throw Rafi' in wrestling so he let him go too. The following he turned back: Usama b. Zayd, Abdullah b. Umar b. al-Khattab, Zayd b. Thabit, one of B. Malik b. al-Najjar, al-Barra' b. 'Azib, one of B. Haritha, Amr b. Hazm, one of B. Malik b. al-Najjar, Qusayy b. Zuhayr, one of B. Haritha. He let them fight at the Trench when they were fifteen years of age.

985. The companions' war-cry that day was 'Kill, Kill!'

[illegible] one and gave it to Abu Dujana. I thought: 'I am the son of Safiya, his aunt, and belong to Quraysh, and I went and asked him for it before this [illegible] in it. The Angels said, 'Abu Dujana has donned the turban of death.' This is what they used to say when he put it on. As he went forth he was [illegible]

> Among the palms of that mountain side,
> In serious words my comrade cried,
> Behind the ranks I'll never hide,
> With God's own sword their ranks divide.'

There is a reading *fahid* for *fayyid*.

986. Others say Shaddad b. al-Akhram b. Sharik.

987. A kind of hard nothing to blush in colour.

988. I have heard that Wahshi was always being punished for drinking wine until he was struck off the pension list. 'Umar used to say: 'I know that God would not hold the slayer of Hamza unpunished.'

989. Maskana b. Abqana al-Yahmadi told me: 'When the fighting was fierce on the day of Uhud the apostle set under the flag of the Angels and sent a message to 'Ali to tell him to bring the flag forward, which he did, saying, 'I am Abu'l-Quasm' or 'Abu'l-Fuqasm' according to I.H. Abu Sa'id b. Abi Talha, who was in charge of the standard of the polytheists, called to him, 'Would you like to meet my challenge, Abu'l-Quasm?' When 'Ali accepted the challenge they fought between the ranks and exchanged two blows until 'Ali seized him and slid him on the ground. Then he left him without dispatching him. When the companions asked why he did not finish him off he said: 'He exposed his person to me (as a sign of abject surrender) and the tie of kindred made me pity him and I knew that God would certainly kill him.'

It is said that Abu Sa'id went out between the ranks and said, 'I will laugh in pagan slaughter who fights me,' and some went out against him. Then he cried: 'O you companions of Muhammad, you allege that your

dead are in paradise and our dead are in hell. By al-Lāt you lie. If you knew that was true one of you would come out to me. So Abū Ḥudhayfa went forth and after exchanging a couple of blows 'Alī overthrew him and killed him.

592. Some say that he heard a cry for help. You find this expression in the hadīth: 'The best man is he who takes hold of his horse's bridle whenever he hears a cry of fear he flies towards it.' Al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭā'ī ('Ṭirimmāḥ means 'a tall man') said:

> I am of the family of Mālik, glorious champions
> Whenever the timorous cry for help.

593. Ḥassān b. Thābit, according to Ibn Hishām, answered him thus

> You mention the proud stallions of Hāshim's line
> And there is no lie in it, but speak the truth
> Are you pleased that you killed Hamza
> The noble one whom you yourself call noble?
> Thus did you not kill 'Amr and Ḥanzala
> And his son and Shayba and al-Walīd and Ibn Ḥabīb
> The day that al-'Ās challenged 'Alī who frightened him
> With a blow of his sword dripping with heads

594. The words 'or jackals' do not come from I.I. (This is an interesting point from I. because it indicates that he knows that the text of the poem has been tampered with. In this case we are able to recover the true text from Ṭab. 94 where it reads 'hyenas and jackals would have crunched his bones with fortune for gargara.' The alteration consists of one dot, but one would have expected that I., knowing the true text, would have followed it.

595. al-Ḥārith answered Abū Sufyān thus because he suspected that he was hinting at him when he said 'my horse remained but a stone's throw off', for he had fled on the day of Badr.

596. The one who cried aloud was the spirit of the hill, i.e. Satan.

597. The last verse is ascribed to Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī. Khalaf al-Aḥmar quoted it to me as his with the reading 'her heads' meaning his wife's, with no connection with Uḥud. The verses are also ascribed to Ma'qil b. Khuwaylid al-Hudhalī.

598. Rubayḥ b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. Abī Sa'īd al-Khudrī from his father from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī said that 'Utba b. Abī Waqqāṣ pelted the apostle that day and broke his right lower incisor and wounded his lower lip, and that 'Abdullāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī wounded him in the forehead, and that Ibn Qami'a wounded his cheekbone. Two rings from his helmet were forced into his cheek, and the apostle fell in a hole which Abū 'Āmir had made so that the Muslims might fall into it unawares. 'Alī took hold of the apostle's hand and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullāh lifted him until he stood upright. Mālik b. Sinān, the father of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, sucked the blood from the apostle's face. Then he swallowed it. The apostle said, 'He whose blood mingles with mine will not be touched by the fire of hell.' 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī said that the prophet said, 'Er who wishes

to see a martyr walking on the face of the earth, let him look at Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullāh.'

'Abdu'l-'Azīz from Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥa from Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa from 'Ā'isha from Abū Bakr said that Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ pulled out one of the rings from the apostle's face and his front tooth fell out. He pulled out another ring and the other incisor fell out. So Abū 'Ubayda was shorn of his two front teeth.

599. We have omitted two obscene verses.

600. 'Umāra's mother, Nusayba d. of Ka'b al-Māzinīya, fought on the day of Uḥud.

Sa'īd b. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī said that Umm Sa'd d. of Sa'd b. al-Rabī' used to say: 'I went in to see Umm 'Umāra and said, "O aunt, tell me your story," and she answered, "I went out at the beginning of the day to see what the men were doing, carrying a skin with water in it, and I came up to the apostle who was with his companions while the battle was in their favour. When the Muslims were defeated, I betook myself to the apostle and stood up joining in the fight and protecting him with my sword and shooting with my bow until I suffered many wounds." Umm Sa'd said, 'I saw on her shoulder a deep gash and asked who was responsible for it. She said, 'Ibn Qami'a, God curse him! When the men fell back from the apostle he came forward saying 'Lead me to Muḥammad! Let me not survive if he does.' Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr and I and some men who held their ground with the apostle blocked his path. It was he who gave me this wound, but I struck him several times for this. However, the enemy of God was wearing two coats of mail.'

602. A learned traditionist told me that 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. Anṣār was injured in the mouth and his teeth were broken and he had twenty wounds or more, one of them in his foot so that he became lame.

603. The *ṭāhir* is a fly that stings.

604. *Tafā ḍa'a* means 'he began to roll off his horse'.

605. *Umra* means 'wife'.

606. Khālid b. al-Walīd was commanding the cavalry.

607. I heard on the authority of Darāma from I. 'Abbās that the apostle did not reach the step cut in the cleft. 'Umar, the client of Ghufra, said that the prophet prayed the noon prayer on the day of Uḥud sitting, because of the wounds he had suffered, and the Muslims prayed sitting behind him.

608. A traditionist told me [illegible] al-Ṣ[illegible] says: An indication of the same fact is that Ibn Ishāq does not mention him among those who were slain at Uḥud. The reason for his failure at Mujādhir was because he had killed his father Sufyān in one of the skirmishes between Aus and Khazraj. We have mentioned that in an earlier passage of this book. While the apostle was with a number of his companions suddenly [illegible] area from one of the gardens of Muslims wearing two blood-stained garments. The apostle

[illegible] 'Uthmān to cut his head off. Others say it was one of the Anṣār who did so. [illegible] p. 242

608. We have omitted three obscene verses.

609. She was d. Khālid b. Khunays, who was l. Ḥāritha b. Laudhān b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. al-Khazraj b. Sā'ida b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj.

610. This is only one of the verses he composed; others also he wrote showing in *d* and *dh* which I have omitted because of their obscenity. IT gives them. I commend I.H.'s reticence.]

611. I. Qaṭṭa'a's name was 'Abdullāh.

612. Abū Bakr al-Zubayrī told me that a man went into Abū Bakr while Sa'd's little daughter was in his arms and he was kissing her. The man said to him, 'Who is she?' and he replied, it is the daughter of a better man than I, Sa'd b. al-Rabī', who was one of the chiefs on the day of al-'Aqaba who was present at Badr and found martyrdom at Uḥud.'

613. When the apostle stood over Ḥamza's body he said, 'I have never been so hurt before. Never have I been more angry.' Then he said, 'Gabriel came to me and told me that Ḥamza was written among the people of the seven heavens: "Ḥamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, the lion of God and the lion of his apostle."' The apostle and Ḥamza and Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad were foster-brothers whom a freedwoman of Abū Lahab had fostered.

614. On that day he forbade lamentation. Abū 'Ubayda told me that when the apostle heard their weeping he [illegible] 'God have mercy on the Anṣār, for it has long been their custom to provide consolation. Tell the women to go away.' (I read *atnawat* with C for W's *atlawta* or *'atlawta*.)

615. *Ṭalal* (*ṭal*) means little or much; here it means 'little', as in the verse of Imru'u'l-Qays:

> Now that the Banū Asad have killed their chief
> Everything else is of no account.

and in the verse of al-Ḥārith b. Wa'la al-Jarmī it means 'much':

> If I pardon I shall pardon a great wrong.
> If I punish I shall weaken my own bone.

616. The apostle's sword used to be called Dhū'l-Faqār. A traditionist told me that I. Abū Najīḥ said: 'Someone called out on the day of Uḥud:

> There is no sword but Dhū'l-Faqār
> And no hero but 'Alī.'

A traditionist also told me that the apostle said to 'Alī: 'The polytheists will not inflict another defeat like this on us before God gives us the victory.'

617. He put I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

618. Abū 'Ubayda told us that when Abū Sufyān went away on the day of Uḥud he [illegible] to go back to Medina to exterminate the rest of the prophet's

companions. Ṣafwān b. Umayya said to them: 'Do not do it, for the enemy are infuriated and we fear that they may fight as they did not fight before. So return,' and they did return. When the prophet who was in Ḥamrā'u'l-Asad heard that they had decided to return he said: 'Scores have been marked for them.'[1] Had they been seized with them that morning they would have been like yesterday that is past.'

Abū 'Ubayda said: 'On that journey of his before he returned to Medina, the apostle seized Mu'awiya b. al-Mughīra, who was the grandfather of 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān, the father of his mother 'Ā'isha, and Abū 'Azza al-Jumaḥī. The apostle had taken him prisoner at Badr and then released him. He asked the apostle to forgive him, but he said "You shall not stroke your cheeks in Mecca after this and say 'I have deceived Muḥammad twice.' Strike off his head, Zubayr," and he did so.'

I have heard that Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab said that the apostle said to him: 'The believer should not be bitten twice by the same snake. Cut off his head, O Ayman b. Thābit,' and he did so.

It is said Zayd b. Ḥāritha and 'Ammār b. Yāsir killed Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra after Ḥamrā'u'l-Asad. He had taken refuge with 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who asked the apostle to give him sanctuary, and he did so on the condition that if he were found after three days he should be killed. He stayed there more than three days and left himself. The prophet sent the two of them and said, 'You will find him in such-and-such a place.' They found him there and killed him.

619. *Tāhamū'a* means 'you chose positions and sites for church.' Al-Kumayt b. Zayd said:

> Would that I before him
> Had chosen a place to sleep in.

620. A traditionist from al-Asd said: The two parties said: 'We do not wish that we had not thought as we did because God took us in hand.'

621. *Musawwamīn* means 'plainly marked.' We have heard that al-Ḥasan b. Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said: 'They had marked the tails and forelocks of their horses with white wool.' As for Ibn Isḥāq he said: 'Their distinguishing mark on the day of Badr was white turbans, which I have recorded in the story of Badr.' *Sīma* means distinguishing mark. 'In the book of God you read: "Their mark is on their faces (48: 29), i.e. their distinguishing mark. "And stones of clay massed, marked" (51: 34), i.e. plainly marked.' We have heard that al-Ḥasan said: 'A mark upon them.' It was not a mark of the stones of this world, but of the stones of punishment.' Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj said:

> Proud steeds now meet their match in me
> They cannot keep up with me though marked out (as the finest)
> Their eyes look up helplessly as they gallop full speed

Ajdaza with *dāl* means 'run fast' and *ajdara* with *dāl* means 'give up.' These verses occur in a rajaz poem of his. *Musawwamūna* also means 'at pasture' and in the book of God 'and horses at pasture' (3: 14) and 'trees

[1] i.e. scores had been 'scarred' for them.

on which you send beasts to pasture' (16. 10). The Arabs say *sarraha* and *arāha* when a man pastures his horses and camels. Al-Kumayt said

> He was a gentle shepherd and we lost him.
> The loss of the pastor is the loss of the pastured.

The word *sarīh* means 'gently leading, kind to the flock'

622. *Yuhīnūnahum* means afflict them to the utmost and prevent them from attaining their desires. Dhū'l-Rumma said

> While I forget past sorrow I shall not forget our perplexity
> Poised between pleasure and frustration.

The word also means 'that he may throw them on their faces'

623. *Nibāyūn*, singular *nibb*, and *al-nibb* is applied to the sons of 'Abdu Manāt b. Ud b. Tabikha b. Ilyās and to Dabba because they gathered together and made alliances; by this they mean multitudes. Singular of *nibb* is *nibba* and *nibbat* which mean large numbers of sticks and arrows and such-like and they compare them to them. Umayya b. Abū 'l-Salt said

> Round their leaders are swarms, myriads,
> Clad in nailed armour.

Nibba also means the cloth in which arrows are wrapped. *Sanawwar* means armour, and *dasar* are the nails in coats of mail. God says: 'We carried him on a thing of planks and nails' (54. 13). Abū'l-Akhzar al-Hummānī of Tamīm said

> Nails on the ends of a straightened shaft.

624. *Hasa* means pouring out. You can say *hasastu* something when you exterminate it by the sword or such-like. Jarīr said

> The swords exterminated them as when
> A flame rose high among felled trees.

And Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj said in a rajaz poem:

> When we complained of a year that blighted (by cold)
> Devouring the dry after the green

625. al-Sakan was I. Rāfi' b. Imru'u-l-Qays, or al-Sakn.

626. Others say 'Atīk b. al-Tayyihān.

627. Qays was b. Zayd b. Dubay'a and Mālik was b. Anas b. Dubay'a.

628. Abū Hayya was b. 'Amr b. Thābit.

629. And, it is said, Suwaybiq b. al-Hārith b. Hātib b. Hayāba.

630. Amr b. Qays was b. Zayd b. Sawād

631. Aus was the brother of Hassān b. Thābit.

632. Anas b. al-Nadr was the uncle of Anas b. Mālik, the apostle's servant

633. Abū Sa'īd's name was Sinān, or as others say Sa'd.

634. 'Ubayd belonged to B. Habīb.

635. We have been told of five others whom I.I. does not mention, namely

- Of al-Aus of B. Mu'āwiya b. Mālik Mālik b. Nuwayla an ally of theirs from Muzayna
- Of B. Khatma—Khatma's name was 'Abdullāh b. Jushaim b. Mālik b. al-Aus—al-Hārith b. 'Adiy b. Kharasha b. Umayya b. 'Āmir b. Khatma.
- Of B. Amr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār Iyās b. Adiy
- Of al-Khazraj of B. Sawād b. Mālik Mālik b. Iyās
- Of B. Salim b. Auf: Amr b. Iyās.

Thus bringing the total to 70.

636. It is said that 'Alī killed him.

637. It is said that 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf killed Kilāb.

638. Alī, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās and Abū Dujāna have also been claimed as his slayer

639. It is said that 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd killed 'Ubayda.

640. A'idh was b. 'Amr b. Makhshūsh.

641. Abū Zayd quoted these lines to me as from Ka'b b. Mālik and the verse of Hubayra, 'many a night when the boar warms his hands,' &c., is credited to Jarīb sister of 'Amr Dhū'l-Kalb al-Hudhalī in some verses of hers about some other fight. [Cf. *Dīwān der Hudhailiten*, ed. Kosegarten, p. 241.]

642. Ka'b had said, 'Our fighting is on behalf of our stock,' and the apostle asked, 'Would it do to say our fighting is on behalf of our religion?' Ka'b said 'Yes,' and the apostle said 'Then it is better,' and so Ka'b phrased it thus.

643. Abū Zayd quoted me the words 'an example to be called of' and the verses preceding and the words 'Among Quraysh' &c., as from a source other than I.I.

644. Some authorities on poetry deny that Qirir was the author. Ka'b's words 'light-giving straight way' were quoted by Abū Zayd al-Ansārī.

645. Some authorities on poetry deny the authenticity of these last two poems. The words *wafā'l-shaidī* and *mujayrun yajrifu* are not from I.I.

646. Ka'b b. Mālik answered him according to I.H

> Tell Fihr in spite of the distance between us
> (For they have true news of us today)
> That we were steadfast while death's standards fluttered
> That morn on the floor of Yathrib's valley.
> We stood firm against them, for steadfastness is our nature.
> When coltroots flee we rise to the occasion
> 'Tis our wont to go forward firmly
> Of old we did so and gained the first place

We have an unconquerable band led by a prophet
Who has brought the truth, is clement, and sedulous as true
Can it be that the mixed tribes of Fihr have not heard
Of the massacre of bodies and the splitting of skulls?

647. Some authorities on poetry deny that Amr said this

648. This poem is the best that has been written on the subject. Hassān composed it at night and summoned his people, saying: 'I am afraid that death may overtake me before the morning and it may not be recited in my name.'

Abū 'Ubayda quoted to me the verse of al-Hajjāj b. 'Ilj al-Sulamī in praise of 'Alī in which he mentioned his killing Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā, the standard-bearer of the polytheists, on the day of Uhud:

By God, what a fine protector of women is Fāṭima's son
Whose paternal and maternal uncles were noble!
You quickly dealt him a deadly thrust
Which left Ṭalḥa with his forehead clinging to the dust;
You attacked them like a hero and made them retreat
At the mountain foot, where they fell one after another.

649. Most authorities on poetry deny Hassān's authorship. The verses 'Who in the winter' 'Who tempt to chest brudles' and 'By one who suffered time's misfortunes' are not from it.

650. Abū Zayd quoted to me the verse 'How we behave' and the next verse and the third verse from it and the beginning of the fourth and the words 'We grow up and our fathers perish' and the next verse and the third verse from it.

651. Abū Zayd quoted me the poem from the words 'Advancing and encouraging us' to the end.

652. Abū Zayd recited it to me as from Ka'b b. Mālik.

653. Abū Zayd quoted me the words 'you have not won' and 'of Him who grants the best favours'

654. Some authorities on poetry deny Dirār's authorship.

655. An authority on poetry told me that 'Alī did not utter these words, and I have never met anyone who recognized them as 'Alī's. They were spoken by an unknown Muslim. The phrase 'as night' has not I.I.'s authority.

656. The words 'all of us' and 'they would have a morning draught' have not I.I.'s authority

657. An authority on poetry quoted to me her words 'In sorrow and tears,' &c

658. An authority on poetry quoted to me her line 'Some from whom I sought vengeance,' &c. Some authorities deny that Hind uttered it, and only God knows the truth.

659. Adal and al-Qāra belonged to al-Hūn or al-Hūn b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika.

660. *Hābil* means 'bereaved'

661. They sold them to Quraysh for two prisoners of Hudhayl who were in Mecca.

662. al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir was the maternal uncle of Abū Ṭālib. The latter was one of B. Uṣayd b. 'Amr b. Tamīm; others say one of B. 'Udī b. Zayd b. Abdullāh b. Darīm of B. Tamīm.

663. It is said that the youngster was her son.

664. Khubayb remained imprisoned until the sacred months had passed and then they killed him.

665. *al-aladd* means one who makes mischief with violent opposition, plural *ludd*, as in God's book, 'that you may warn thereby a contumacious people' (19. 97). Al-Muhalhil b. Rabī'a al-Taghlibī whose name was Imru'ul-Qays (others say 'Adiy b. Rabī'a (S. shows conclusively that it was 'Adiy) said

Beneath the stones lies one a menace to his enemies, a boon to his friends,
A doughty adversary, great in argument.

Others report 'with an argument that silences his opponents' *mighlāq* here means *aladdu* as in the line of al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm describing the chameleon:

He looks down on tree stumps as though
He were an adversary who had overcome his contumacious rivals.

[*Diwān*, ed. Krenkow, 141, l. 16.]

666. *Yabī nafsahu* means 'selling himself'. *Sharaw* means 'they sold'. Yazīd b. Rabī'a b. Mufarrigh al-Himyarī said.

And I sold Burd. Would that I had died
Before I sold him.

Burd was a slave whom he sold. *Sharā* also means 'he bought', as in the poet's words

I said to her: Grieve not, Umm Mālik, over your sons
Though a mean fellow has bought them.

667. Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship.

668. For *rifāq* there is a variant *fawāq*. We have omitted the rest of the poem because he used obscene language.

669. This poem resembles the preceding. Some authorities on poetry deny that Hassān composed it. I have omitted some words of Hassān about the affair of Khubayb for reasons I have given.

670. Anas was al-Anasu al-Sulamī, maternal uncle of Muṭ'im b. 'Adiy b. Nawfal b. Abdu Manāf. When he says "Udas expelled' he means

Hujayr b. Abū Thih others say al-A'shā b. Zurāra b. al-Nabbāsh al-Asadī, who was an ally of B. Nawfal b. 'Abdu Manāf

671. Zuhayr b. al-Aghtar and Jānī were the Hudhayl'īs who sold Khubayb.

672. Abū Zayd quoted the last line to me.

673. The last verse is on the authority of Abū Zayd.

674. Most authorities on poetry deny Hassān's authorship. A variant in the last line is *wajaddida*. So C W has *tajaddida*

675. The Anṣārī was al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Uqba b. Uhayba b. al-Julāḥ.

676. Of B. Kilāb. Abū 'Amr al-Madanī said that they were of B. Sulaym

677. Hakam b. Sa'd was of al-Qayn b. Jasr Umamu'l-Banīn was d. 'Amr b 'Āmir b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a and the mother of Abū Barā

678. The last verse was quoted to me by Abū Zayd. He quoted to me the following as from Ka'b b. Mālik pouring scorn on B. Ja'far b. Kilāb

You abandoned your protégé to the B. Sulaym
In your impotence and poltroonery fearing to fight.
Had there been a covenant with 'Uqayl,
That agreement would have stood firm.
Or with al-Qurayṣ they would not have betrayed him
They have ever kept their faith though you have not been loyal.

The Qurayṣ are a tribe of Ḥawāzin. There is another reading 'with Nufayl' for 'with 'Uqayl' and this is correct because al-Qurayṣ are near to Nufayl

679. He left I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina

680. This was in Rabī'u'l-awwal. He besieged them for six nights and the prohibition of wine came down.

681. *Lina* are of different kinds Palms neither fruitful nor bearing good dates according to what Abū 'Ubayda told me. This exclamation, which is also [illegible]

The saddle-frames above it looked like a bird's nest
On the thick-trunked palm as its sides oscillated

682. *Ahsafūna* means 'You drove them fast and wearied them in running' Tamīm b. Ubayy b. Muqbil, one of B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, said

Protection with swords newly polished
From riders when they urged their steeds at a gallop

i.e. 'running'

Abū Zayd al-Ṭā'ī whose name was Ḥurmala b. al-Mundhir said

Their girths tightened like Indian lances
Because of the length of the run (*wajīf*) through land bare of pasture.

Ḥizāf means 'girth' *Wajīf* means 'throbbing of the heart and the liver', i.e. the heart. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm al-Ṣaḥrī said:

Though they brought what they know,
Our livers palpitate behind them.

683. Qays b. Bahr al-Ashja'ī.

684. 'Amr b. Bakrba was of Ghaṭafān. The words 'in a distant place' are not from I I

684a. Some of our traditionists tell me that some anonymous Muslim recited the verses. I have never met anyone who knew them as Ali's.

685. Or Abdullāh b. Rawāha.

686. Abū 'Amr al-Madanī said: After B. Naḍīr the apostle attacked B al-Muṣṭaliq. I shall relate that story in the place in which I.I related it

687. He put Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina, or according to others 'Uthmān b. 'Affān It was called Dhāru'l-Riqā' because they patched their flags there. Others say because there was a tree of that name there. [Cf. W R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 185.]

688. Abdu'l-Wārith b. Sa'īd al-Tannūrī, surnamed Abū 'Ubayda, told us from Yūnus b. Ubayd from al-Ḥasan b. Abū'l-Ḥasan from Jābir b. Abdullāh concerning the prayer of fear the apostle prayed two bows with one [illegible] with his [illegible] to peace [illegible] the other section were facing the enemy [illegible] prayed two bows with them, ending with the invocation of peace

Abdu'l-Wārith from Ayyūb from Abū'l-Zubayr from Jābir The apostle ranged us in two ranks and bowed with us all. Then the apostle prostrated himself and the front rank prostrated. When they raised their heads those near to them prostrated themselves. Then the front rank went back and the rear rank advanced until they occupied their place. Then the prophet bowed with them all: then he prostrated and those next him did likewise. When they raised their heads those behind prostrated themselves. The prophet bowed with them all and each one of them prostrated twice

Abdu'l-Wārith b. Sa'īd al-Tannūrī from Ayyūb from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar said: The imam stands and one section stands with him while another section are near the enemy. The imam bows and prostrates with them Then they withdraw and become those nearest the enemy The others advance and the imam performs one bow and one prostration with them. Then each section prays with one bow They have one bow with the imam and one by themselves.

689. It was plated with silver

690. The two men were 'Ammār b. Yāsir and 'Abbād b. Bishr

691. Another reading is *usfāhānī*

692. He left Abdullāh b. Abdullāh b. Ubayy b Salūl al-Anṣārī in charge of Medina.

693. Abū Zayd quoted it to me as from Ka'b b. Mālik.

694. We have omitted the remaining verses because the rhyme is faulty. Abū Zayd quoted to me the line 'that young gazelles', &c., and the following verses coming from Ḥassān in connexion with the line 'You can say good-bye to Syria', &c. He also quoted his line 'Take Abū Sufyān a message'.

695. In Rabī'u'l-awwal, leaving Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭa al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina.

696. *Lawdāh* means 'concealing something in flight'. Ḥassān b. Thābit said:

> Quraysh fled from us to hide themselves
> So that they stood not firm, their minds unsettled

This is a verse which we have mentioned in the poetry about Badr (p. 626).

697. He put I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

698. A traditionist whom I trust told me that Mu'attib was not one of the disaffected; his argument was that he was at Badr.

699. Or 'Amr b. 'Abd b. Abū Qays [apparently a late attempt to remove the heathen name of Wudd].

700. It is said that Salmān the Persian advised the apostle to make it. A traditionist told me that on this day the Muhājirūn claimed that Salmān belonged to them, while the Anṣār said that he was their man, but the apostle said, 'Salmān belongs to us, the people of the house.'

701. Most authorities on poetry doubt 'Alī's authorship.

702. *Fur'al* is a young hyaena. At the battles of the Trench and B. Qurayẓa the cry of the apostle's companions was *Ḥā Mīm* [the letters prefixed to sūras 40, 41, 43, 45, and 46] 'They will not be helped!'

703. It is said that the man who shot Sa'd was Khafāja b. 'Āṣim b. Ḥabīb.

704. Mardjūl is a kind of Yamān cloth.

705. He left I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

706. Others say Anas.

707. God sent down concerning Abū Lubāba according to what Sufyān b. 'Uyayna from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid from 'Abdullāh b. Abū Qatāda said, 'O ye who believe, do not betray God and the apostle and be false to your engagements while you know what you are doing (8. 27).

708. The remained [illegible] a stump for six nights. The wife used to come to him at every time of prayer and [illegible] would return and tie himself to the stump according to what a traditionist [illegible] and the verse which came down about his repentance is the words of [illegible] 'And others who confess their sins have mingled good actions with others; it may be that God will forgive them. Verily God is forgiving, merciful' (9. 103).

709. A traditionist whom I trust told me that Ali cried as they were besieging B. Qurayẓa, 'O squadron of the Faith'; and he and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām advanced and he said, 'Either I will taste what Ḥamza tasted or I will conquer their fort.' They said, 'O Muḥammad, we will submit to the judgement of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh.'

710. *Ḥuqqāniya* means a kind of brocade.

711. This was the woman who threw the millstone on Khallād b. Suwayd and killed him.

712. *Qabla* is the receiving of the bucket of the camel drawing water. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā said concerning *qabla*:

> Whenever his hands got hold of the bottom of the bucket
> He sings as he stands pouring out the water.

Another reading is *wadhbila wakhaqqā*, meaning 'the receiver of the bucket takes hold of it'. The *nadīḥ* is the camel that draws the water to irrigate. Cf. *Sharḥ Dīwān Zuhayr*, Cairo, 1944, p. 40. [Here I.H. is explaining the variant *qabla* for *fatla*.]

713. *Aqṭār* means 'sides', singular *qiṭr*. *Quṭr*, plural *aqṭār*, has the same meaning. Al-Farazdaq said:

> What wealth did God open to them
> As the horses rolled on their sides

[i.e. to get to their feet]. *Aqṭār* and *aṭār* are variant readings.

714. *Salaqūhum* means 'they injured you with milk, burned and distressed you'. The Bedouin say 'an eloquent (*salīq*) speaker and *Ṣarīḥ mirlaq* and *milqāq*.' A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said:

> Among them is glory, tolerance, and nobility
> Among them is the sharp eloquent orator

715. *Qaṣṣ nakhrahu* means 'died'. *Nakhr* means 'breath', according to what Abū 'Ubayda told me; its plural is *nukūr*. Dhū'l-Rumma said:

> The night that the Ḥārithīs fled
> After 'Ilabor died (*qaṣṣ nakhrahu*) in the cavalry charge.

Ilabor was one of B. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b. He means Yazīd b. Ilabar. *Nakhr* also means 'vow'. Jarīr b. al-Khaṭafī said:

> In Tikhfa we fought the kings, and our cavalry
> Went on the night of Bisṭām to fulfil their vow

He means the vow they had sworn to kill him and they did kill him. Bisṭām was Bisṭām b. Qays b. Mas'ūd al-Shaybānī, who was Ibn Dhū'l-Jaddayn. Abū 'Ubayda told me that he was the knight of Rabī'a b. Nizār. Tikhfa is a place on the Basra road. *Nakhr* also means 'wagon', or 'bier'. Al-Farazdaq said:

> When Kulayb bet against people which of us
> Is more generous and liberal?

Another meaning is 'weeping'. *Nakb* also means 'necessity and need'. You can say 'They have nothing I want.' Malik b. Buwayra al-Yarbū'ī said:

> They have nothing I want except that I
> Seek the red-eyed camels of Shudun that you want

Nahār b. Tawsi'a, one of B. Taymu'l-Lāt b. Tha'laba b. 'Ukāba b. Sa'b b. Ali b. Bakr b. Wā'il, who were clients of B. Hanīfa, said:

> A long gallop saved Yūsuf al-Thaqafī
> After the standard had fallen.
> Had they overtaken him they would have fulfilled their need of him
> There is a protector for every (victim) missed

Nakb also means 'a gentle raised gait'.

716. Suhaym slave of B. al-Hashās who are of B. Asad b. Khuzayma said:

> The chiefs' lay dead on the ground
> And Tamīm's women hastened to the forts

Sayda' also means 'horns'. Al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī said:

> (Death smote the) chiefs of my tribe so that I was alone
> Like the horn of a bull whose other horn is broken off

Abū Dawūd al-Iyādī said:

> The blackness of their horns scared us,
> Their feet as it were sprinkled with pitch and tar

Sayda' also means the weaver's implement according to what Abū 'Ubayda told me, and he quoted me the line of Dureyd b. al-Simma al-Jushamī, Jusham b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin:

> I looked at him as the spears[1] went through him
> As the *sayda'* go through the outstretched web

Sayda' also means the protuberances on the feet of cocks like little horns. It also means 'roots'. He told me that the Arabs say: 'May God cut off his *sayda'*, i.e. his root'.

717. The metaphorical meaning of this tradition is (explained in) the words of 'Ā'isha: 'The apostle said, "The grave has a hold on people; if anyone were to escape from it it would be Sa'd b. Mu'ādh."'

718. She was Kulayba d. Rāfi' b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Abdu'l-Ashjal, who was Khālid b. 'Auf b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj.

719. You can say *sahma ghārbun* and *sahmun ghārbun* with or without *idāfa*. It is not known whence the arrow comes or who shot it.

720. He was 'Uthmān b. Umayya b. Munabbih b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbāq.

721. I have heard from al-Zuhrī that they gave[2] the apostle 10,000 dirhams for his body.

[1] The poet is speaking of mountain goats.
[2] W's *wa-ilā-ilā* makes no sense and violates the metre. It is one of his very few mistakes.
[3] Perhaps the sense here is merely 'they offered to give'.

722. A trustworthy person told me that he was told on the authority of al-Zuhrī that that day 'Alī killed 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd and his son Hisl. Others say 'Amr b. 'Abd. [Presumably the name of the heathen diety has been dropped.]

723. One whom I can trust told me from 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr: 'When Ka'b said, "Quraysh came to contend with their Lord", etc., the apostle said: "God thanks you, Ka'b, for saying that."'

724. Abū Zayd quoted to me verses 8 and 10 and v. 11 with the variant 'as though to the top of Qudā al-Mashriq'.

725. The verses 'We kept every lion [illegible] courser' and the following verse and the third and fourth and the verse 'Haughty as an angry lion' and the following verse are from Abū Zayd.

726. Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship. The words 'Amr to dismount' are not from I I.

727. Some authorities on poetry deny Ḥassān's authorship.

728. These verses are credited to Rabī'a b. Umayya al-Dīlī, whose last verse runs:

> You brought the Khazraj to his knees
> And so I saw my desire on him.

The verses are also credited to Abū Usāma al-Jushamī.

729. Or his leg.

730. Another reading is *wāsiṭa*, 'amidst'.

731. He left I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

732. More than one traditionist asserted that Waqqāṣ b. Muhriz al-Mudlijī was also killed that day.

733. Sa'd's horse was Lāḥiq; Miqdād's was Ba'zaja or Sabḥa; 'Ukkāsha's was Dhū'l-Limma; Abū Qatāda's was Ḥayzūm; 'Abbād's was Laḥzam; Uṣayd's was Maṣūn; and Abū Ayyūb's was Jalwa.

734. He left I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

735. When Ḥassān said this Sa'd b. Zayd was enraged against him and swore that he would never speak to him again. He said: 'He has actually attributed my horses and my horsemen to al-Miqdād!' Ḥassān excused himself saying, 'That was not my intention, I swear. But al-Miqdād's name suited the rhyme.' Ḥassān composed other verses to placate Sa'd:

> If you seek the mounted warrior
> Or an able man, go to Sa'd,
> Sa'd b. Zayd the dauntless.

But Sa'd would not accept the apology and it availed him naught.

736. Abū Zayd quoted me the line 'We feed the guest'.

737. He put Abū Dhar al-Ghifārī or Numayla b. Abdullah al-Laythī in charge of Medina.

738. The war-cry of the Muslims on the day of B. Muṣṭaliq was 'O victorious one, stay, stay.'

739. It is said that when the apostle departed from the raid with Juwayriya and was at Dhāt'l-Jayish he entrusted her to one of the Anṣār and went forward to Medina. Her father al-Ḥārith came bringing his daughter's ransom. When he was in al-Aqīq he looked at the camels he had brought as her ransom and hid three of them in one of the passes of al-Aqīq. Then he came to the prophet and told him that he had brought the ransom of his daughter. He said, 'Where are the two camels which you have hidden in al-Aqīq for such and such a pass?' And he was astonished. He bears witness that there is no God but Allāh and that you, Muḥammad, are the apostle of Allāh; for no one except myself knew of this but God. He and his companions who were with him and some of his men accepted Islam and he sent for the two camels and brought them and handed all of them over to the prophet. His daughter was handed over to him and became in the care of Muḥammad. The apostle asked her father to let him marry her and when he agreed he gave her away in marriage.

740. She was Umm Rūmān, Zaynab d. 'Abdu Dubānī, son of B. Fiḥr b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kināna.

741. Others say it was 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy and his companions. The one who had the greater share therein was Abdullāh, as I have shown above. [Presumably I-H.'s note ends at this point.]

742. In the tradition *ashrāf* and *ashrāf* occur, but the Qur'ān has *ashrāf* with *fajr*. 'Let not those who possess dignity among you,' *yu'talī* means 'be remiss', as in the line of Imru'u'l-Qays al-Kindī

> Many a troublesome opponent have I repelled for love of you,
> One who advised and reproved me without ceasing (*mu'talī*)

(*Mu'allaqāt*, v. 41). It is said that the Qur'ānic words mean 'Let not those who possess dignity take an oath', which according to what we have heard is what al-Ḥasan Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said. And in God's book 'Those who forswear their wives' (*yu'lūna*) is from *ilāya* and *alya* means an oath. Umayya b. Thābit said

> I swear that no man is more careful than I
> In swearing an oath true and free from falsehood.

I shall mention this verse in its context later (p.d., W. p. 1026, l. 2). The meaning of *an yu'tū* in this case is *an lā yu'tū*, and in God's book we read: 'God makes it plain to you *an taḍillū*', meaning *an lā taḍillū*: He holds back the sky lest (*an*) it should fall on the earth, meaning *an lā*. I. Murtaqqiḥ al-Ḥimyarī said

> May I never frighten the camels in Jawn,
> May I not be called Yazīd
> If, fearing death, I make my shame public
> While the foes watch me, you I should turn aside

i.e. *al-ifḍā*.

743. Another version is: '[illegible] after God has guided you to Islam.'

744. The verses 'a noble woman' and the one after, and 'His rank' are on the authority of Abū Zayd. Abū 'Ubayda told me that a woman praised Ḥassān's daughter in 'Ā'isha's presence, saying

> Chaste, keeping to her house, above suspicion,
> Never thinking of smiting innocent women,

and 'Ā'isha said, 'But her father did!'

745. Ḥassān and his two companions.

746. He put Numayla b. Abdullah in charge of Medina.

747. Others say Bunr.

748. Abū b. Ḥirrāba.

749. For *yuhawwidūnaka* some say *yunadūnaka*.

750. In saying this 'Urwa meant that al-Mughīra before he became a Muslim had killed thirteen men of B. Mālik of Thaqīf. The two clans of Thaqīf fought, the B. Mālik the family of the slain, and the allies the family of al-Mughīra, and 'Urwa paid the bloodwit for the thirteen men and thus settled the affair.

751. Wāqī' from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid from al-Sha'bī mentioned that the first one to pledge the apostle was Abū Sinān al-Asadī. Once when I went from one who told him with a chain of witnesses going back to Abū Mulayka and to Abū 'Umar, told me that the apostle gave himself a pledge on behalf of 'Uthmān, striking one of his hands on the other.

752. *Ma'ālī* means 'bound'. A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said:

> 'Twas as though the thread kept the beads from scattering
> On either side of Umm Ghānī's graceful neck.

753. I have noted that Mujāhid said, 'This passage came down concerning al-Walīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra and Salama b. Hishām and 'Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabī'a and Abū Jandal b. Suhayl and others like them.'

754. The proof of al-Zuhrī's assertion that the apostle went to al-Ḥudaybiya with 1,400 men is in the words of Jābir b. 'Abdullāh: 'Then in the year of the conquest of Mecca two years afterwards the apostle marched with 10,000.'

755. Abū Bakr son of Thaqīf.

756. Abū Uḥayḥa was an Aslamī.

757. The singular of *ḥibāl* is *ḥabl* which means a cord or rope. al-A'shā b. Qays said

> To Imru'u'l-Qays we make long journeys
> And we take ropes from every tribe. (*Dīwān* iv. 20.)

758. Abū Ubayda told us that some who were with the apostle when he came to Medina said to him, 'Did you not say that you would enter Mecca safely?'

He answered, 'Certainly, but did I say that it would be this year?' They said 'No,' and he went on: 'It is in accordance with what Gabriel said to me.'"

759. He put Numayla b. 'Abdullah in charge of Medina and gave the standard to 'Ali. It was white.

760. The war-cry of the companions at Khaybar was 'O victorious one, slay slay!'

761. Abu Zayd quoted the lines thus

> Khaybar knows that I am Ka'b
> And that when war breaks out
> I advance against terrors, bold and brave
> carry a sharp sword that gives a fine lightning
> in the hand of a warrior sans reproach
> We will crush you till the strong is humbled.

Marhab was from Khaybar.

762. It was white.

763. Judhim is the brother of Fahhum.

764. *Fawar* means 'the eyelids were uncovered from the eyes as an animal's 'upsi' are uncovered when one looks at its teeth.' He means 'they uncovered the eyelids from the covers of the eyelids' meaning the Anṣār. [But the Jews must be referred to here.]

765. Or b. al-Hubib. 'I. Uhayb b. Suhaym b. Ghiyara of B. Sa'd b. Layth, an ally of B. Asad and the son of their sister.

766. Al-Aswad the shepherd was one of the people of Khaybar.

767. Another reading is 'the spoil of Muhammad' &c.

768. Abu Zayd quoted these verses to me from Ka'b b. Mālik and he quoted

> What stopped him was the behaviour of his horse.
> But for that he would not have been wanting

769. A rhapsodist quoted to me his words 'when I charged' etc. 'perished in the feeding place'.

Ka'b b. Mālik said, according to Ibn Hishām on the authority of Abu Zayd.

> "We came down to Khaybar and its drinking places
> With every strong warrior whose veins showed in his hand."
> Brave in dangers, in wrinkings
> Into against the enemy in every battle
> Courageous with [illegible] weapons
> Smiting with the blade of an Indian sword,
> They think [illegible] in consequence [illegible] the warriors
> They hope for from God and [illegible] [illegible]
> They protect and defend Muhammad's protégé
> They fight for him with hand and tongue

> They help him in every matter that troubles him
> Endangering [illegible] in defence of Muhammad s.
> Sincerely believing in the news of the unseen.
> Among them by [illegible] and hopes in the time to come

770. On the day of Khaybar the apostle decided which were Arab horses and which were of mixed blood.

771. He was called 'Ubayd al-Sihām because he bought the shares. He was 'Ubayd b. Aus, one of B. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. Amr b. Mālik b. Aus.

772. (Loads refer to) wheat, barley, dates, and date-stones, &c. He distributed them according to their needs. [This useful explanatory note from LH is not in W's text and there is no mention of the reading in his critical notes in vol. iii. C. notes that it is missing in W but does not state what manuscripts contain it. Date-stones were pounded up and used for camel fodder.] The need of B. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib was greater and so he gave them more.

773. Some say 'Azza b. Mālik and his brother Murra or Marwān b. Mālik. [This latter divergence obviously shows that the tradition rested on manuscripts which could not be read with certainty.]

774. According to Mālik b. Anas he said *Kabbir Kabbir!* [There is no difference in the meaning.]

775. Or Aslam.

776. Some say to Qatāda.

777. The word *khuṣṣ* means 'share'. You can say *akhuṣṣa'l jalāla khuṣṣatan*, 'someone gave me a sheep'.

778. Sufyān b. 'Uyayna from al-Ajlaḥ from al-Sha'bī said that Ja'far b. Abu Ṭālib came to the apostle the day he conquered Khaybar. The apostle kissed his forehead and taking hold of him said, 'I don't know which gives me the greater pleasure—the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Ja'far.'

779. Others say her name was Humayra.

780. He put 'Uwayf b. al-Adbaṭ al-Dili in charge of [illegible]. This is also called the Pilgrimage of Retaliation, because [illegible] from pilgrimage in Mu'ḥarram in the holy month (A.H. 7) and the apostle recognized the entered [illegible] which they [illegible] in A.H. 8. [illegible] Abbas said [illegible] revelation concerning that [illegible] "[illegible] are subject to retaliation" (2:190).

781. The words 'We will fight you about its interpretation' to the end of the verses were spoken by Ammār b. Yāsir about another battle. The proof of this is that L. Revelation referred only to the polytheists. They did not believe in the revelation and only those who did would fight for an interpretation of it. [S. says the occasion was the battle of Ṣiffīn, and this certainly gives point to the verses which are to be found in the K. *Ṣiffīn*.

782. She had entrusted her sister Umm al-Fadl with her affairs; she, being married to al-'Abbās, confided the matter to him, and he married her to the apostle in Mecca and gave her as dowry on the apostle's behalf 400 dirhams.

783. God sent down to him—so Abū 'Ubayda told me—'God has fulfilled the vision in reality to His apostle. "You shall enter the sacred mosque if God will in safety with heads shaved and (hair) shorn, not fearing." He knows what you do not know, and He has wrought besides that a victory near by' (48. 27), i.e. Khaybar.

784. Some authorities on poetry quoted the verses to me, him

> You are the apostle and he who is deprived of his gifts
> And the sight of him has no real worth.
> May God confirm the good things He gave you
> Among the apostles, and the victory as they were helped.
> I perceived goodness in you by a natural gift.
> An intuition which is contrary to what they think of you,

meaning the polytheists.

785. Another reading is

> We urged on our horses from the thickets of Qurb.

[This is the reading of T. 1212, 1. 9 and Yāq. iv. 53, r. 22, who says that Qurb is in the Wādī'l-Qurā. I.'s reading is given in Yāq. iv. 571.] The words 'We arranged their bridles' are not from I.I.

786. Others say 'Ubāda b. Mālik.

787. A traditionist whom I trust told me that Ja'far took the flag in his right hand and it was cut off, then he held it in his left hand and that was cut off, then he held it to his breast with his arms until he was slain. He was 33 years old. For that God rewarded him with a pair of wings in Paradise with which he flew whither he would. It is said that a Greek gave him a blow which cut him asunder.

788. Another reading is 40 skins (*ruwā'a*).

789. The words 'al-Irdah are not from I.I. The third verse is from Khālid b. Qurra; others say Mālik b. Rāfiʿa.

790. **Al-Zuhrī** according to our information said that the Muslims made Khālid their chief and God helped them, and he was in charge of them until he came back to the prophet.

791. To these I. Shihāb added: From B. Māzin: Abū Kulayb and Jābir, sons of 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Auf b. Mabdhūl, full brothers. From B. Mālik b. Afṣā: 'Amr and 'Amr, sons of Sa'd b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abbād b. Sa'd b. 'Amir b. Thaʿlaba b. Mālik b. Afṣā. Others say, Abū Kilāb and Jābir, sons of 'Amr.

792. The poem is ascribed to Ḥabīb b. 'Abdullāh al-A'lam al-Hudhalī, and the verse 'I remembered the ancient blood-feud' is from Abū 'Ubayda, also the words 'wide-nostrilled' and 'strong, lean-flanked', &c.

793. The words 'except Nafīl' and 'to the slopes of Radwā' are not from I.I. Concerning him Ḥassān b. Thābit said:

> God curse the tribe we left deprived of their best men
> With none but Nāgib to call them together.
> O Naufal, testicles of a donkey who died last night
> When have you ever been successful, you enemy of baggage!

[The last insult means: you never equip yourself for a foray; or, perhaps, 'you thief'.]

794. Another reading is 'Help us, God guide you, with strong aid'; and 'We provided the mother and you are the son'.

795. Another reading is 'the worst enemy'.

796. By the words 'By men who had not drawn their swords' he means Quraysh, and by 'the son of Umm Mujālid' he means 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl.[1]

797. **He met him** in al-Juḥfa migrating with his family, before that he had lived in Mecca in charge of the watering with the goodwill of the apostle, according to what al-Zuhrī told me.

798. Another reading is: And one whom I had driven out led me to the truth.

799. It was called greenish-black because of the large amount of steel in it. Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza al-Yashkurī said:

> Then Hujr, I mean Ibn Umm Qatām,
> With his greenish-black horsemen

meaning the squadron; and Ḥassān b. Thābit said:

> When he saw Badr's valley walls
> Swarming with the blackmailed squadrons of Khazraj

in his poem on Badr (p. 525).

800. Said to be 'Umar.

801. He was of Khuzā'a.

802. An authority on poetry quoted me his saying 'like a pillar' which is credited to al-Ri'āh al-Hudhalī. On the day of Mecca, Ḥunayn, and al-Ṭā'if the battle-cry of the *muhājirūn* was 'O Banū 'Abdu 'l-Raḥmān', of the Khazraj, 'O Banū 'Abdullāh'; of the Aus, 'O Banū 'Ubaydullāh'.

803. Afterwards he became a Muslim and 'Umar gave him a governorship and so did 'Uthmān after him.

804. Al-'Abbās had put Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm, the two daughters of the apostle, on a camel to take them from Mecca to Madīna and al-Huwayrith goaded the beast so that it threw them to the ground.

805. They were al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra.

[1] W. moves this sentence under I.I.'s name.

[illegible]

have pictured our shaykh as a man divining with arrows. What has Abraham to do with such things? "Abraham was not a Jew nor a Christian, but he was a *hanif*, a Muslim, and was not a polytheist" (3: 60). Then he gave orders that all these pictures should be erased. (Azraqi, Mecca, 1352, 104 ff. records a tradition that the picture of Jesus and Mary was retained by the prophet.)

He also told me that the apostle and Bilal entered the Ka'ba, and when the former came out Bilal remained behind. Abdallah b. 'Umar went in to him and asked him where the apostle had prayed, but he did not ask how many times. When Ibn 'Umar went into the temple he walked straight forward until there was a space of about three cubits between the wall and the door behind

[illegible]

this so that we could say that it was he who told you.

[illegible] I heard that the first man for whom the apostle paid the blood-wit was Junaydib b. al-Akwa'. The B. Ka'b killed him and the apostle paid a hundred she-camels for him.

I heard from Yazid b. Sa'id that when the prophet entered Mecca he stood on al-Safa praying to God. The Ansar were all round him and were saying among themselves, 'Do you think that now that God has given him power over his land and his town that he will remain in it?' When he had ended his prayers he asked them what they had been saying. At first they would not say, but finally they said, 'We said, "God forbid!" The place where I live will be your place, and the place where I die will be yours.'

A tradition[illegible] he whom [illegible] with a chain going back to Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abdallah from Ibn 'Abbas said: The apostle entered Mecca on the day of conquest riding his camel, and went round the Ka'ba on it. All round the temple were images set on lead, and the apostle was pointing at them with a stick in his hand saying, 'Truth has come and falsehood has passed away. Falsehood is bound to pass away' (17: 81). If he pointed at the image's face it fell backwards; if he pointed at its back it fell on its face; quite there was not one of them standing. Tamim b. Asad al-Khuza'i used commenting that

> In the idols there is no instructive lesson
> To one who hopes for reward or punishment.

He told me that Fadala b. 'Umayr b. al-Mulawwah al-Laythi wanted to kill the prophet as he was going round the temple in the year of the conquest

[illegible]

[illegible] people. I passed by a woman with whom I used to have converse, and when she asked me to join her I refused.' He used to say,

> She said, 'Come and talk.' and I said,
> God and Islam make it unlawful.
> If you had seen Muhammad and his victorious army
> The day the idols were smashed
> You would have seen God's religion shining plainly
> And darkness covering the face of idolatry.

[illegible] A traditionist of Quraysh told me that Suhayla said to 'Umayr, 'Confound you, get away and do not speak to me, for you are a liar, because of what he himself had done. We have mentioned the latter at the end of the account of the battle of Badr.

[illegible] Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship of this poem.

[illegible] Another version is 'And hindsight's minds were severed from you.'

[illegible] Hassan said this on the day of the occupation. For [illegible] see [illegible]. Al-Zuhri is reported to have said, 'When the apostle saw the women flapping their veils in the heroes he looked at Abu Bakr with a smile.

[illegible] This is part of a longer ode of his.

[illegible] Abbas b. Mirdas al-Sulami said

> With us on the day Muhammad entered Mecca
> Were a thousand marked men[illegible]—the valleys flowed with them
> They had helped the apostle and been present at his battles,
> Their mark on the day of battle being to the fore.
> In a strait place their feet were firm
> They split the enemies' heads like coleoptera
> Their heroes had traversed Najd beforehand
> Till at last black Hijaz became subject to them.
> God gave him the mastery of it
> The judgment of the sword and victorious fortune subdued it to us

[illegible]

ABDAL B. MIRDAS BECOMES A MOSLEM

According to what an authority on poetry told me the father of 'Abbas had an idol which he used to worship. It was a stone called Dumar. One day

[illegible] with a distinguishing turban or cushion; or the word might mean 'stained' [illegible]

Mirdas said to his son, 'Worship Qamdan, for it can both help and hurt you.' When Abbas was by Qamdan he heard a voice saying from within it

> Say to all the tribes of Salaym,
> Qamdan is dead and the people of the mosque have come
> [illegible] Quraysh who has adopted prophet [illegible] guidance
> A lie. The Sun of truth is the rightly guided one
> Qamdan is dead though once he was worshipped
> Helpless sincere came to the people Muhammad

At that Abbas burned Qamdan and joining the prophet became a Muslim.

Ja'da b. Abdallah al-Khuzā'ī on the day Mecca was entered said

> O Ka'b b. 'Amr, hear a claim that is true
> Of death decreed for him on the day of battle,
> Decreed for him from everywhere,
> That he should die by sight weaponless
> We are they whose horses closed up Ghazāl,
> And Lifr and Fajj T'ilb we closed up
> We banished our spears behind the Muslims
> In a great army supported by our horses

Bujayr b. 'Imran al-Khuzā'ī said

> God caused the clouds to help us,
> Heaps of low-lying clouds one above another.
> Our migration is in our country where we have
> A book which comes from the best of dictators and writers.
> For our sakes Mecca's sanctuary was profaned
> That we might get revenge with our sharp swords

814 Abbas b. Mirdas said concerning this:

> Since you have made Khālid chief of the army
> And promoted him he has become chief indeed
> In an army guided by God whose commander you are
> By which we smite the wicked with every right.

These two verses belong to an ode of his about the battle of Hunayn which I shall mention later, God willing. [See p. 483.]

815. A traditionist who had it from Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Muhammadī told me that the apostle said: 'In a dream I swallowed a morsel of dates mixed with butter and enjoyed the taste of it, but some of it stuck in my gullet when I was trying to swallow it and Ali thrust in his hand and pulled it out.' Abu Bakr said: 'This is one of the particles you hear out. You will hear sidings which you will like and dislike, and you will see Ali to put matters right.'

He told me that one of the men escaped and came to the apostle to tell him the news. The apostle asked if anyone opposed Khālid, and he replied that a fair man of medium height had done so but Khālid drove him away. Another man tall and of clumsy figure argued with him until the dispute

[1] Lit. 'from his earliest to his day'. Cf. Wustenfeld, *Die Schlacht bei der Abrahahöhle*, Leipzig, 1866, 18 f.

became hot. 'Umar said that the first was his son Abdallah and the other was Salim, a client of Abū Hudhayfa.

816. Abū Amr al-Madanī said: 'When Khālid came to them they said, "Have changed our religion, we have changed our religion."'

817. The word Bani and 'remained with the marriage-makers' are not from I.I.

818. Most authorities on poetry deny the authenticity of the last two lines.

819. More than one authority on poetry recited the first line to me.

820. The words 'Take to Hawāzin' to the end of the poem deal with this battle. What goes before has reference to something else. They are quite distinct, but I.I has made them into one poem.

821. Abū Sufyān's son was named Ja'far, his own name being al-Mughīra. Some people count Qutham b. al-Abbās among them and omit Abū Sufyān's son.

822. Kalada b. al-Hanbal.

823. Hassān b. Thābit lampooning Kalada said:

> I saw a black man afar off and he scared me
> 'Twas Abū Hanbal leaping on Umm Hanbal.
> 'Twas as though that with which he leapt upon her belly
> Was the forelegs of a camel sired by a mighty stallion!

Abū Zayd quoted these two verses to us, and said that in them he lampooned Safwān b. Umayya who was half-brother to Kalada on his mother's side. (This passage is not in W.)

824. These two verses were not spoken by Mālik and were about another battle.

825. Or 'the mouth of death'.

826. An authority on the oral tradition of poetry quoted to me the second hemistich in the form:

> And His cavalry has the best claim to constancy

827. Ghazālī is b. Salama al-Thaqafī, and 'Urwa is b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī.

828. Some say L. sadh'a.

829. The name of the man who killed Durayd was 'Abdallah b. Qumay' b. Uhbān b. 'Ilāja b. Sa'd.

830. 'These' [illegible] of Mālik have nothing to do with this battle. You can see that from the words of Durayd at the beginning of this account, 'What of Ka'b and Kilāb?' to which they replied, 'Not one of them is here.' Now Ja'far was the son of Kilāb and in these verses Mālik says, 'Ja'far and B. Hilāl would have returned.'

I have heard that cavalry came up while Mālik and his party were at the

[illegible]

and kept thrusting at them until he drove them from it

[illegible]

saying: 'O God, testify against him,' and he killed him. They began to [illegible] beautiful a good situation. When the spoor [illegible] survivor of Abū 'Āmir's onslaught. Two [illegible]

[illegible]

They were the ones who killed Abū 'Āmir
Who was a sharp sword with wavy marks.
They left him on the battlefield
As though wrapped in a crimson robe.
You have not seen their like among men,
Less likely to stumble or better shots.

831. God sent down concerning the day of Hunayn, 'God gave you victory in many places and on the day of Hunayn when you exulted in your multitude' to the words 'That is the reward of the unbelievers' (9: 25).

832. One of the rhapsodists said about it

When your prophet's uncle and friends arose
They cried, Help, O squadron of the faith!
Where are those who answered their Lord
On the day of al-'Urayḍ and the homage of al-Riḍwān?

833. The words 'covered with dust' are not from 7 I.

834. Khalaf al-Ahmar quoted to me the words 'And cried Stop!'

835. An authority on poetry recited to me 'we were his right wing' &c., but he knew nothing of the verse beginning 'we carried his banner'. After

[illegible]

837. Abū 'Ubayda told me that Zubayr b. al-'Awwām al-Hudhalī was taken prisoner at Hunayn and handcuffed. Jamīl b. Ma'mar al-Jumaḥī saw him and said, 'Are you the man who has been acting offensively against us?' and he struck off his head. Abū Khirash, who was his nephew, said in lamenting him

Jamīl b. Ma'mar has half-starved my guests
By killing a generous man to whom widows resorted.
The belt of his sword was long, no short one when he brandished it.
And the cord was loose upon him.
[illegible] his girdle
When the cold north winds were fierce
[illegible]
And the poor night traveller in his worn-out rags
Who gets half-frozen when the night winds blow
Driving him to seek refuge.
What ails the people of the camp that they do not separate
When [illegible]
[illegible] when he was not bound
Hyenas would have visited you at the mountain foot
If you had faced him when you met him
And fought him if you are a fighter
Jamīl would have met the most ignominious end
But a man whose hands are bound cannot defend himself.
[illegible]
The young man like the old man does naught but what is right
And the women blamers have nothing to say
Sincere brethren have become as though
One had poured on them the dust of the grave
But don't think that I have forgotten the nights in Mecca
When we could not be held back from what we took in hand,
[illegible]
And doors were not shut in our faces.

838. It is said that his name was Abū Thawāb Ziyād b. Thawāb. Khalaf al-Ahmar quoted me the words 'Red blood flowed because of our rage' and the last verse as one from 1.1.

839. Some say 17 days.

840. The apostle shot at them with catapults. One I can trust told me that the apostle was the first to use a catapult in Islam when he fired at the men of Ṭā'if.

841. It is said that the mother of Da'd was Maymūna d. Abū Sufyān who was married to Abū Murra b. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd, and she bore to him Da'd.

A frequent [illegible] a tall man. [illegible] mentioned the point here

843. I.I gave the names of those slaves who came.

844. The word yughin is not from I.I

845. Others say I. Hubāb

846. Another tradition is 'had we shared our milk with [illegible] &c

847. Zayd [illegible] Aslam from his father saying that Aqil b. Abū Ṭālib went to his wife [illegible] Shayba b. Rabī'a [illegible] and [illegible] with blood [illegible] plunder [illegible] got from the polytheists [illegible] make our clothes with and handed [illegible] one ordering me to return anything [illegible] threatening [illegible] and have it and threw it into the common stock

847. Nuṣayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada, and it may be that his name was al-Ḥārith also.

848. His name was Adiy b. Qays.

849. Yūnus al-Nahwī quoted me the verse with the word 'Mirdās' in place of 'my father' (This is T's reading. Another reading of I.I is 'my father and my grandfather.')

850. A traditionist told me that Abbās b. Mirdās came to the apostle who said to him, 'So you are the one who said

My spoil and that of 'Ubayd my horse
Is shared by al-Aqra' and 'Uyayna.

Abū Bakr said, 'Between 'Uyayna and al-Aqra'?' The apostle said, 'It's the same thing.' Abū Bakr said, 'I testify that you are as God said, "We have not taught him poetry and that is not fitting for him"' (Qur'ān 36, 69).

A traditionist in whom I have confidence from al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydullāh b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Utba b. Ibn 'Abbās—said: The apostle accepted the homage of Quraysh and others and gave them on the day of al-Fatḥ some of the spoil of Hunayn. [illegible]

B. Umayya: Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ṭalḥa b. Sufyān and Khālid b. Asīd.
B. 'Abdu'l-Dār: Shayba b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa; Abū Sanābil b. Ba'kak b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Umayr b. al-Sabbāq; 'Ikrima b. 'Āmir b. Hāshim.
B. Makhzūm: Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra and Khālid his brother, Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, Salmān b. 'Abdu'l-Asad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar, and al-Sā'ib b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr.
B. Adiy: Ka'b, Muṭī' b. al-Aswad b. Ḥārithā b. Nafīla, and Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfa b. Ghānim.
B. Jumaḥ: b. 'Amr, Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. Khalaf, Uhayba b. Umayya his brother, and 'Umayr b. Wahb b. Khalaf.
B. Sahm: Adiy b. Qays b. Ḥudhāfa.
B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: Huwayṭib b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā and Hishām b. 'Amr b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubayyib.

From mixed tribes:

B. Ṭalḥa: b. [illegible] Nawfal b. Kināna, Nawfal [illegible] b. [illegible] b. Ka'b b. Ya'mur [illegible] Fihra b. [illegible]
B. Qays of the B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a: clan of the sub-division B. Kilāb b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a: Aqrama b. 'Ubāba b. Aqit b. al-Abwaṣ b. Ja'far b. Kilāb and Labīd b. Rabī'a b. Mālik b. Ja'far b. Kilāb.
B. 'Āmir b. Rabī'a: Khālid b. Hawdha b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. 'Āmir b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a and [illegible] brother.
B. Nasr: [illegible] b. Aus b. Sa'd b. [illegible].
B. [illegible] al-Ashja': [illegible] b. Abū 'Āmir, brother of B. al-[illegible] b. [illegible] b. [illegible].
B. [illegible] of the sons of Fihr: [illegible] b. [illegible] b. [illegible] b. [illegible]
B. Tamīm of the clan of B. Ḥanzala: al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis b. 'Iqāl of B. Mujāshi' b. Dārim.

851. When the apostle made these gifts to Quraysh and the Bedouin tribes and gave nothing to the Anṣār, Ḥassān b. Thābit reproached him in the following verse:

Anxieties increased and tears flowed copiously
While I wept continuously
In longing for Sharmā', the lovely, the slender,
Without impurity or weakness.
Speak no more of Sharmā' since her love has waned,
(When love has grown cold there is no joy in meeting).
And come to the apostle and say: O thou most trusted
By believers from all mankind,
Why were Sulaym invited—mere outsiders,
Before a people who gave you shelter and help?
God called them Helpers because they helped true religion
While repeated wars broke out
And they vied in running in the way of God, enduring hardship,
Showing neither cowardice nor alarm.
And when men gathered against us for your sake
And we had but our swords and lances to a refuge
We fought them, sparing none
And abandoned nothing revealed in the sūra.
Those who love war do not shun our assembly
And when its fire blazed we were the kindlers.
As we repulsed the hypocrites at Badr that hopes unrealized
And through us victory was sent down.[1]
We were your army at the mountain slope of Uhud
When Mudar insolently gathered their adherents.
We were not remiss or cowardly
And they did not find us stumblers though all others were.

852. I have heard that Zayd b. Aslam said that when the apostle appointed Attāb as governor in Mecca his allowance was a dirham a day. He got up

[1] Or perhaps 'Concerning us the verse about "Victory" was sent down.'

and addressed the people in these words: 'God make hungry the liver of a man who is hungry on a dirham a day. The apostle has allowed me a dirham every day and I have no need of any one.'

853. The apostle arrived in Medina on 14th Dhu'l-Qa'da according to what 'Amr al-Madani alleged.

854. Another version is Al-Ma'mūr (the one under orders). The words 'Tell me plainly' are not from Ibn Isḥāq. An authority on poetry quoted me the lines thus:

> Who will give Bujayr a message from me
> Do you accept what I said at the mountain foot?
> You have drunk with al-Ma'mūn a full cup
> And he has added a second draught of the same
> You have gone against true guidance and followed him.
> Woe to you, to what has he led you?
> To a religion your parents knew naught of
> And your brother has naught to do with.
> If you don't accept what I say I shall not grieve
> Nor say if you stumble God help you.

He sent this to Bujayr and when he received it he did not like to hide it from the apostle so he recited it to him. When he heard the words 'Al-Ma'mūn has given you a full cup' he said, 'That is true and he is the liar! I am al-Ma'mūn': and when he heard the words 'A religion your parents knew naught of' he said, 'Certainly, his father and mother did not follow it.'

855. Or al-Ma'mūr.

856. Ka'b composed the ode after he came to the apostle at Medina. His verses 'The *qurāl* crawls over her' and 'Ungentlike is she' and 'She has a tail' and 'When he springs on his adversary' and 'Albeit ever in his wadi' are not on the authority of I. I.

857. It is said that the apostle said to him when he recited to him 'Su'ād is gone', 'Why didn't you speak well of the Ansār, for they deserve such mention?' So Ka'b spoke these words in an ode of his. I was told that 'Ali b. Zayd b. Jud'ān said that Ka'b recited 'Su'ād has gone' to the apostle in the mosque.

858. A trustworthy person told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Talha b. 'Umar b. Ḥaṣan b. 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik from his father from his grandfather: The apostle was in the house of Umm Sharīk when men came to him and said, 'Let back from the apostle to the camp of Talha b. al-Barā' and tell him to burn Suwaylim's house down on them.' Talha did so, and al-Dabbāk b. Khalīfa leapt from the top of the house and struck it and his friends rushed out and extinguished it. Al-Dabbāk said concerning that:

> By God's temple Muhammad's fire
> Almost burnt Dabbāk and Ibn Ubayraq

> I had gone to the top of Suwaylim's house
> And I crawled away on one whole leg and my elbow.
> My salaams to you, I'll never do the like again
> I am afraid. He whom fire surrounds is burned.

859. A trustworthy person told me that 'Uthmān spent on the raiding force a thousand dinars. The apostle said, 'O God, be pleased with 'Uthmān for I am pleased with him.'

860. He put Muhammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī in charge of Medina. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Muhammad al-Darāwardī from his father told me that he put Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭa (?) brother of B. Ghifār over Medina when he set out for Tabūk.

861. Abū Khaythama (his name was Mālik b. Qays) said:

> When I saw men hypocritical in religion
> I undertook that which is more chaste and nobler.
> And I pledged my fealty to Muhammad.
> And did no sin or wrong.
> I left the dyed one in the hut
> Where dates had ripened and camels were full of milk.
> When the hypocrite doubted my soul
> Flowed gently to the religion following wherever it led.

862. I have heard that al-Zuhrī said: When the apostle passed by al-Ḥijr he covered his face with his cloak and urged his camel on saying, 'Do not go among the houses of those who sinned unless you are riding fast for fear that you may meet with the fate that befell them.'

863. Others say I. Luqayṭ. [?] also has this reading, so that an early scribe is probably at fault.

864. Some say Makhshiy.

865. He was called Ibn Ḥinṭaṭa because when he broke away to Islām his people tried to stop him and he persuaded him that they left him with only one garment upon him. (The *ḥinṭaṭ* is a coarse sough wrapper.) He fled from them to the apostle and when he came near he rent his garment in two parts, grinding the middle with his and stepping through in the place. Then he came to the apostle and was called 'Ibn al-' his own garments. *Ḥinṭaṭ* also means a cloak of black hair as in the words of Jarīr al-' says:

> And when at first its rusty shroud bore down on Abān's top
> He stood like an ancient man in a grey-streaked mantle wrapped

866. Or 'than their eyesight'.

867. *Bi-fajrand* is the same as *bi-fajjand*.

868. [illegible] is not from I. I. [This is a most interesting note although obviously [illegible] quotation only the one word, and in [illegible] we have an idea of what it must be right. [illegible] no doubt is in the familiar [illegible] of the castle mouse which seems [illegible] have been frequently used [illegible] women when uttering taunts. The translation is no worse than the original.]

869. *Hilf* means *hilf* (treaty or oath). Aus b. Hajar, one of B. Lamyid b. 'Amr b. Tamim, said:

> Were it not for Banū Mālik who respect a treaty
> For Mālik are an honourable people who respect treaties

This verse occurs in an ode of his. Plural *ahlāf*. The poet says:

> There is no treaty whatever between me and you,
> So do not relax your effort.

Dhimma means *'ahd* (compact). Al-Ajda' b. Mālik al-Hamdānī, who was the father of Murrāq b. al-Ajda, the lawyer, said:

> There is an agreement binding on us
> That you should not encroach our boundary near or far

This is one of three verses of his. Plural *dhimam*.

870. *Wafd* means *dakhl* (friend), plural *awfād*, from *awfada*, which he entered and an Arab's book until a camel goes through the eye of a needle (p. 38). He says they have not chosen a friend other than him, concealing feelings towards him other than the [illegible] who are also disaffected or displaying faith to those who believe and when they go apart to their devils they say 'with you' (p. 39). The poet says:

> Know that you have been made a friend
> To whom they bring undiluted death.

871. *Ādā'a* *Ahlāfuhum* means 'hurried among your lines'. *Idā'* is a way of moving faster than walking. Al-Ajda b. Mālik al-Hamdānī said:

> My gallant horse will catch a wild bull for you
> By outrunning it at a pace between a gallop and a trot

[Perhaps the wild bull itself is addressed.]

872. Some ascribe the poem to his son 'Abdu'l-Rahmān.

873. The last hemistich is not from I.J.

874. The words 'and he has given us a name' are not from I.J.

875. Abū Zayd al-Ansārī quoted to me the verses 'They were kings, &c.,' and 'In Yathrib they had built forts and Dāth bays, spanned as from horn.

876. Abū 'Ubayda told me that that was in the year 9 and that it was called the year of the deputations.

877. (Not Habbāb but al-Hudir). The apostle established brotherhood between him and Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān. The apostle did this between a number of his companions, e.g. between Abū Bakr and 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf, Talha b. 'Ubaydullāh and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, Abū Ubayda al-Jarrāh and al-Miqdād b. 'Amr al-Bahrānī, and Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān and al-Hudir b. Yazīd al-[illegible]. Al-Hudir died in the presence of Mu'āwiya during his caliphate and by virtue of this

brotherhood Mu'āwiya took what he left as his heir. Al-Farazdaq said to Mu'āwiya:

> Your father and my uncle, O Mu'āwiya, left an inheritance
> So that his next of kin might inherit it
> But how come you to devour the estate of al-Hudir
> When the solid estate of Harb was melting in your hand?

878. And 'Uqbah b. Hajib, one of B. Dārim b. Mālik b. Hanzala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, and al-Aqra' b. Hābis, one of B. Dārim b. Mālik, and al-Hudir b. [illegible], one of the same, and al-Zibriqān b. Badr, one of B. Bahdala b. Aus b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, and Amr b. al-Ahtam, one of B. Minqar b. 'Ubayd b. al-Harith b. Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, and Qays b. Aqrā, one of B. Minqar.

879. Another version is:

> From us kings are born and we take the fourth

and

> From every hand submissively, so we are obeyed.

One of the B. Tamīm recited it to me, but most authorities on poetry deny al-Zibriqān's authorship.

880. Abū Zayd quoted the verse thus:

> Everyone whose heart is devout
> Approves of it and the thing they have begun.

An authority on poetry among B. Tamīm told me that when al-Zibriqān came with the deputation to the apostle he got up and said:

> We have come to you that men may know our superiority
> Whenever they gather at the fairs
> That we are the foremost in every field
> And that none in al-Hijāz are like Dārim.
> That we put champions to flight in their arrogance
> And prove the heads of the proud and powerful,
> Ours is the fourth part in every raid
> In Najd or in foreign lands.

Then Hassān got up and answered him crying:

> Is glory aught but ancient lordship and generosity,
> The dignity of kings and the bearing of great burdens?
> We helped and sheltered the prophet Muhammad
> Whether Ma'addī liked it or not
> In a unique tribe whose root and wealth
> Is in Jibrīnu'l-Jaulān among the foreigners.
> We helped him when he dwelt among us
> Against every wrongful aggressor
> We put our sons and daughters before him
> And we were pleased to forgo the spoils for his sake."

We smote men with our sharp swords
Until they flocked to his religion
And we begat the greatest of Quraysh.[1]
We begat the prophet of good of Hāshim's line
Do not boast, O Banū Dārim, for your boast
Will turn to shame when noble deeds are mentioned.
Curse you, would you boast against us
When you are our servants, half wet-nurses and half slaves?
If you've come to save your lives and property
Lest they be divided as booty,
Then give not God an equal and embrace Islam
And do not dress like foreigners.

881. There is another verse which we have omitted because it is obscure.

882. Another version is 'O boil like the boils of a camel and death in the house of a Salūli woman!'

883. Zayd b. Aslam from 'Atā' b. Yasār from I. 'Abbās said: God sent down concerning 'Āmir and Arbad, 'God knows what every female carries, what the wombs keep small and what grows larger' as far as the words 'and they have no friend apart from Him' he said. The meaning of it are those who by God's order go to Muhammad. Then He mentioned Arbad and how God killed him and said 'And He sends thunderbolts and He smites whom He will' as far as the words 'powerful in device' (13: 9–14).

884. His verse 'Who spoiled the spoiler' is on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda and his verse 'Liberal when times were bad' has not I.I.'s authority.

885. The last verse has not I.I.'s authority. [It is to be found in *Die Gedichte des Labīd*, ed. C. Brockelmann, Leiden, 1891, p. 2, with some variants.]

886. These two verses are part of a longer poem of his (ed. Cheikho, pp. 15 f.)

887. al-Jārūd b. Bishr b. al-Mu'allā was in the deputation. He was a Christian.

888. Another report is that he said, 'I am done with him who does not pronounce the *shahāda*.'

889. Musaylima b. Thumāma surnamed Abū Thumāma.

890. Or al-Hanāfiya [in Najd].

891. Mālik b. Harīm al-Hamdānī was the leader on that day.

892. The first verse and the words 'If we conquer' are from someone other than I.I. [It is not cited by T., a fact which might perhaps indicate that it was added by an interpolator.]

893. Abū 'Ubayda quoted me the line thus: 'Hoping for its welfare and the prime of it.'

[1] Through the prophet's great-grandmother. ed.

894. Abū 'Ubayda recited the verse to me thus

I gave you an order on the day of Dhū Qār'[1]
I ordered you to fear God, to come to Him and accept His promise,
But you were like a little donkey
Whose lust beguiled him away

He did not know the rest of the poem. [Five more verses are given by T. (1733 f.).]

895. The word *bithgir* is on Abū 'Ubayda's authority.

896. Al-Ashwaq was a son of 'the eater of bitter herbs' on his mother's side. The causes were al-Hārith b. 'Amr b. Hujr b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya b. al-Hārith b. Mu'āwiya b. Jabir b. Murra b. 'Awf b. Kindī or Kinda. He was given this name because 'Amr b. al-Hārith al-Ghassānī routed them when al-Hārith was away and plundered and took captives. Among the captives was Umm 'Amr bint 'Amr b. Muhallam al-Shaybānī, wife of al-Hārith b. 'Amr. By the way, concerning 'Amr al-Ghassānī, there is a black man with blubber lips like those of a camel, eating with his hands and his seized the neck, meaning al-Hārith. So he was called 'the eater of bitter herbs'. Murra are plants. Then al-Hārith followed him with Bakr b. Wā'il, overtook him and killed him and recovered his wife and what he had seized. Al-Hārith b. Hilliza al-Yashkurī said to 'Amr b. al-Mundhir, who was 'Amr b. Hind al-Lakhmī:

We forced you, lord of Ghassān, to pay for (killing) Mundhir
While the blood that was shed could not be measured,

because al-Hārith al-A'raj al-Ghassānī had killed his father al-Mundhir. The verse occurs in an ode of his. This story is too long for me to relate as I have avoided prolixity. Some say the eater of bitter herbs was Hujr b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya who is the subject of this story, and not the name because he and his companions ate thus herb on this said.

897. THE COMING OF THE DEPUTATION OF HAMDĀN

According to what a trustworthy authority told me from 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh b. [illegible] al-'Abdī from Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī, a deputation from Hamdān arriving, among whom were Mālik b. Namat and Abū [illegible] Qu'l-Kilā' and Mālik b. Ayfa and [illegible] b. Mālik al-Salīmānī and 'Amr b. Sālim al-Khārifī came and met the apostle on his return from Tabūk, wearing cloaks of Yamani cloth, also turbans of Aden, with wonderful mantles on them, and Arabian camels. Sālim b. Namat and another man were the regular rangers of the people, one of them saying:

Hamdān has the best of princes and of subjects,
It has no equal in the universe.
High as its position, and from it came
Warriors and chiefs[2] with goodly wealth therein.

[1] A.Ph. is wrong in saying that this word (*dhū*) means 'what kings take from their subjects'. See Lane.

While the other responded:

> Camels haltered with ropes of palm
> Pass through land knowing water's balm.
> The dust of summer does no harm.

Then Mālik stood before the apostle and said, 'O apostle of God, the choicest of Hamdān's settled and nomad folk have come to you on fine swift camels, urged by the cords of Islam. No blame so far as God is concerned attaches to them from the district of Khārif and Yām and Shākir the camel and horse folk. They have answered the apostle's call and have withdrawn from the goddesses and sacrificial stones. Their word will not be broken while stands mount Ka'la and while the young ostrich runs on Sala.'

The apostle wrote a letter for them: 'To the district of Rudā' and the people of the high country and the sand hills with their envoy Dhū'l-Mishār Mālik b. Namat and those of his people who are Muslims. Theirs is the high ground and the low ground so long as they perform prayer and pay alms; they may eat as fodder and pasture on its herbage. For this they have God's promise and the guarantee of His apostle and their witnesses are the emigrants and the helpers.'

Mālik b. Namat said concerning this:

> I remembered the apostle in the darkness of the night
> When we were above Rahrahān and Ṣaldad
> While the camels tired with sunken eyes
> Carried their riders on a far-stretching road,
> Strong, long-striding camels
> Carried us along like well-fed ostriches.
> I swear by the Lord of the camels that run to Minā
> Returning with riders from a lofty height
> That the apostle of God is held true among us,
> An apostle who comes with guidance from the Lord of the throne.
> No camel has ever carried one more fierce
> Against his enemies than Muhammad
> Nor more generous to one who comes asking for kindness,
> Nor more effective with the edge of his sharp sword.

898. Al-Yarbū'i.

899. He put Abū Dujāna al-Sā'idi—others say Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭa al-Ghifārī—in charge of Medina.

900. The apostle had sent some of his companions as messengers carrying letters to the kings inviting them to Islam. One in whom I have confidence on the authority of Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī told me: 'It reached me that the apostle went out one day after his return from which he had been excluded on the day of al-Hudaybiya and said, "God has sent us as a mercy to all men, so do not hang back from me as the disciples hung back from Jesus son of Mary." They asked how they had hung back and he said, "He called them to that to which I have called you. Those who were sent on a near mission were satisfied and content; those who were sent on a distant mission showed their displeasure and took it as a burden, and Jesus complained of this to God. Every one of them the next morning became able to speak the language of the people to whom they were sent."'

The apostle sent letters with his companions and sent them to the kings inviting them to Islam. He sent Dihya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī to Caesar, king of Rum; 'Abdallāh b. Hudhāfa to Chosroes, king of Persia; 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus, king of Abyssinia; Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a to the Muqawqis, king of Alexandria; 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ al-Sahmī to Jayfar and 'Iyāḍh, sons of al-Julandā the Azdī, kings of 'Umān; Salīṭ b. 'Amr one of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy to Thumāma b. Uthāl and Hawdha b. 'Alī, the Hanafī, kings of al-Yamāma; al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Munḏhir b. Sāwā al-'Abdī, king of Bahrayn; Shujā' b. Wahb al-Asdī to al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shimr al-Ghassānī, king of the Roman border.

(He sent Shujā' b. Wahb to rabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī, and al-Mundhir b. Abū Umayya al-Makhzūmī to al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdu Kulāl al-Himyarī king of the Yemen.[1] I have given the genealogy of Salīṭ and Thumāma and Hawdha and al-Mundhir.)

902. Another version is 'the colour of gold'.

903. Some say the names were Qurra b. Ashfar al-Difārī and Ḥayyān b. Milla.

904. Or al-Ajnaf.

905. The words 'with no hope of an easy release' and 'circumstances hot release' are not from I.I.

906. Or b. Rīsān.

907. 'Abdullāh b. Unaya said about that:

> I left Ibn Thaur like a young camel
> Surrounded by mourning women tearing their shirts into strips
> When the women were behind me and behind him
> I fetched him a stroke with a sharp Indian sword
> Which could bite into the heads of armoured men
> As a flame burns up the tinder.
> I said to him as the sword hit into his head
> I am Ibn Unaya, no mean horseman
> I am the son of one who never removed his cooking-pot,
> No niggard he—wide was the space before his door.
> I said to him, 'Take that with the blow of a noble man
> Who turns to the religion of the prophet Muhammad.
> Whenever the prophet gave thought to an unbeliever
> I got to him first with tongue and hand.

907. About that al-Farazdaq said:

> Ibn Ḥābis in the presence of the apostle took the high place
> Of one who is resolved on gaining glory.

[1] As will be seen in the text T arranges the list of the messengers in a different order. Why I.H. should have disturbed I.I.'s account and put it in his own name is obscure. As has been explained in a footnote to W 992, the expression *fī ashkalihī* 'Ayyāsh may mean 'do not differ in your response to me'.

For him (Muhammad) released the prisoners in his copes
Whose necks were encircled by halters.
He spared the mothers who feared for their sons
The high price of ransom or the divulgence of the captives long absent

These verses are in one of his odes. Adly b. Jundub was of B. al-Anbar. Al-Anbar was b. Amr b. Tamim.

908. According to Abū 'Ubayda the name was al-Qaraqa.

909. Abū Amr b. al-Ala' read this passage with a slight orthographical addition.

910. Muhayṣī.

911. Muhallam in all this story is not on I.I.'s authority. He was Muhallam b. Jaththama b. Qays al-Laythi. Malagam, according to what Zayd told us from I.I.

912. And he set forth for Dūmatu'l-Jandal

912. THE SENDING OF 'AMR B. UMAYYA AL-ḌAMRĪ TO KILL ABŪ SUFYĀN B. ḤARB AND WHAT HE DID ON THE WAY

Among the missions and expeditions which the apostle sent out which he [illegible] has not recorded in his mission of Amr b. Umayya [illegible] whom he apostle sent to Mecca—according to what a trustworthy tradition has told me—after the killing of Khubayb b. 'Adiy and his companions, ordering him to kill Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. With him he sent Jabbār b. Ṣakhr al-Anṣārī. When they reached Mecca they tied their two camels in one of the narrow passes of Ya'ajj and entered the town by night. Jabbār suggested to Amr that they should circumambulate the temple and pray two rak'as, to which Amr replied that at night the inhabitants were wont to sit in their courtyards [illegible] Amr said, 'We went round the temple and prayed and then came away making for Amr's lodging. As we were walking in the town a man looked at me and recognized me and stood [illegible] Amr [illegible] Hey [illegible] some evil [illegible] and we went off quick [illegible] a pot up a mountain and the [illegible] pursuit of us [illegible] we had gotten [illegible] We went on and went up [illegible] in the mountain and passed the night there [illegible] in the morning there came a man of Quraysh leading a horse, cutting grass for it, drawing near to us as we were [illegible] alarm and we shall be taken [illegible] a dagger with me which I had [illegible] to Abū Sufyān, and I stabbed him in the chest and he gave a cry which reached the ears of the Meccans, so I went back and entered the cave. The men came running to him as he was at the last gasp and asked him who had stabbed him

[1] This statement implies that the MS. which I.H. had received as source of these happenings, but the [illegible] from Tab. [illegible] which I have resumed in the text gives a graphic description on the authority of I.I. It also points out that I.H. in his own [illegible] that I.I. does not repeat the story.

and he said 'Amr b. Umayya, and died on the spot without having revealed where we were. [illegible] I said, 'By God, I have never seen before tonight anything more like a ghost [illegible] Amr b. Umayya [illegible] I said that he [illegible] Yes, [illegible] that was [illegible] in the [illegible] gal' [illegible] and [illegible] hollow in the cliff at the ravine of Ya'ajj where he threw the gallows into the hollow and [illegible] companion [illegible] escape until we got out [illegible] while [illegible] that the [illegible] could hardly walk.

I went on until I came out at Dajnān [illegible] then I betook me to a mountain [illegible] a cave. While I was there suddenly [illegible] man of B. al-[illegible] a one-eyed man, came in with a young sheep and asked who I was. I told him I was of B. Bakr and he said he was one. I said, 'Welcome,' and as he stretched himself out he lifted up his voice and said

I won't be a Muslim as long as I live
Not based on their religion [illegible]

I said to myself, 'You will soon know!' I gave him time until when he was asleep I took my bow and lowered the end of it in his sound eye and bore down upon it until it reached the bone. Then I burned off until I came to al-Arj,[1] then Rakūba[2] until I dropped down to al-Naqī[3] where there were two polytheists of Quraysh who had been sent as spies to Medina. I called on them to surrender but they refused, so I shot one and killed him and the other surrendered. I bound him tightly and took him to Medina.

913. ZAYD B. ḤĀRITHA RETURNS TO MAKKAH

This is recorded by 'Abdullāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan from his mother Fāṭima [illegible] 'Ali. Zayd was accompanied by [illegible] of 'Ali and a brother of his. They took [illegible] which is on the shore, a mixed band among them. They were [illegible] and families were separated. The apostle [illegible] they were [illegible] and [illegible] the reason. When he was told he said, 'Well done! [illegible] meaning the mothers with the children.

914. I have heard that when he went on the little pilgrimage he uttered the cry 'Labbayka' in the vale of Mecca. He was the first to enter Mecca with the cry. Quraysh seized him and exclaimed at his audacity. They were about to strike off his head when one of them said, 'Let him alone, for you have need of al-Yamama for your food!' so they let him go his way.

[1] A mountain near Mecca.
[2] A place on the Mecca road. The name is also given to a wadi in the Hijaz.
[3] A pass between the two places.
[4] In Muqrān country about two nights' journey from Medina.

Concerning this al-Ghazali said:

> It was our man who said publicly in Mecca
> In the sacred assembly 'Labbayka' despite Abu Sufyan

I was told that when he became a Muslim he said to the apostle: 'Your face used to be the most hateful to me, but now it is the most beloved.' He spoke [illegible] wrote to the apostle: 'You order that ties of kinship should be observed, yet [illegible]

[illegible] Abu Amr al-Madani said: The apostle sent Ali to the Yemen and sent Khalid b. al-Walid with another force and ordered that when the forces met Ali was to be in supreme command. I mentioned the sending of Khalid in this account, but he did not reckon it among the missions and expeditions so that the number of them in his account ought to be 39.

917 This is the last mission which the apostle dispatched.

918 THE APOSTLE'S WIVES

They were nine: I mean [illegible] Abu Bakr, Hafsa d. 'Umar; Umm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan; Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira; Sawda d. Zam'a b. Qays; Zaynab d. Jahsh b. Ri'ab; Maymuna d. al-Harith b. Hazn; Juwayriya d. al-Harith b. Abu Dirar; and Safiya d. Huyay b. Akhtab according to what more than one traditionist has told me.

He married thirteen women: Khadija d. Khuwaylid, his first wife whom her father Khuwaylid b. Asad, or according to others her brother 'Amr, married to him. The apostle gave her as dowry twenty she-camels. She bore all the [illegible] married to Abu Hala b. Malik, one of B. Usayyid b. 'Amr b. Tamim, an ally of B. 'Abdu'l-Dar, to whom she bore Hind b. Abu Hala and Zaynab. Before that she had been married to Utayq b. 'Abid b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum to whom she bore 'Abdallah and Jariya.

He married 'A'isha in Mecca when she was a child of seven and lived with her in Medina when she was nine or ten. She was the only virgin that he married. Her father Abu Bakr married her to him and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams.

He married Sawda d. Zam'a b. Qays b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hasl b. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy. Salit b. 'Amr, according to others Abu Hizm b. 'Amr, married her to him, and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams.

His living contradicts the tradition among Salit and Abu Hizm were absent in Abyssinia at this time. Before this she had been married to al-Sakran b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams.

[illegible] whose name was 'Abdallah, who had before been married to Ruqayya.

He married Hafsa d. 'Umar with her father's consent and the apostle gave her [illegible] Khunays b. Hudhafa al-Sahmi.

[illegible] Juwayriya was given back to him. She became [illegible]

[illegible]

Sūra 33: 37.

[1] This expression refers to what I.S. reported on W., p. 744

[illegible]

[illegible] married Zaynab d. Khuzayma b. al-Hārith b. Abdullah b. Amr b [illegible]

There were six Qurayshi women among the prophet's wives, namely Khadīja, Ā'isha, Hafsa, Umm Habība, Umm Salama, and Sauda Maymūna, Zaynab d. Khuzayma, Juwayriya, Asma' and Amra. The non-Arab woman was Safiya d. Huyay b. Akhtab of B. al-Nadīr

[illegible]

[illegible] Abū Usāma and other traditionists are told us that when the apostle was dead [illegible] the Muslims [illegible] [illegible] Thus Sulayt b. [illegible] and other [illegible] the death of the apostle and said, 'This will increase Islam in force. If

[illegible]

[illegible] mention to us we will cut off his head. Thereupon the people disclosed their intention and Abū Bakr reappeared once more. This is the speech which the apostle meant when he said to 'Umar: 'It may well be that he will take a stand for which you cannot blame him' [p.1. p. 314].

[illegible] Hassān b. Thābit said, recounting the apostle, according to what Ibn Hishām told us on the authority of Abū Zayd al-Ansārī:[1]

In Ṭayba[2] there is still the impress and luminous abode of the apostle,

The marks of the sacred building that holds
The pulpit which the guide used to ascend will never be obliterated
Plain are the traces and lasting the marks
And his house with its mosque and place of prayer
There are the rooms where God's light
Used to come down brilliant and bright
Memorials for ever indestructible
If part decay, part is ever renewed
I know the marks of the apostle and his well-known place
And the grave where digger hid him in the dust
There I stood weeping the apostle,
My very eyelids ran with tears,[3]
Remembering one of his favours. Mistakes my soul
[illegible]
Ahmad's loss embittered my soul with pain
[illegible] covenant the apostle's favours
Yet has it failed to recapture a tithe of what he did
But my soul can only report what it feels
Long did I stand crying bitterly
Over the ground of the grave where Ahmad lies
Be blessed, O grave of the apostle, and be blessed

[illegible]

Hawān poured dust upon him, eyes their tears,
And the lucky sons set at the night
They had kindness, knowledge, and mercy
The night they laid him empiltered in the dust
And went away in sorrow without their prophet,
Their arms and backs devoid of strength
They mourn him whose day the heavens mourn—
The earth too—yet men grieve more
[illegible]
Equal the mourning of the day Ahmad died?
[illegible]
Which had been a source of light everywhere

[illegible]

He led to the Compassionate those who imitated him,
Delivering from the terror of shame and guiding aright,
Their imam guiding them to the truth with vigour.
A truthful teacher, to obey him was felicity,
Pardoning their lapses, accepting their excuses.
And if they did well God is most generous in recompense.
If misfortune befell too heavy for them to bear
From him came the easing of their difficulty
And while they enjoyed God's favour.
Having a guide by which the clear path could be sought.
It pained him that they should go astray from guidance.
He was anxious that they should go on the right path.
He sympathized with them one and all[1]
In his kindness he smoothed their path.
But while they enjoyed that light
Suddenly death's arrow hit its mark
And sent the praised one back to God
While the very angels wept and praised him.[2]
The holy land became desolate
At the loss of the revelation it once knew
Deserts uninhabited save the grave in which our lost one descended
Whom Balāt and Charqad[3] and his mosque mourn.
In those places desolate, now he is gone,
Are places of prayer devoted to him.
And at the great moving place there dwellings and open spaces,
Encampment, and birthplace are desolate.
O eye, weep the apostle of God copiously.
May I never find you with your tears dried!
Why do you not weep the kindly one
Whose bounteous rain covered all men?
Be generous with your tears and cries
At the loss of him whose equal will never be found
Those gone by never lost one like Muhammad
And one like him will not be mourned till Resurrection Day
More gentle and faithful to obligation after obligation
More prone to give without thought of any return,
More lavish with wealth newly gained and inherited
When a generous man would grudge giving what had long been his.
More noble in reputation when claims are examined
More noble in princely Meccan ancestry.[4]
More inaccessible in height and established in eminence
Founded on enduring supports,
Firmer in root and branch and wood
Which rain nourished making it full of life

[1] Or 'not preferring one to another'.
[2] Another reading is 'the unseen angels' (ḥiwl) and infinitely. But perhaps ṣafīn should be read here for ḥiwl. 'The eyes of the angels' &c.
[3] Balāt lay between the mosque and the market of Medina, while Charqad was its cemetery. A Dīn reading 'plant and bowtree'.
[4] Lit. 'valley ancestry'. The valley-dwellers of Quraysh were regarded as the aristocracy.

A glorious Lord brought him up as a boy
And he became perfect in most virtuous deeds.
To his knowledge the Muslims resorted:
No knowledge was withheld and no opinion was gainsaid.
I say and none can find fault with me
But one lost to all sense,
I shall never cease to praise him.
It may be for so doing I shall be for ever in Paradise
With the chosen one for whose support in that I hope
And to attain to that day I devote all my efforts.

Hassān also said:

What ails thine eye that it cannot sleep
As though its ducts were painted with the kohl of one suffering from ophthalmia
In grief for the guided one who lies dead?
O best man that ever walked the earth, leave us not:
Alas, would that my face might protect thee from the dust,
That I had been buried before thee in Baqī'u'l-Gharqad[1]
Dearer than father and mother is he whose death I saw
On that Monday—the truly guided prophet.
When he died I lost my wits distracted,
Would that I had never been born:
Am I to go on living in Medina without you?
Would that I had been given snake poison to drink:
Or that God's decree would reach us soon,
Tonight or at least tomorrow,
That our hour might come and we might meet the good.
The pure in nature, the man of noble descent!
O blessed firstborn of Āmina
Whom that chaste one bore on the happiest of days!
He shed a light on all creatures.
He who is guided to the blessed light is rightly guided
O Lord, unite us with our prophet in a garden
That turns away the eyes of the envious,
In the garden of Paradise. Inscribe it for us,
O Lord of Majesty, Loftiness, and Power
By God as long as I live I shall not hear of the dead
But I shall weep for the prophet Muhammad,
Alas for the prophet's Helpers and kin
After he has been hidden in the midst of the grave.
The land became too strait for the Anṣār,
Their faces were black as antimony
We gave him his ancestors, his grave is with us,
His overflowing goodness to us is undeniable.
God honoured and guided us his Helpers by him
In every hour that he was present

[1] By way of the market of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. Salma d. 'Amr b. 'Labd b. Ḥālila of B. Najjār.

God and those who surround His throne and good men
Bless the blessed Ahmad.

922. The last half of the first verse has not I.I.'s authority

[illegible] worth noting that the verse

The Christians and Jews of Yathrib reported
When to [illegible] and to his grave

included in H's *Dīwān* (xxxiii) without comment is not to be found in any MS. of I.H., nor is it in C or W or Suhayli's text. It may well be condemned as a later addition. W (H, pp. 40–41) held that I.H.'s text of Hassān's poems was superior to the *Dīwān* which has been published several times since his day but never with the care it deserves. W's judgment still stands.

ADDENDA

p. 28, n. 1. I have discussed the significance of this story in the *The Islamic Quarterly*, 1954, pp. 9 f.

p. 30, l. 13. For the text of Sabaean inscriptions recently discovered in Saʿūdī Arabia see G. Ryckmans in *Muséon*, lxvi, 1953, pp. 267–317, and for an historical commentary on the same ib., pp. 319–42. Professor Sidney Smith, 'Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.', in *B.S.O.A.S.*, 1954, pp. 425–68, has discussed all that Greek, Syriac, Sabaean, and Arabic authorities report. So far as the Arabic writers are concerned, his verdict is that their account 'is not incompatible with the known facts'.

p. 65, n. 3. The Meccan editor of al-Azraqī (ii. 276 and 299) throws no light on the confusion.

p. 88, l. 14. I have adopted the reading of C against W, in spite of the introduction to the verse.

p. 100, l. 13 from end. The last three verses are reminiscent of the Qurʾān, as are the lines beginning 'I submit myself' on p. 102, l. 18.

p. 180, pen. Perhaps what ʿUmar said was 'The birds) must be ostriches' (*naʿāmun*), and the prophet immediately punned on the word by saying *ʿan ʿamr*.

p. 181. I have shown in *Al-Andalus*, xviii, 1953, pp. 323–36, that the Masjid al-Aqṣā was not at Jerusalem but at al-Jiʿrāna, a place within the sacred area of Mecca.

p. 191, l. 12. For 'protection' read 'neighbourliness'.

p. 216, l. 6 from end. Dhū Kashr is correct. See Yāqūt, iv. 276 ult. W has Dhū Kashd.

p. 233, ll. 16 and 18. The host has only a limited control over his ally (*ḥalīf*), who is his equal, but the sojourner (*jār*) is his dependant and he is responsible for his acts because he has authority over him. Cf. p. 723.

p. 238, n. 11. Azraqī, ii. 118, who says that Ibn ʿAbbās was frequently seen to visit Sīrīn as he repeated this poem, apparently knew no more than seven lines corresponding roughly to [illegible] and 6–9 of [illegible] version and [illegible] in Hirschfeld's edition of the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit. I.H. in his note No. 291 says that lines 12 and 13 were not composed by Sīrīn but by a certain Taghlibite called Surayn b. Miʿshar. He accepts lines 4–5 and 10–12 without comment. Azraqī's version is complete in itself. It falls into the pattern of Anṣārī propaganda: it shows how the Medinans welcomed Muḥammad when Quraysh (Hirschfeld's 'Mecca') violated the sanctuary spurned him, and how they devoted their lives and their wealth to his service. Thus the history of this poem illustrates what has been said on pp. xxvi f. about Anṣārī propaganda and about poems fathered on Ḥassān.

p. 384, l. 7 from end. W has ʿAbdullāh b. Dayf. Authorities differ.

p. 498, n. Cf. the proverb *adhalla min bayḍat al-ḥubāri* 'more forlorn than an (ostrich's) egg'. The ostrich was supposed to leave its eggs in the sand of the desert and never return to them.

p. 577, n. 4. The change of *kasra* into *ya* is specified by b. al-Sikkit in *K. al-Qalb wa'l-Ibdāl*, 54–56. Among his examples are *Yathrib* and *Ahrāb*: *yadayni* and *udayhi*.

p. 597, l. 8. This was the occasion of the night journey with which Muḥammad's ascent to heaven is associated. See the note on p. 181 above.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

(L = locality; P = poet; T = tribe; all others = persons)

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